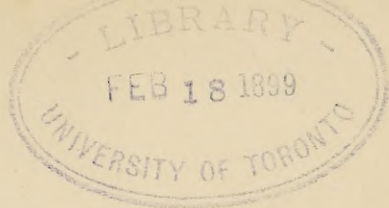




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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1898.

DÖRPFELD'S THEORY OF THE GREEK STAGE.

For many years past Dörpfeld's book on the Greek theatre has been expected with the greatest curiosity. Before its publication his theory of the Greek stage had only been revealed in a partial and fragmentary manner, in the course of incidental papers and reviews. We were never sure whether we had the whole theory before us, or whether we knew all the evidence which was to be brought forward in support of it. His book has now been published. The theory is clearly expounded, and carefully worked out in all its details. We are now therefore in possession of all the facts which are necessary for the purpose of coming to a decision about it. Under these circumstances a fresh discussion of this question about the Greek stage may be interesting and profitable. My purpose in the present paper is to state briefly the main arguments which are to be brought forward on both sides of the question; and to explain the grounds on which, as it seems to me, the new theory must be regarded as untenable. In dealing with this subject it will be convenient to divide the period covered by the Greek drama into two parts, and to consider first the later period, from about 300 B.C. onwards; and then to return to the earlier period, that of the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. The evidence in the two cases is somewhat different, and will be more clearly understood if taken separately.

I.

First then as to the later period. The excavations of various Greek theatres during

the last ten or fifteen years have now given us a fairly clear idea as to the shape and structure of the stage-buildings throughout this period. We now know that from the beginning of the third century onwards the stage-buildings in every Greek theatre consisted of a long rectangular structure, and that in front of it there was a narrow platform about 12 feet high and 10 feet deep. This platform was called the 'proskenion,' as is proved by an inscription at Oropus. It was adorned in front with columns supporting an entablature. In the third century it appears to have been still made of wood. But in the course of the second and first centuries a stone proskenion was substituted for the old wooden ones in almost every theatre. The question now arises, What was the purpose of this proskenion, this long platform about 12 feet high and 10 deep, which we find in all Greek theatres after the end of the fourth century? Here we naturally turn to Vitruvius, who wrote a book about architecture towards the end of the first century B.C., and in the course of it gave a detailed description of Greek and Roman theatres. Vitruvius tells us (v. 6 and 7) that every Greek theatre has a stage, and that this stage is from 10 to 12 feet high and 10 feet deep. Its narrowness is due to the fact that it is only used by the actors in tragedy and comedy; all other performers appear in the orchestra. He adds that the Roman stage is much lower and much deeper, and this for two reasons. It had to be deeper, because all the performers appeared upon it. It had to be lower, because in a Roman theatre the spectators sat

in the orchestra, and would not therefore have been able to see over the top of a twelve-foot stage. Here then we seem to have a clear and final answer to our question. The proscenium which we find in all Greek theatres after about 300 B.C. must have been a stage. It answers exactly to the description in Vitruvius. Dörpfeld however takes another view. He says Vitruvius was mistaken, and that the Greek proscenium was not a stage but a background. It represented the palace or building before which the action was taking place. Actors and chorus stood in front of it, in the orchestra. The lofty stage-buildings above and behind it merely represented the sky. Now this theory seems to me impossible. It is absurd to suppose that Vitruvius was mistaken. He was a professional architect writing about his own special subject, and writing at the very time when many of these proscenia were being erected. His remark about the Greek stage is not introduced as an *obiter dictum*, but is made the basis of the distinction which he draws between Greek and Roman theatres. He had evidently therefore thought about the subject. But even if we suppose that he could make a mistake of this kind, even if we suppose that he had never been in Greece, and never seen a Greek play acted there, still it is impossible that such an absurd error should have remained uncorrected in his book. The connection between Rome and Greece was so intimate, that there must have been thousands of people in Rome who had seen Greek plays performed, and knew how it was done. If Vitruvius had made this absurd blunder, some one would have been sure to point it out to him, and he would have had it corrected.

I think then that the two facts already mentioned—first, the fact that Vitruvius tells us that every Greek theatre should possess a stage of a certain height, and, secondly, the fact that all Greek theatres after about 300 B.C. are found to possess a stage corresponding exactly to his description—I think these two facts are sufficient in themselves to decide the whole question. But there is no lack of further evidence. Various writers of this later period may be cited as witnesses. Pollux, in his description of the Greek theatre, says that ‘the stage is appropriated to the actors, the orchestra to the chorus’ (iv. 123 *καὶ σκηνὴ μὲν ὑποκριτῶν ἴδιον, ἡ δὲ ὀρχήστρα τοῦ χοροῦ*). Later on he says that the actors, when they ‘enter by the orchestra, ascend the stage by means of steps’ (iv. 127, *εἰσελθόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν*

ἀναβαίνουσι διὰ κλιμάκων). The scholiasts on the extant dramas often speak of the performance in a Greek theatre as being partly in the orchestra and partly on the stage. The commentator on *Frogs* 181 says that the scene must be ‘either upon the logeion or in the orchestra’ (*ἐπὶ τοῦ λογείου ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀρχήστρας*). On 297 he says that Dionysus here appears ‘not on the logeion but in the orchestra’ (*οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ λογείου ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀρχήστρας*). The scholiast on *Knights* 149 discusses the question why the sausage-seller should ascend from the parodos to the logeion (*ἵνα, φησὶν, ἐκ τῆς παρόδου ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον ἀναβῇ. διὰ τί οὖν ἐκ τῆς παρόδου;*). There are other scholia to the same effect, which it would be tedious to quote. Now in these passages from the scholiasts and from Pollux, the point to notice is this. They do not merely say there was a stage in Greek theatres, but they describe the performance as one partly on the stage and partly in the orchestra. Dörpfeld says they are all mistaken; that they lived after the Christian era, and were confusing the Greek theatre with the Roman. But this would not account for their mistake, suppose there was one. In Roman theatres all performances were confined to the stage; the orchestra was occupied by senators and other distinguished spectators. How then can Pollux and the scholiasts have got this notion of a performance in which stage and orchestra were used at the same time? There was nothing in the Roman practice to suggest it. It can only have been derived from the Greek theatre. But apart from this, the suggestion that Pollux and the scholiasts were misled by their recollection of Roman customs is not a fortunate one. It implies that their writings were the result of personal observation. But no one can read a page of them without seeing that they were merely compilations from earlier sources. The scholiasts often mention their authorities, and these go back to Aristophanes and Aristarchus, and even beyond. Although then they wrote after the Christian era, their statements really represent the opinions of the old Alexandrian scholars. When they say that Greek dramas were performed partly on the stage and partly in the orchestra, it is evident that the Alexandrians thought the same. The testimony of Pollux and the scholiasts is really testimony of the third century B.C.

Another writer whose words appear to be decisive on this question is Horace. Horace in the *Ars Poetica* (278), in recounting the

dramatic reforms of Aeschylus, says that he 'erected a stage on beams of moderate size,' (*modicis instravit pulpita tignis*). Now it is true that Horace is often inaccurate in his account of the early Greek drama. It is possible that he had not much real knowledge about the reforms of Aeschylus. But one thing is certain, that he would never have included among those reforms the 'erection of a stage,' unless a stage had been a regular part of the Greek theatres of his own day. Dörpfeld, in dealing with this passage, offers two alternatives. He first suggests that 'pulpitum' means the 'stage-buildings.' But he cites no authority for such a meaning, and none is to be found. The word 'pulpitum' in Latin always means a stage or platform. Then, if the first alternative seems unsatisfactory, he suggests that Horace has made a mistake, like Vitruvius, in attributing a stage to the Greek theatre, and that he was confusing the Greek theatre with the Roman. But Horace, as we know, was for a long time in Athens, and must have often seen Greek plays performed. It is hardly conceivable, therefore, that he should have made a mistake on such a simple matter as the presence or absence of a stage.

Many other writers, ranging from the third century B.C. to the second century A.D., might be cited as witnesses on this question. But as they have often been quoted before, and the passages are now familiar to everyone, I will pass on to what is more novel and interesting—the archaeological evidence. The recent excavations of Greek theatres have brought to light several facts which bear closely on this subject of the stage. The evidence derived from this source appears to be as fatal to the new theory as is the literary evidence. One of the most convincing proofs is that afforded by the structure of the stage-buildings at Sicyon, Eretria, and Oropus. We have seen that, according to Dörpfeld's view, the proscenium was the background, and that the action of the play took place in front of it, in the orchestra. Obviously, in that case, the most important part of the stage-buildings must have been the rooms immediately behind the proscenium, or in other words, behind the back-scene. Now what do we find at Sicyon? We find that one-third of the space behind the proscenium consisted of solid rock. The Sicyonians, in order to save the expense of erecting a lofty auditorium, excavated their theatre out of the rock to a depth of about twelve feet. But they attached so little importance to the rooms behind the proscenium,

that they did not take the trouble to excavate the whole of this part. They left one-third of it as it was. It was only when they came to the first floor of the stage-buildings, the floor on a level with the top of the proscenium, that they provided a clear space from end to end of the building. Their conduct, on Dörpfeld's theory, was very peculiar. But the people of Eretria acted in a still stranger manner. They too excavated their theatre out of the rock. But they left the whole of the space behind the proscenium unexcavated. Consequently, at Eretria, the ground floor of the stage-buildings was on a level, not with the floor of the orchestra, but with the top of the proscenium. There could hardly be a more decisive proof that at Eretria the actors appeared, not in front of the proscenium, but on the top of it. Then there is the case of Oropus. Here the stage-buildings were built upon the ground, and the rooms behind the proscenium were originally open from end to end. But later on the Oropians proceeded to fill up the greater part of the space with earth, and left only a narrow passage immediately behind the proscenium. Such conduct is irreconcilable with the supposition that the proscenium was the back-scene.

Another proof is afforded by the height of the proscenium. Vitruvius says that it should be not more than 12 feet high, and not less than 10. As a matter of fact most of the proscenias which have been discovered are about this height. Sometimes they are more. The proscenias at Athens and at the Peiraeus were about 13 feet in height. On the other hand they are sometimes a great deal less. At Delos and at Oropus the proscenium was only about 8 feet high; the columns which supported the entablature in front of it were only 6 feet 6 inches. On Dörpfeld's view, these proscenias, with their architectural front, represented the palace or other building before which the action was carried on. But what are we to think of a palace about 50 feet long and only 8 feet high? The background at Oropus and at Delos, during the performance of a tragedy, must have been most peculiar. We should remember that the Greek tragic actor walked upon cothurni, which added about six inches to his stature. He also wore a mask with a lofty onkos which raised his height by another six inches. Consequently the Greek tragic actor, when equipped for the stage, can hardly have stood less than about 6 feet 6 inches. This being so, if Dörpfeld's view is correct, it follows that the protagonist

who took the part of the king at Oropus and at Delos must have been just about the same height as the columns which supported the roof of his own palace. When he made his entrance through the central door of the palace, he would have to bend his head in order to avoid knocking it against the cross-beam. Surely the theory is a weak one which involves such ridiculous consequences. If the Greeks had adopted a background of this absurdly diminutive height, without any reason for doing so, this fact alone would have been strange enough. But it must appear stranger still that, having once adopted it, they should proceed to add about twelve inches to the stature of their actors, in order to make the disproportion between the size of the actors and the size of the palace still more preposterous.

The reason which Dörpfeld gives for the lowness of the proscenium—the background, as he calls it—is as follows. He says that such proscenia were first erected at Athens in the fifth century, and were intended to represent an ordinary house of that period. But the ordinary house at Athens in the fifth century was, he thinks, about twelve feet high. To this theory there are several answers. In the first place, as we have just seen, some proscenia were only eight feet high; which is far lower than any ordinary Greek house, either at Athens or elsewhere. In the second place there is no clear evidence to show that the Athenian house of the fifth century was twelve feet high. From the remains lately discovered at Delos it appears that in the better class of houses there even the first storey was more than twelve feet. But granting, for the sake of argument, that an Athenian house of the fifth century was of the size which Dörpfeld supposes, what has this got to do with the size of the scenic background? The Athenian theatre, we must remember, was developed originally as a place for tragedy, and not for comedy. Comedy, at the beginning of the fifth century, was very little regarded. The background, therefore, must have been intended, in most cases, to represent a palace or a temple. But why should this palace or temple have been made the same height as an ordinary house? Moreover the proportions must have appeared extraordinary. A structure about fifty feet long, and from 8 to 12 feet high, would be altogether unlike any temple or palace. Dörpfeld replies to this that it is impossible on the stage to represent buildings as large as they really are; that in modern scene-painting the representations of palaces and temples are

much reduced in size as compared with the originals. This is quite true. But they are reduced to scale, and in proper proportions. A modern scene-painter, in representing St. Paul's, would no doubt have to make his representation much smaller than the actual St. Paul's. But in diminishing the height he would diminish the width at the same time. No modern scene-painter would produce a temple 50 feet long and 8 feet high; nor can we suppose that the ancients would have put up with a similar disproportion.

Again, there is the question as to the doors of the proscenium. If it was the background, it ought to have had three doors, the usual number in a Greek back-scene, as Pollux and Vitruvius tell us. But in most of the proscenia discovered there is only one door. In two of the proscenia, those at Megalopolis and Thespiae, there is no door of any kind. Even the single door, when it is found, is very narrow for the central door of the back-scene. At Epidaurus it is only 4 feet wide, at Oropus only 3 feet 8 inches, at Delos only 3 feet 3 inches. A door so narrow as this would be altogether unsuitable as the central door of the palace, and is quite inconsistent with the use of the *eccyclema*. When we come to the Graeco-Roman theatres, where the wall at the back of the stage has in many cases been preserved, there we find everything corresponding closely with the descriptions of the grammarians. There are always at least three doors, as we should expect; and the central door is of considerable width. At Termessos it is about 7 feet. As regards the absence of the requisite number of doors in the proscenium Dörpfeld gives the following explanation. These Hellenistic proscenia, as we see from the remains, consisted of an entablature resting on columns. The space between the columns was filled in, not with a regular wall, but by slabs of marble or wooden boards. Dörpfeld suggests that when doors were required, they might be provided *ad libitum* by removing the intervening slabs. But if three doors were regularly required in the dramatic performances, it is most improbable that they should not have been provided as a permanent fixture in the proscenium. It is most improbable that the Greeks should have put themselves to the trouble of opening out these temporary doors at each festival. In any case we can hardly doubt that if the proscenium had been the back-scene the Greeks would always have provided at least *one* permanent door, and would not,

as at Megalopolis and Thespiae, have erected proscenia in which there was no door of any kind. The absence of a door in these two places seems to prove conclusively that communication between the orchestra and the space behind the proscenium was a matter of no importance.

There is another piece of archaeological evidence which may be dismissed more briefly, as it has already been well known for many years. I refer to the vase-paintings found in the Greek cities of South Italy, and belonging to the third century B.C. These paintings represent comic scenes acted by the Phlyakes. The Phlyakes were a sort of farcical comedians, whose performances were not unlike those of the oldest Attic comedy. In many of these paintings they are represented as acting on a stage. In some cases the stage is a rude erection of wood. In other cases it is an elaborate structure, nine or ten feet high, and with columns in front, just like the proscenia which we have been discussing. Often there is a flight of steps leading down to the orchestra. In one case the action is taking place partly on the stage and partly in the orchestra. One of the actors is represented as actually ascending the steps to the stage. This evidence seems to prove beyond a doubt that in the Greek cities of South Italy, during the third century B.C., performances were sometimes given in theatres with a tall stage, and that both stage and orchestra were employed for the purpose, and were connected by steps. Dörpfeld now admits that this was the case. But he contends that the arrangement was an exceptional one, intended only for these farces of the Phlyakes. For these performances, he admits, wooden stages were erected, and the exhibition took place partly on the stage and partly in the orchestra. But the regular dramas—the tragedies and the comedies—were performed solely in the orchestra. But all this is the purest assumption. There is not a particle of evidence to support it. It is altogether improbable that a different arrangement should have been adopted in the case of these farces, and in the case of the regular drama. Moreover, as we have already pointed out, in some of the paintings the stage on which the Phlyakes are performing is obviously a permanent erection, and not a mere temporary platform of wood. It seems certain therefore that the Greeks of South Italy, during the third century B.C., provided a stage for their actors in all

dramatic performances; and this being so, we can hardly doubt that the same was the case in Greece generally.

I have now mentioned the most important of the archaeological discoveries which seem to be inconsistent with Dörpfeld's theory. To enumerate them all would make this paper too long. The facts already brought forward, combined with the testimony of Vitruvius and the other ancient writers, are sufficient, I think, to prove the existence of a stage during the period we are discussing. I will now consider the reasons which induce Dörpfeld, in spite of this apparently overwhelming evidence, to deny the existence of such a stage. And first of all it is necessary to bear in mind this fact, that by the beginning of the third century the Greek drama had altered considerably in character. The chorus had become a mere shadow of its former self. It was often discarded altogether. When retained, its functions were practically confined to singing choral interludes between the successive acts. It had no longer any real share in the action of the play. Apparently it seldom or never appeared upon the stage. Pollux and Vitruvius both say that the stage was confined to the actors, and that the chorus remained in the orchestra. We may ask, what was done in the case of reproductions of the old plays of the fifth century. The only old plays reproduced at this time were those of Sophocles and Euripides. When their tragedies were revived, the text was probably rearranged so as to reduce the choral part to a series of mere interludes. We know for a fact, on the testimony of Dion Chrysostomus, that the same sort of thing was done in the first century A.D.; and we may therefore assume that it had begun to be done as early as the third century B.C. The fact that the chorus was occasionally discarded altogether in the third century is a proof that even when it was retained its part was an insignificant one.

To turn now to Dörpfeld's objections. He says that these proscenia of the Vitruvian type would have been too narrow for the performance of a play. But their narrowness has often been much exaggerated, owing to false calculations. None of them, as it now appears, were less than about ten feet in depth. But a stage ten feet deep and fifty or sixty feet long would be amply sufficient for the performance of a Greek play, when the chorus was confined to the orchestra. The fact has been proved by actual experience. Most readers of this

paper have probably seen the plays produced in the theatre at Bradfeld. The stage there is only ten feet deep and thirty feet long. Yet any one who has been present at one of these performances must admit that there was plenty of room upon the stage. Dr. Gray tells me that on one occasion, at the funeral procession in the *Alcestis*, as many as sixty people were bought upon the stage at the same time, and without any difficulty. It is clear then that the Vitruvian stage, which was just as deep and twice as long as that at Bradfeld, would have been large enough to accommodate both the actors and the chorus in an ancient Greek drama, and would have been more than large enough for the performance of a play in which the chorus was practically confined to the orchestra.

Dörpfeld further objects that these Hellenistic proscenia were too high to have served as stages. Their height, as we have seen, varied from 8 to 13 feet. No doubt a stage of this size would appear excessively large in a modern theatre. But in an ancient theatre the case was different. There were no spectators sitting immediately in front of the stage. The audience was excluded from the orchestra. Further than this, the theatres were of enormous size. At Athens the spectator in the top row of the auditorium was 300 feet from the stage, and 100 feet above it. To such a spectator the twelve-foot proscenium must have seemed a comparatively small object. In theatres of this kind, where the majority of the audience were raised a great height from the ground, it would obviously be an advantage to have the stage as high as possible, consistently with not spoiling the view of the people in the lowest tiers. As for the objection that the chorus would not have been able to converse with the actors, if they had been separated from them by so great a difference of level, this is answered by the fact already mentioned, that by the beginning of the third century the chorus had ceased to take any share in the dialogue, and merely performed the same sort of functions as the band in a modern theatre. There is also this point to be considered. The highest proscenium of which we have any trace was 13 feet, the lowest about 8 feet. If then it is urged that a proscenium of 13 feet would have been too high for a stage, we may reply that it is far more difficult to suppose that a proscenium of only 8 feet could have served as a background.

Another objection of Dörpfeld's is that

in the existing proscenia there is no trace of any communication between the stage and the orchestra. Now such communication, as we have already pointed out, was seldom required at this time, owing to the exclusion of the chorus from all share in the action. When it was wanted, it was supplied by temporary wooden steps. Pollux (IV. 127) says that the actors, when they enter by the orchestra, ascend the stage by steps. Athenaeus, the writer on military engines (p. 29, Wesch.) speaks of the steps which were placed in front of the proscenium for the actors. Moreover steps of this kind are found depicted in old paintings, along with other theatrical accessories, such as masks and costumes (Wieseler, *Denkmäl.* ix. 15, iv. 5). In several of the Magna-Graecia vases they are represented in their place, in front of the stage. As to their existence there can be no doubt. Dörpfeld says further that if the stage was twelve feet high, the steps would have been so long as to project far into the orchestra, and produce an ugly appearance. But this result might easily have been avoided by placing the steps parallel with the stage. At Tralles, where there is a stage of the Roman type, but much higher than usual, such steps are actually found, lying parallel to the stage, and on each side of the door which leads out from the front wall of the stage into the orchestra. A similar arrangement might easily have been adopted in the Hellenistic theatres.

In support of his theory Dörpfeld brings forward an argument based on the theatre at Megalopolis. The arrangement of this theatre was peculiar. The place of the usual stage-buildings was taken by a large hall or meeting-place called the Thersilion. The front of the Thersilion was like an ordinary temple façade; and at the bottom was a flight of five steps, each about 13 inches high. To one side of the Thersilion was a long building, apparently called the *Σκηνοθήκη*, and probably used for storing the scenic decorations. In this building are the remains of a low wall, running in the same straight line as the bottom of the flight of steps, and about the same length as the stage must have been. Dörpfeld supposes that this wall was used for working a *scaena ductilis*. He supposes that, when dramas were to be performed, a wooden scene-painting was pushed out from this wall immediately in front of the lowest step of the Thersilion, and served as a background. The actors in front of it must have been on the floor of the orchestra.

But this arrangement appears to be impossible. If the back scene had been placed in the position he supposes, immediately in front of the steep flight of steps, the representation of dramas under such circumstances would have been little short of ridiculous. The actor entering from the back-scene would have had to come down these steps to reach the threshold of the door. At first little more than his legs would have been seen, at any rate by the spectators in the upper part of the theatre. His whole person would hardly have become visible, until he reached the lowest step. For a tragic actor to make his entrance in this way would have been far from dignified. Moreover, in plays like the *Hippolytus* and the *Alcestis*, where a sick woman on a couch had to be carried out, it would have been extremely awkward to have to carry her down a flight of steps as steep as those at Megalopolis. The eccyclema would of course have been quite impossible to work. Although then the *Σκανοθήκη* at Megalopolis may very likely have been used for the storage of scenery, it is clear that this scenery, when used, cannot have been put up in the place which Dörpfeld suggests.

Another argument against the ordinary theory is based by Dörpfeld on the remains of the theatre at Delos. The structure of this theatre was also very peculiar. The stage-buildings consisted of a long rectangular erection. In front of it was a proscenium of the ordinary type. The peculiarity consisted in the fact that this same proscenium was continued, though in a modified form, round the sides and back of the building. Dörpfeld argues from this that the proscenium cannot have been a stage, as it would be absurd to erect a stage all round the stage-building. But if there is any validity in this argument, it might be advanced just as effectively against his own theory. Supposing, as he does, that the proscenium was the scenic background, it would be equally absurd to provide a scenic background on all sides of the stage-building. But as a matter of fact, though the arrangement at Delos was peculiar, there is nothing in it which conflicts with the ordinary opinion about the Greek stage. It is true that the stage-buildings were surrounded on all sides by a raised platform; but the front portion of this platform differed considerably from the parts on the sides and at the back, and was clearly intended for a different purpose. In front it was an ordinary proscenium of the Vitruvian type. It was supported by a series of columns; and the spaces between

the columns were filled up with boards or slabs. On the sides and at the back, on the other hand, it rested on square pillars, and not on columns; and the spaces between these pillars were left open. It is evident therefore that the front part was intended to serve as a stage; the continuation on the sides and back formed a sort of portico or colonnade, and was no doubt designed as a shelter from the rain. Vitruvius expressly advises architects to construct porticoes of this kind close to the stage-buildings, for purposes of shelter. In the Athenian theatre the back of the stage-buildings was furnished with such a portico. The fact that at Delos this portico was continued round the sides of the stage-buildings, as well as the back, and that it was of the same height as the proscenium in front, is no doubt peculiar. It was apparently an architectural experiment. But it throws no light on the stage question one way or the other. The front part of the erection at Delos was just like an ordinary proscenium. If therefore the proscenium in other theatres was intended for a stage, it must have been intended for a stage at Delos.

The proscenium in a Greek theatre was also called the *λογεῖον* or 'speaking-place.' It is so called by Vitruvius; and the word *λογεῖον* occurs in Delian inscriptions as early as the third century B.C. This being so, we are naturally led to ask how this fact is to be reconciled with Dörpfeld's theory. If the proscenium was the background, and not the stage, why should it have been called *λογεῖον*, or the 'speaking-place?' Dörpfeld makes the following answer. He says that in Greek tragedies the gods used to make their appearance on the palace roof, or in other words, on the proscenium; and that it was therefore called the *θεολογεῖον*, and for shortness the *λογεῖον*. But this statement will not bear examination. There are several passages in the extant dramas which show that when the gods made their appearance on high, they appeared, not on the palace roof, but above it. Cp. *Herc. Fur.* 817 *ὑπὲρ δόμων*, Eur. *El.* 1233 *δόμων ὑπὲρ ἀκροτάτων*, *Ion* 1549 *οἶκον θυοδόκων ὑπερτελής*. There is also the scene at the end of the *Orestes*, where the palace roof is already occupied by Orestes, Pylades, and Hermione; and Apollo and Helen suddenly make their appearance above them, and are described as *ἐν αἰθέρος πτυχαῖς* (*Or.* 1631). In fact, there are only about nine instances in the extant dramas, in which the palace roof, or the roof of a house, is known to have been used by the actors. If then the proscenium

was really the back-scene, the top of it must have been called the *λογεῖον* or 'speaking-place,' because the actors did *not* usually speak from it. Nine instances out of forty-four dramas are not sufficient to justify us in regarding it as a regular speaking-place.

I have now gone through the most important of the arguments which can be brought forward on both sides concerning this stage question, as far as it relates to the Hellenistic period. Some points have necessarily been omitted, for want of space. But they would not affect the result very much either way. I think that, as far as at any rate as the Hellenistic period is concerned, the evidence in favour of a stage altogether outweighs any considerations which can be adduced on the other side.

II.

I now come to the earlier and more important period, the period of the fourth and fifth centuries, when the drama was still in reality a choral drama. Of course the position of the chorus differed very much at different stages during this epoch. At the commencement of the fifth century it was all-important; during the latter half of the fourth century it had begun to sink into obscurity. Still, speaking generally, we may regard the fifth and fourth centuries as a time when the chorus still played a significant part. As a consequence the conditions of a dramatic performance were very different from what they afterwards became throughout the Hellenistic and Roman epochs.

Let us consider first what is the literary evidence for the existence of a stage during these two centuries. For the fourth century we have the testimony of Aristotle. Aristotle in many places (*Poet.* c. 12, *Problem.* xix. 15 and 49) speaks of the songs of the actors as *τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς*, as opposed to the songs of the chorus, *τὰ τοῦ χοροῦ*. Further he speaks of the actor's part as being played *ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς*. His words are *τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν* (*Poet.* c. 24). According to the usual interpretation of these passages he means that the actors played their part 'on the stage' and sang their songs 'from the stage.' Dörpfeld however proposes to translate *ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς* as 'from the background,' and *ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς* as 'at the background,' and denies that these two expressions imply the existence of a stage. Now the translations which he proposes may be possible, as far as the Greek is concerned. But is it possible that the passages cited

could have had this meaning in Aristotle. Aristotle's words seem to imply clearly that there was some essential and conspicuous difference in the position of the actors and of the chorus respectively. But if, as Dörpfeld thinks, they all performed together in the orchestra, there would be no such conspicuous difference. It is true that the actors might, for the most part, be rather nearer to the stage-buildings; and that the chorus might, for the most part, be rather more distant from them. But practically they would be standing in the same place; there would be no pronounced difference. It seems to me that Aristotle's words are only explicable on the supposition that the actors appeared upon a stage, the chorus in the orchestra.

For the fifth century we have the evidence supplied by the use of the word *ἀναβαίνειν* in Aristophanes. In three places, when an actor comes on, he is said *ἀναβαίνειν*, though the action is supposed to be taking place on the level ground (*Knights*, 148, *Acharn.* 732, *Wasps*, 1342). It has been proposed in these places to translate *ἀναβαίνειν* as 'come on' and not 'come up.' But such a usage of the word is otherwise unexampled in Greek. Moreover, in one place—*Knights*, 148—it is proved to be impossible. Here Demosthenes cries out to the sausage-seller *ἀνάβαινε δεῖρο*, 'mount up here.' He then shows him the people, the markets, the harbours, and tells him he will be lord of all. But this is not enough. He says, 'You have not seen all yet.' and adds (169), *ἀλλ' ἐπανάβηθι καπὶ τούτων τοῦτ',* 'mount up on to this table also,' and then proceeds to show him the islands round about. These words show conclusively that *ἀναβαίνειν* must mean 'mount up' in the previous passage, and likewise determine its meaning in the other parallel passages. They also render it probable that in two other places (*Wasps*, 1514, *Eccles.* 1152), where an actor leaving the scene of action is said *καταβαίνειν*, the reference is to the stage.

The evidence just cited from Aristotle and Aristophanes appears to prove that there was a stage for the actors in the fourth and fifth centuries, as well as in the later period. We have now to consider what was the size and structure of that stage. Here the chief evidence is that derived from the extant dramas. These dramas have been carefully ransacked during the last few years, and several treatises have been published containing every passage that can throw light upon the stage question. It is not likely, therefore, that

any new points will now be discovered. Much of the evidence that has been brought forward on both sides of the question is really of very little value. It depends upon a too scrupulous and literal interpretation of the text, or upon a forgetfulness of the fact that there is much that is conventional in all dramatic performances. For instance, when old men are approaching the palace and complain of the steepness of the way (Eur. *El.* 489, *Ion.* 727), this fact is supposed to be a proof of the existence of a stage. It is suggested that they enter by the orchestra, and that the ascent of which they complain is the ascent on to the stage. But if this was so, these old men must have timed their entrance very exactly so as to reach the foot of the stage just when they came to the verses in which they began to grumble about the ascent. There would be something rather ludicrous in the whole proceeding. It seems more natural to assume that their remarks had no reference to the stage, and that the steepness of which they complain was left to the imagination of the spectators.

It will be best then to disregard all evidence of this inconclusive kind, and to confine our attention to those points which really throw light on the question as to the relative position of actors and chorus during the fifth century. The following facts seem to be established. It is evident that the chorus sometimes entered and sometimes departed by the back-scene. Instances are not very common; there are only about six in the extant dramas; still they undoubtedly occur. It is evident, too, that the actors sometimes entered by the orchestra. They must have done so when they entered along with the chorus, and they probably did so when they entered in chariots or waggons. This gives us about ten cases where the actors apparently came in by the orchestra. They may have done so much more frequently, but these ten cases are the only ones for which there is any distinct evidence. On the other hand it was a common practice for actors and chorus to depart together through the orchestra. Many plays end in this way, such as the *Eumenides* and the *Septem*. In Aristophanes it is a favourite form of conclusion for actors and chorus to go off through the orchestra in a joyful procession. The general conclusion then is this, that it was not uncommon in the fifth century for the actors to enter or exit by the orchestra, and for the chorus to enter or exit by the back-scene. But when we pass on from these entrances and exits, and look at

the rest of the play, we find that it is very unusual, during the course of the action, for the chorus to come on the stage, and for the actors to go into the orchestra. The instances in which, apart from exits and entrances, the actors and the chorus can be shown to have come into physical contact with one another, are remarkably few. I mean such cases as when the chorus try to prevent Creon from seizing Antigone, or when the chorus of farmers in the *Peace* mount the stage in order to draw the statue of Peace out of the well. Opinions may differ as to individual cases, but the total number of instances does not amount, at the outside, to more than about fifteen. The conclusion we may draw from this evidence is as follows. There was nothing in the theatre of the fifth century to prevent the actors from moving into the place occupied by the chorus, and there was nothing to prevent the chorus moving into the place occupied by the actors. But except when they were entering or leaving the scene of action, they do not appear to have usually done so, but to have kept apart from one another.

Now what does all this prove as regards the stage? On the one hand it proves conclusively that the stage of the fifth century cannot have been as high as the ordinary Hellenistic stage. If the fifth century stage had been twelve feet above the level of the orchestra, there would have been the greatest awkwardness in actors and chorus passing from one place to the other. But on the other hand it does not in any way exclude the possibility of there having been a stage of some kind or another. If we suppose that the fifth century stage was lower and deeper than that of later times, and that it was connected with the orchestra by a long flight of steps, or by a sloping ascent, then the extant dramas might have been acted on such a stage without the slightest difficulty. Actors and chorus could easily pass from stage to orchestra, or vice versa. The fact that they so seldom come into contact with one another, except when entering or leaving the scene of action, is a strong confirmation of the view that there was a stage of some kind, and that it was reserved in most cases for the actors, while the usual place for the chorus was in the orchestra.

We have lastly to consider how far these results are confirmed by archaeological evidence. Unfortunately there is very little of this. Most of the stage-buildings of which remains have been preserved belong to the third and later centuries. But

we still have the foundation walls of the stage-buildings erected by Lycurgus at Athens about the middle of the fourth century. And the oldest stage-buildings at Eretria apparently belong to the same period. As the two buildings are very similar in shape, it will be sufficient if we confine our attention to those at Athens. The Athenian stage-buildings of the fourth century consisted of a long rectangular structure, with wings at each end on the side fronting the auditorium. These wings projected about 17 feet, and stood about 70 feet apart. Obviously they were intended to enclose the stage. The important point to notice here is this. When in later times, probably in the second century B.C., a proscenium of the Vitruvian type was erected at Athens, these wings were brought back about 6 feet, so that the stage which they enclosed might not be more than about 10 feet deep, the usual depth of the Vitruvian stage. The fact then that the wings of the old Lycurgean building projected 17 feet instead of 11, appears to show conclusively that the stage of that period was considerably deeper than the Hellenistic stage, and that its depth was more like 16 feet than 10. But since it was deeper, it must have been lower. If it had been 12 feet high and 16 feet deep, the spectators on the lower benches would not have been able to see down to the back of it. We see then that the evidence of the oldest stage-buildings at Athens, as far as it goes, is distinctly in favour of the view that the early stage at Athens was considerably deeper and considerably lower than that of later times.

As to the exact height of this early stage nothing can be determined. Obviously the main purpose of the stage must have been to make the actors clearly visible to the audience, and to prevent the view of them being impeded by the chorus in the orchestra. A few feet of elevation would be sufficient to produce this result. Dörpfeld, it is well known, denies that the view of the actors would have been obstructed by the chorus standing in front of them. But if we look at the plan of a Greek theatre, it is clear that if the actors were in the orchestra, and the chorus stood in front of them, the chorus must have obstructed the view of a great many of the spectators. In fact we have ancient testimony to that effect. The tragic chorus stood in three rows. We are told that the worst and most ungainly choristers (the *λαυρόσταιται*) were placed in the middle row, because they were not clearly seen by the spectators. Yet however the

chorus stood, there could only have been *one* row between these *λαυρόσταιται* and the audience. If then the actors had been in the orchestra with *three* rows of choristers in front of them, the obstruction to the view would obviously have been very much greater. And it is important to remember that the spectators who would have suffered most by this arrangement would have been the occupants of the lowest tiers of seats. But these seats were reserved as seats of honour, and were confined to high officials or to distinguished citizens. Hence, if Dörpfeld's theory is correct, the distinction which the Athenians bestowed upon their leading citizens cannot have been a very enviable one. The benches which they assigned to them must have been the worst seats for view in the whole theatre.

Dörpfeld further objects that if we suppose a low stage at Athens in the fifth century, the history of the Greek stage becomes a very fantastic and peculiar affair. We have first a stage of five or six feet, then in the Hellenistic period it suddenly rises to twelve feet, then later on in the Roman period it suddenly drops to five. His own theory, he says, is much simpler. There was no stage at all till the Roman period, and then a stage of five feet was erected. But the figures given by Dörpfeld are quite fallacious. There was no sudden rise and fall of the kind he describes. We know nothing about the height of the stage during the fifth and fourth centuries. But when we come to the Hellenistic period, we find that the stage was not fixed at 12 feet, but varied from 8 to 13. There was no settled rule. Architects naturally tried new experiments. Different heights were tried in different places. Probably there was just the same variety and love of experiment in the fifth and fourth centuries. Again, when we come to the Roman period, we do not find that the height of the stage was suddenly fixed at 5 feet. Some interesting plans and measurements of certain Asia Minor theatres have lately been published (Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*), which throw a new light on this question. Many of these theatres, such as those of Termessos and Sagalassos, were among the earliest Greek theatres to be Romanised. But we find that the height of the stage adopted was not, in most cases, 5 feet, but from 8 to 9 feet. Moreover the stage was not placed in the middle of the orchestra, as in the later Roman fashion, but remained in just the same place as the old Hellenistic pro-

cenium. The orchestra still formed nearly a complete circle. These examples show how gradual was the process by which the Greek theatre was Romanised. If we compare the Graeco-Roman theatre of Termessos with the purely Greek theatre of Delos, the comparison is most instructive. Both theatres are almost identical in size, structure and general arrangement. The auditorium in each extends round two-thirds of the orchestra; the orchestra in each forms nearly a complete circle. The stage-buildings stand well back from the auditorium. The front line of the stage at Termessos is in exactly the same position as the front line of the proscenium at Delos. The height of the stage at Termessos is about 8 feet, and the height of the proscenium at

Delos is almost exactly the same. The only difference of importance between the two theatres is this, that the Roman stage at Termessos is longer and rather deeper than the Hellenistic proscenium at Delos. Now the stage at Termessos was really a stage. There is no doubt about it. The upper parts have been well preserved, and show clearly what its purpose was. Since then the stage at Termessos is known to have been used by the actors, can we doubt that the proscenium at Delos, which stands in exactly the same part of the theatre, and differs only in being shorter and a few feet shallower, was also used for the same purpose?

A. E. HAIGH.

THE USE OF PLACE-NAMES IN HISTORY.

AN ILLUSTRATION.

In the attempt to solve topographical problems of antiquity, what may perhaps be called Geographical Tradition is one of the methods of research not infrequently employed, at least in addition to or in default of better. This Tradition, or the use of Place-names as a proof of the site of some event, has for instance been used as a favourite instrument in dealing with the well-nigh desperate topographical problems of the second Punic War. And indeed if ever a historian be justified in employing all the means at his disposal, good, bad, and indifferent, it is surely when these particular problems confront him and demand some attempt at solution. Controversy is the happy mother of a family of arguments of this kind. Thus local Tradition and local place-names have been recently involved to demonstrate the Little St. Bernard to have been the Pass whereby Hannibal crossed the Alps. They have been used to support the (to me) more than doubtful Sanguineto site for the Battle of Lake Trasimene. And recently in studying the question of the site of the Battle of the Metaurus river I have been again and again confronted with this same question, viz: what is the value of this local Tradition? In the absence of many precise topographical details in our literary authorities for this battle, the question of the justification of the appeal to the place-names of the district becomes even

more urgent than in cases where, as in the Trasimene question, our literary information is perhaps but too plentiful. The district on both banks of the Metaurus teems with names of villages, of hills, of bridges, which might conceivably be dragged in to support some theory of the site of the battle. Four such sites at least have been suggested, two on the right, two on the left, bank of the river, between Urbania and the mouth near Fano. In three of these the neighbouring place-names may be urged as additional evidence. It is not my purpose now to discuss this question of the site. That perhaps I may hope to do later. But this which is really a question preliminary to such a discussion seemed to demand some attempt at an estimation of its value, to clear the ground before the main struggle, if this may haply be the result. Even 'finds' too may be partly included in this general subject of the value of Tradition, when all that is left to us is not the 'find' but only a traditional account of the locality of the 'find.'

It is hardly worth while to repeat here the literary account of the battle of the Metaurus, as given in Livy xxvii. 43-49 supplemented by Polybius xi 1-3, Appian, Hannib. 52, Dio-Zonaras, ix. 9, and various passages in such authors as Frontinus, Florus, Eutropius, Valerius Maximus and Ampelius. All put together, the information affords

much scope for topographical controversy in virtue of its deficiency. This much however is directly asserted. Hasdrubal's camp was pitched 500 paces distant from the Roman, possibly (this is a point of dispute), near the city of Sena. On his discovery of the arrival of Nero in Livius's camp (i.e. accepting the tale of the great march, which is quite another question and does not affect my purpose in this paper, though it does concern the topographical dispute,) Hasdrubal retreated in the night up the banks of the Metaurus, seeking vainly to find a ford. On being overtaken by the Romans next day he was compelled to fight, and after a desperate engagement Nero's strategy won the day for the Romans. Hasdrubal, seeing all was lost, charged the foe and fell fighting bravely. His army, save for a few survivors whom it was not thought worth while to pursue, was cut to pieces or made prisoner.

In the year 1613 one Sebastian Macci 'Durantinus' published at Venice a work in four books entitled 'De Bello Asdrubalis.' Book iii (pp. 34-56) is a comprehensive effort to supplement and correct the literary account of the Metaurus Battle by the use of local place-names. It is necessary to make the preliminary remark that Macci intended his work to be a serious contribution to history. He had previously published a disquisition 'De historia' which proposed to reduce the art of writing history and the principles of evidence to a scientific certainty of rule and demonstration, even as Aristotle had treated Rhetoric. And Macci's 'De Bello Asdrubalis' seems to have been written to exemplify his Theory. In his Dedication too Macci explains fully his intent is to fill a gap in historical studies and supplement the literary sources. After commenting on the meagre information supplied us by Livy and Polybius he continues: *Quapropter ego, cui potissimum tota haec Metaurensis regio ab summo Apennini dorso usque ad mare Adriaticum probe esset nota, non parum semper dolui hanc tantam nostram provinciam...fecisse historiae jacturam; ita nempe scripta est ut per jocum quodammodo ad nos transmissa esse videatur.* Wherefore 'ad hanc unam Asdrubalis historiam ex vetustis monumentis eruendam omnes nervos intendi... Non discessi ab Livio, sed quae illi in hac re deesse sensi, ad historiae integritatem superaddidi etc.'

In fact, the author has set out in all good faith to give for the first time a full and complete account of the battle of the River

Metaurus, supplementing the deficiencies of the literary authorities by a use of local tradition, local names, local finds. This account I propose in the remaining part of this paper to give, though compressed and summarised, and for this reason: not because it becomes at times so amusing as even to raise the question of the author's good faith, were this not (as I have said) so clearly beyond dispute: but because it is by far the best illustration known to me of the method of this use of tradition and place-names to help to decide topographical controversy, and of the extreme danger and uncertainty of the whole proceeding. Perhaps it is not fair to argue 'Ab hoc uno disce omnes.' But I do think it a lesson and an amusing lesson which may teach the eager topographical controversialist not to place reliance on 'Traditional sites,' when the tradition or local place-name is opposed to, or even uncorroborated by, literary evidence. And also I hope it will be of some assistance in any future discussion as to the site of the battle.

The method Macci employs of argument from place-name to event is so evident from his actual account as to need no introductory explanation. I proceed then to give that account shortly, as an illustration of the use of place-names and tradition in history. Where I have been able to identify the places of Macci's time with those existing to-day, I enclose the modern name in square brackets, as also one or two remarks of my own. The rest is but an English version and a summary of Macci's own account.

The Roman consuls then (according to this author) were encamped at Sena. Hasdrubal's own camp however was on the Metaurus, 16 Roman miles away to the North. That only 500 paces separated the camps is clearly impossible, when we consider the size of the armies and the strategic abilities of the generals. 'Even if Sena could mean the district, and not the town, yet the boundary of the district to the north is the River Cesano, 3 miles from Sena. Thus if Livius had occupied the whole district, 13 miles would still have separated his camp from Hasdrubal's.' Thus the river, in any case, "unde aquabantur," was the Cesano. [It is interesting to note that this interpretation of 'Ad Senam' is at least suggested as early as 1613 in the annals of the controversy. Oehler, for instance, seems to think Tarducci invented it in 1888, vid. 'Der letzte Feldzug des Barkiden Hasdrubal,' p. 6-7.]

Hasdrubal advanced over the Metaurus

a tranquil and undisturbed existence. 'Est autem Carthicoetum sub Fano, ab eoque leges accipit. Sed adversus Fanenses qui Romanorum coloni sunt, non secus hostilem retinet animum quam Carthaginienses quorum colonia Carthicoetum est olim adversus Romanos.'

Hasdrubal however has been left on the the Mons Maurus. The Romans surrounded this on three sides, but on the fourth, where this hill abutted on to others, there was left a way of escape. Driven therefore from this refuge after a fierce struggle which cost the Romans dear, Hasdrubal 'se recepit in alios eminentiores colles.' Hither also the Romans pursued and brought him once more to bay 3 miles distant or a little more from Mons Maurus.

So desperate was the resistance offered here, so memorable the struggle 'ut aeternum colli nomen dederit. Nam postmodum ibi conditum fuit oppidulum, quod a patratu belli facinore Mons belli fuit appellatum.' [M. Bello]. And by this time the Romans knew so well their foeman's skill in flight to the neighbouring hills, that they stationed troops on the surrounding heights to intercept escape. Thus they left the river valley open and gave Hasdrubal an opportunity which he seized. Escaping with the survivors of the fight from the Mons Belli he descended to the valley and crossed the Metaurus by a ford. But Hanno his lieutenant here parted from him and fled higher up into the hills towards the valley of the Cesano. The Odyssey of chase splits into two. The consuls, themselves pursuing after Hasdrubal, detached a squadron of horse to take Hanno. His fortunes we now follow first.

When Hanno spied the pursuing horse, he halted on a hill three miles away from the Mount of War to await their onslaught. But with them came thronging the armed peasants of the district to join the chase. Whereupon Hanno fled in hot haste to other neighbouring hills. Yet one thing he left behind him on the hill where first he prepared to stand, and that was his name. In after years a town was founded thereon named Urgeannum [Orciano]. For as the squadron parted from the consuls to pursue him, this was the order they gave its leader. 'Urge Annonem.' And still from the spire of the church of this place may be seen suspended by iron chains an elephant's tusk, found in the fields near by when the fight was done. [Surely this is unsurpassed of its kind.]

Meanwhile some Roman cohorts had been

sent from Picenum and the Cesano to take up a position on the hills to stay Hanno's flight. Here where they halted, a mile away from the Hill of the Pursuit of Hanno, another town was built in later years. 'dictum et felici auspicio Mondavium, quasi montem Avium, haud secus ac si aves adixissent.' Destroyed by Alaric, it was afterwards rebuilt. [Ruins of Mondavio.]

But Hanno had fled to be again overtaken by the horse two miles farther up the Metaurus valley, on yet another hill. Here too a town founded in after years bore the name Barchium [Barchi] 'a Barchinis militibus ibi superatis.' Near this is a castle called in the Italian tongue Reforziatum [Reforzata]. For here the peasants reinforced the horse. Thus with increased numbers they pursued yet again after Hanno towards Umbria. At last on a hill which rose some seven miles away he and all with him were overtaken and cut to pieces. So afterwards there sprang up here a great and rich city named Fractae, 'ab fractis Poenis.' [Fratte.]

Now we return to follow Hasdrubal's fortunes.

After fording the Metaurus he had barely reached the Via Flaminia before the consuls came up with him. Another stubborn engagement ensued, but fortune continued to smile on the Romans, who were elated already by their former successes. Hasdrubal therefore 'fugam Romanis minime opinantibus capit.' In commemoration of these events, 'for an eternal memorial of the Roman dead, P. Sempronius Tuditanus three years afterwards founded Forum Sempronii' [Fossombrone.]

Hasdrubal fled up the Via Flaminia, and outstripping his pursuers, reached the point where the roads divided and he had a choice of ways. One road—the Via Flaminia—led through the Furlo pass to the Umbrian great central plain. The other to his right followed the upper course of the Metaurus towards the Apennine chain and Etruria. Hasdrubal chose the latter, thinking thereby the more easily to leave the Romans behind him. The Furlo also was so narrow and dangerous a ravine and the river's banks were so precipitous, that though this was crossed by a bridge, the way was yet most unsuitable for an army in hurried flight. The bridge however was attempted by some African troops 'et nunc quoque Pons Maurus appellatur.' [There is no bridge in the Furlo cutting to-day.]

Hasdrubal, continuing his flight up the other river, the Metaurus, came 'ad parvum

Hospitium, situm in quodam fluminis tortuoso flexu, quod nunc vulgata lingua Hospitalectum nuncupatur.' Here a road struck up to the hills on the right leading to Urbinum [Urbino]. But when the fugitive looked up the road, he saw that the cohorts of Urbinum had gathered in force and lining the ridge of hills prevented all escape. Forced therefore to continue up the river he crossed it by a ford, and afterwards came upon a bridge which he crossed, and stayed there seeking to break down the bridge to hinder the foe from pursuing. But a few of the speediest of the Roman horse rode up too soon and Hasdrubal fled all the quicker till he overtook the rest of his men who had gone on before. Then they came to the place called Castrum Firmidianum, vulgo Firminianum. [Fermignano.] This name however has nothing to do with these events, but is so called from the villa of a Roman citizen named Firmidius, 'as is proved by a very ancient inscription dug up here but a few days ago.' Here there is a bridge over the Metaurus, and between the town and the bridge an old storied tower, 'inexpugnabilis nisi aenea adhibeantur tormenta.' This tower is now the property of the great-grandsons of a brother of Polydore Virgil of Urbino, 'rerum Anglicanarum historici elegantissimi.' When Hasdrubal crossed the river here, certainly the bridge was in existence. 'De Turri non ausim affirmare.' He crossed the bridge in question, hoping to reach Umbria. Also the Urbinatæ cohorts prevented any further progress up towards the mountains. Thus they kept the fugitives in the valley and made the pursuit easier.

[Then follows a long glowing account of and panegyric on Urbino—after which digression—]

Hasdrubal crossed the bridge therefore and marched for Aqualania [Acqualagna]. This is so far useful as showing that Tarducci's Fermignano-Acqualagna road was thought more easy at the beginning of the XVIIth century for travellers to the south than that over the Furlo.] But he had barely escaped one mile from Firmidianum when the Romans overtook him, fell on his rear, and forced him to fight. This attack the Carthaginians repulsed, and the Romans drew back and waited for reinforcements. They saw that the country was so far roused that Hasdrubal had no chance of ultimate escape. The Punic general indeed could but fortify a position on a hill at a little distance, in the breathing-space thus given him, and flee no further. Such good use

however did he make of his time that on arrival of reinforcements the Romans found his position impregnable. They therefore sat down before the hill and determined to starve him into attacking them.

Now indeed was the Carthaginian plight a desperate one. In vain the fugitives planned ways of escape. 'Deus permittit interdum meliores vexari ac saevissimis opprimi Tyrannorum iniquitatibus, quo acquisitæ victoriae laetitia sit maior, ac tandem recognoscant Dei benignitate se gravissimis calamitatibus fuisse liberatos.' When his provisions were finally exhausted Hasdrubal charged down from the hill upon the foe in the plain beneath as the day was breaking. When after a desperate encounter he saw the day was finally lost, he spurred his horse into the thickest of the foe and fell.

His body was recovered from among the slain and carried off by the consuls for burial in a suitable and conspicuous spot elsewhere. But the rest of those who had fallen in the fray were buried on the hill where they fell. And ever since the hill has been called the Mons Asdrubalis, and to-day the rustics name it M. Asdrubaldo. [? M. Arcello.] To the plain where so many noble Romans had fallen there came in following days many women to bewail their dead, and it preserves the name *Planctus Mulierum* to this day. Here too by the stream that flows at the base of the hill were found many years after a helm and a richly decorated piece of horse armour thought to be Hasdrubal's own, and now preserved in the Prince's Armoury at Pisaurum.

Still some remnants of the Carthaginian force had escaped, and fled over the river. But no sooner were they come safe to the opposite bank than the leaders fell out as to the more expedient way of flight. One band turned to the right and climbed a neighbouring hill—called the Mons Bradorum [M. Brando]—where, as further retreat was cut off by the Urbinatæ cohorts, they entrenched themselves. The others fled about three miles up the river and halted on the plain now called the plain of San Silvestro. Here they built a rampart which still remains, and is called the Vallum Asdrubalis. [This is the great piece of evidence for the San Silvestro site.] Others of them built another similar fortification just on the very banks of the river, and destroyed the bridge over it. This was called afterwards the Pons Cratium 'quia post] dirutos arcus crates interpositae fuerunt ne eius usus intermitteretur.'

All this resistance was useless. On the consuls' return to Firmidianum, troops were despatched which quickly put the refugees of M. Brando to the sword, while they themselves proceeded against the two camps in the plain of S. Silvestro and destroyed the garrisons after one final and fierce fight.

All that now remained was to build the Tomb of Hasdrubal on some conspicuous spot to commemorate their victory. On a lofty hill they built it, and this, known before as the Collis Silicis, ever after kept the name of the Mons Asdrubalis. [Clearly Macci found two hills bearing this name.] The Tomb was restored and amplified by the famous Roman architect P. Fuficius, and its inscription, though partly illegible owing to the wearing away of the stone, is still

preserved: *‘Horum omnium vetustissima eius inscriptio satis luculenta atque elegans, licet in multis exesa, effossa inter Castellī rudera, fidem minime dubiam facit.’*

Many and glorious are the monuments and buildings of the famous city and district of Urbino, but greatest among them is Hasdrubal's Tomb. Thither the princes come, and the Antiquarians are gathered together. *‘Visitur hoc tam nobile tamque vetustum Asdrubalis sepulchrum, una cum propinquis propugnaculis, a summis Principibus ac viris antiquitatis rerumque gestarum studiosissimis.’*

How much then may be argued from local Tradition and the use of place-names to demonstrate the site of the battle?

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REPETITIONS IN EMPEDOKLES.

THE reader of Empedokles, as the text is restored by Stein, cannot fail to be struck by the repetition of certain phrases and lines. The recurrent use of convenient phrases is characteristic of the epic style which Empedokles affects, and in this way the repetition of many phrases is accounted for. The phrase¹ *ἅλλ' ἄγε*, ll. 19, 74, 96 (cf. 130, 262), will serve as an example. The first half of ll. 36, 61, 76, and the last half of ll. 112, 239, 140, are other illustrations of what may be expected in an 'epic' writer, and deserve no special consideration here.

A second class of apparent repetitions may be dismissed with a word, namely the repetition of a line for emphasis, with distinct statement of the fact that it is repeated (e.g. ll. 60-62 repeated 75-77). It amounts to the same thing when a thesis is stated, and then repeated at the close of the discussion. In this way I explain ll. 66 and 72.

Thirdly, there are numerous passages that impress the reader as repetitions because they deal with much the same thought, although there is a studied effort to put this thought in different language. In ll. 173 and 248 the language of 67 and 116 almost reappears. Lines 69, 70 repeat the thought of 61-62 with intentional change of language. The fundamental thought of the poem is that all things on the earth are the

product of four elements moved by two forces. The three parts of this thought appear again and again, but with intentional variation in language so as to prevent a sense of monotony. The list of things on the earth appears in lines 40 f., 105 f. (= 124 f.), 252 f., 383 f., 421 f. The four elements are mentioned in different terms many times: 33 f., 78, 130 f., 187, 197 f., (200), 204 f., 211, 215 f., 265 f., 333 f., 378 f. These repetitions, like those of the last group, are examples of a literary device appropriate to philosophic poetry. By means of it the poet is able to enforce and bring home his thought without too much wearying his readers.

There remains another class of repetitions which are due, as I believe, to a wrong reconstruction of the text, and it is with the purpose of eliminating the repetitions which belong to this class that I have instituted this study.

105-107 = 124-126. Lines 105-107 appear in Simplicius 7v 33, 15 and 34r 159, 22, and their position in this connection is confirmed by the quotation of 104-107 in Arist. *Met.* ii. 4, 1000a 29. On the other hand the same lines after l. 123 are found only in Simplicius 34r 160, 6; the text here is somewhat uncertain, and the link with the preceding by the participle *κρίνοντε* is rather artificial. Simplicius had quoted these lines less than half a page back, and it seems to me probable that the lines were inadvertently

¹ I refer to Empedokles by the lines of Stein (Bonn, 1852).

repeated here—possibly instead of some similar enumeration of things on the earth.

94(–95) = 108(–109) = 114(–115). Lines 94–95 are the fitting conclusion of the preceding discussion of the elements, but they have no meaning after 107. They stand in Simplicius 34r 159, 3 at the end of a long quotation, and it is not unlikely that they were repeated at the end of the next quotation (34r 159, 25) by the error either of Simplicius or of some copyist. The last half of 109 reads like a gloss that has been incorporated into the text. A negative argument of less weight for the omission of these lines (108–109) is the fact that they are omitted Simpl. 7v 33, 17. The same lines appear in Simpl. 8r 33, 21. Here they are intimately connected with the two preceding lines, but their connection with the following lines is forced, and the following lines—as I shall hope to show—belong better in another connection. Accordingly I propose to identify 114–115 with 94–95 and to insert 112–113 before 94–95. The order will then be 90–93, 112–113, 94–95 (= 114–115). The insertion of 112–113 between 93 and 94 is confirmed by the fact that 112–113 form the natural response to 93, and give a fitting introduction to 94–95.

67–68 = 116–117 (cf. 248). Lines 67–68 appear in this connection several times in Simplicius, and indeed 70–73 appear directly after 118 at Simpl. 8r 33, 26. Stein inserts Simpl. 8r 33, 26 as his line 69. My proposal is to insert both Simpl. 8r 33, 25 and 26 after 68, in which case there is no reason for

regarding 116–117 as different from 67–68. So I would read 67–68, 118, 69–73.

These two changes in the text of Simplicius, which cut out several repetitions, rest on the interpretation of Simpl. 8r 33, 19. Stein breaks this passage after 33, 25 and inserts 33, 26 as line 69. I propose to break it at the point where the meaning halts, namely after 33, 22; the first four lines I would place after 93 as I have suggested in the last paragraph but one, and the remainder after 66, as I have suggested in the last paragraph.

134 = 138. Line 134, which consists simply of the word *σφαῖρον*, has no reason for existence; as the reference in Simpl. 258r may perfectly well apply to line 138.

3 = 228. The close resemblance between these two lines may be due to the restoration of 228. We may notice however *μερίμνας* (3, 45, 228) and *δεῖλα* (3, 53, 228, 343, 400, 441, 446) are favourite words with Empedokles, so that perhaps there is no reason to discredit line 228.

In conclusion I should like to suggest a slight emendation of line 85. The text of Simplicius at 34r 158, 24 reads *μετ' ὅσσοισιν* (so aE; DE *μετ' ὅσσοισιν*); Preller suggests *γ' ὅσσοισιν*; Panzerbieter, *μεθ' ὅλοιςιν*. What is wanted is a reference to the four elements, with which Love works, though her activity cannot be discerned by mortal men. So I would suggest *μετὰ τοῖσιν*, since *ταῦτα*, *τάδε*, *τά* are commonly used to refer to the elements in the whole poem. ARTHUR FAIRBANKS.

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ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

I.—*Ingens* ONCE MORE.

REPLYING to Dr. Fennell (*Class. Rev.* July, 1897, p. 300), I would urge the following considerations against the derivation of *ingens* from 'an indeterminate preposition with the root of *gi-gnere*, etc.'

(i) As to Form.

This explanation requires that *-gens* be explained 1° as a nomen agentis of the type of *mens*, or 2° as an aoristic participle, say *in-g(n)ens*, or 3° as a participle to a root *g-ē*, parallel with *gen-*. The first of these explanations is morphologically unobjectionable, the second is plausible, but the third is a form-type usually accompanied by reduplication. Bréal (in his *Dictionary*)

does, to be sure, compare *indiges*, but the etymology of *indiges* has, as I shall submit below, been misunderstood.

(ii) As to Signification.

For all the above derivations of *-gens* we should expect a sense like 'growing up, increasing,' if in the prefix *in-* we have a preposition; but *ingens* means rather 'grown up, increased,' and there is some difficulty in this shift of meaning.

(iii) As to the Composition.

Here there is great difficulty to my mind, and this I hinted at when I called the preposition *indeterminate*. I find no such development of meaning in *ἐγγιγνεσθαι* 'to be innate,' nor in *ingenitus* 'free-born,' and hence reject the preposition *in* for *ingens*.

If Latin has any cognate of *ἀνὰ* that cognate is *an-* in *anquīrere*, *an-hēlare*¹ (cf. v. Planta Osk.-Umbr. Gram. i. p. 97, Brugmann Gr. Gram.² p. 218, Bréal et Bailly Dict. Etym. s.v. *halare*).

In the above statement I have tried to set forth at its strongest the argument for the derivation supported by Dr. Fennell, as well as the other side. I need hardly say that the counter-arguments seem to me the stronger.

I also reject the cognation Dr. Fennell instances of *γίγας* with the *γέρος*-group, though that derivation is in current use (cf. Prellwitz *Etym. Wört.* s.v.). On the side of the signification *γίγας* meets its very best explanation when regarded as a doublet of *βιβάς* 'high-stepping' (cf. the author, *Am. Jr. Phil.* xiii. 226). The 'velars' were in all probability not labialised before *ā* (cf. de Saussure *Mém.* 119, n. 2, Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*² 35, Anm., and the author, *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.* 1895, p. lxvi., in answer to Bechtel's contention to the contrary in his *Hauptprobleme*, p. 354). If this be true **g-ā* would have given normally in Greek **γᾱ-* that is in an isolated word like *γίγας*, while *βιβάς* was affected by *βαίνω* and its group.

Dr. Fennell holds that there are no certain examples of Sk. *ā-* or Grk. *ā-* akin to words beginning in *m* followed by a vowel. He will, I take it, not object to my citing the initial gradation *na^x-/n-* any more than to *na^x/n-*. All scholars agree without any prominent exception, so far as I recall, that the privative *a-* of Sanskrit and Greek is a weak form of *ne* 'not.'

Fick (*B.B.* v. 168, vii. 95), Bury (*ib.* vii. 80-, 338-), Bezenberger (*ib.* v. 168 footnote) suggest a large number of cognations based on the phonetic change denied by Dr. Fennell. I agree with G. Meyer (*Gk. Gram.*³ p. 52 Anm.), that very few of these have any claim to probability. But some of them are, we must allow, very plausible,

more particularly the following, all from Fick's first article.

{ *ἀγα-*, *ἀγαν* 'sehr': *πέγα* 'gross, sehr.'
ἀγαμαι 'bewundern, hochhalten': Sk. *mah-*
 verherrlichen, herrlich sein.²

Noreen (*Ungerm. Lautlehre*, § 31, 5) adds Sk. *mādhyas*, Lat. *medius*... 'in der mitte befindlich': Germ. *untar* 'zwischen, unter-', cf. Sk. *ādhas* < **mdh-* 'unten.'

We can hardly refuse to consider that **n-sme* (or **ns-sme*), the base reconstructed for Lesbian *ἄμμε* 'us,' Sk. *asmā*, is in gradation either with *me-* of the acc. sg., or *ne-* of the plural stem (Lat. *nōs*).

The following examples of *na^x-/n-* are accepted by Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, § 7.

(1) Sk. *ābh-ri* 'Haecke': *nabh-* 'bersten' (Fick, *B.B.* vi. 238, Hoffmann, *ib.* xviii. 287).

(2) Sk. *āsta-* Heimat: *nas-* 'einkehren' (Bartholomae, *K.Z.* xxix. 438 Anm.).

(3) Sk. *aktū-* 'night': Lat. *noct-is* 'of the night' (Benfey, *S.F.* 3, Bury, *B.B.* vii. 338, Bartholomae, *ib.* xv. 20).

(4) Sk. *addhā* 'gewiss,' Avest. *azdā* 'Gewissheit': Sk. *medhā* from **mazdhā* 'Einsicht' (Johansson, *I.F.* ii. 30).

(5) Sk. *abhrā-* 'Wolke,' Grk. *ἀφρός*, Lat. *imber*: Sk. *nābhas*, Gk. *νέφος*.

The above examples will convince the reader that a large number of scholars recognise the probability of the existence of the gradation called in question by Dr. Fennell.

It is altogether likely that *ἀγᾱν* is an acc. fem. adverb from a stem **āgo-* as Dr. Fennell explains. Still the loan-word theory is not a very cogent one, and there is nothing either to disprove the claim that *ἀγᾱν* is a neuter adverb of participial nature like *πᾶν*.

I submit again that the comparison of Lat. *ingent-* (from **ngent-*) with Sk. *mahānt-* presents fewer difficulties than either of the current etymologies.

II.—LATIN *mons*, 'PEAK.'

Cognates of the stem *mont-* have seemed to be lacking almost entirely. Wackernagel *K.Z.* xxxiii. 571 sq.) explains very attractively the word *μοῦσα* 'muse' from

¹ The derivation of *anhēlare* from a preposition with *hālare* is, I am convinced, erroneous. The root of Lat. *anima*, Grk. *ἀνεμος*, Sk. *ānila-s*, is *an-*. As other 'dissyllabic' roots frequently show in Sanskrit *-ā* ('from *ā*'?), I would connect *anhēlus* 'gasping' directly with Sk. *ānila-s* 'wind' (cf. *āniti* 'he gasps'). The *ē* of *anhēlus* shows the same riddlesome variation in colour (*ē* and not *ā*) shown by *ἀνεμος*; while its length as well as the *h* may well be of secondary origin—by association with *hālare*—or we may here have the result of an Aryan *ā* (?).

I am also not in accord with the derivation of *hālare* from a noun-stem **an-s-lo-*, even though this is a very neat phonetic feat. To me *hālare* looks very much like an extension of *hā*, the sighing interjection.

² Accepted by Brugmann with a qualifying 'wol' (*Gr.* ii. § 575), and cited without expression of opinion by G. Meyer (*Gk. Gram.*³ § 448); disputed by the author, *Am. Jr. Phil.* xv. 427, footnote 1, on grounds no longer cogent if *ingent-* is a cognate of Sk. *mahānt-*.

**μοντ*-*ya*- 'a mountain dweller, oread.' Wharton in his *Etyma Latina* s.v. *mons* writes a base *MONTR*- and compares *MYTR*-Ags. *mund.* protection, Eng. *mound*: 'refuge.' Just what his conception is I am not sure that I grasp from so abbreviated a statement. Perhaps it is that this stem belongs to the root *men*- 'think' and *mons* was first a memorial or grave mound, and then came to be metaphorically applied to a natural elevation of land. The implicit metaphor is not impossible, and may even have been natural if the Italians came from a flat country to Italy.

Wackernagel's explanation of *μῶσα* just mentioned would set the problem back of the Italic period, and it remains to see whether other cognates do not show themselves in a sense susceptible of a more direct connection with *mons*.

I propose to apply to *mōnt*- the gradation *ma²/m-*, and I further assume that **mynt*- would give *ynt*- while the latter might be in certain cases indistinguishable from *ṃt*-. Homer uses the adverb *ἀνὰ* 'uphill' and *-αῖα* might be explained on the lines of our assumption. We may explain as further cognates O.H.G. *andī* 'brow,' O.Ir. *étan*, and, with generalised meaning, Sk. *ánta-s* 'end.' Our common use of the phrase 'brow of the hill' is guarantee enough for the relation of O.H.G. *andī* 'brow' to Lat. *mont*- 'hill.'

There is still another Greek word that suggests itself in this connection viz. *μενθήρη* 'brow,' not given in Liddell and Scott, but to be found in Prellwitz's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. I still believe (cf. *Am. Jr. Phil.* xvi. p. 3 footnote 2) that the question of the *tenuis aspirata* in Greek is unsettled and that neighbouring nasals and liquids exercised an aspirating influence on the *tenuis* (spite of G. Meyer, *Grk. Gram.*³ § 207). Thus it seems to me possible that the root of *μενθήρη* is *ment*-. We might with so solitary a word operate with a vulgar aspiration, or fall back on the Boeotian verb ending *-vθη* = Attic *-vται*, and suspect dialectic variation. If we may set up an Aryan stem *ma²nt*- 'peak, point' we may refer to it the Latin words *mentula* 'membrum virile' and *mentum* 'chin.' In Sanskrit the stem *mathī* means 'twirling stick.' Such a stick was pointed and twirled rapidly about in another bit of wood to create fire by friction.

Beside the stem *mathī*- stands one entirely like it in inflexion, viz. *pathī*- 'road.' The latter is represented in Latin by *pont*- 'bridge,' and if *mathī*- meant primitively

'point,' then Latin *mont*- 'peak' is its cognate, and has preserved the same flexional type.

III.—*Indigetes*.

The etymology current for *indigetes* (*indu* + *gen*-) is obviously of the popular variety, and may be read between the lines of Servius himself on Verg. *Georg.* i. 498: *patrii Dii sunt, qui praesunt singulis civitatibus, ut Minerva Athenis, Juno Carthagini: Indigetes autem proprie sunt Dii ex hominibus facti, quasi in Diis agentes.* Here, passing over the etymological *lusus* of Servius himself, we note that the Great Gods were *indigetes*. This is also seen in a passage from Macrobius (S, l. 17): *virgines vestales ita indigetant, Apollo Medice, Apollo Paeon.*

Alongside of *indigetes* stand *indigetare* 'invoke' and *indigitamenta* 'book of rites, prayers,' and the relation of meaning between them, if *indigetes* be taken to mean 'home born,' like *indigena*, is very far to seek.

I propose therefore to divide our word *ind-ig-et-es*, and compare Sk. *yajatā*- 'holy, divine': the root *yaj*- 'honour, sacrifice to.' Thus *ind-ig-et-es* means 'divine, consecrated, deified.' In Greek we receive great support for this explanation in *ἀγίλειν* 'hallow by sacrifice,' and *ἐναιγέειν* 'make offerings to the dead or Manes.' The Greek preposition *ἐν*- is of course identical with *ind*- in *indigetare*.

It is an interesting phenomenon that in Sanskrit there is a *te*- suffix instead of a *t*- suffix and the development of meaning was doubtless from 'honoured' to 'honourable' (cf. Lat. *acceptus* which has passed from 'accepted' to 'acceptable'). The *t*- suffix is of course prevaillingly active (but compare *ἀγνωτ*- 'unknown, not knowing,' *προβλητ*- 'thrown forward, springing forward,' and *δορικμητ*- 'spear-pressed,' Brug. *Gr.* ii. p. 368, § 123), and the *te*- suffix prevaillingly passive. This furnishes us with the clue to the difference in the stems in Latin *ig-et*- and Sk. *yajatā*- which last has been assimilated to a past participle in regard of its suffix.

From the phonetic standpoint there is no difficulty in Latin: *ind-ig* from *in* + *iag*- shows the same treatment as *iniccere* from *in* + *iaccere*. The *d* of *indigetes* either comes in by way of popular association with *indigena*, or was patterned after metrical archaisms like *indalbare*, *indaudire*, etc. If we may judge from *iniccere* the initial

syllable of **iniges* would also have been long by position. This factor too must have been of weight in the orthography of *indiges*, particularly as we know there was a vulgar or dialectic variation between

nd and *nn*, as in *tennitur* for *tenditur* (Terence, *Phormio*, 330).

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ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

Consus, the god to whom the Consualia were sacred, is expressly stated by Varro and Dio. Hal. to be the same as Neptunus Equestris: in other words Consus was an ancient god of horses—cf. Tertullian de Spectaculis Cap. V: Exinde ludi Consualia dicti, qui initio Neptunum honorabant. Cf. old Slavonic *koni*, Russ. *kon'*, horse.

Grādivus seems hard to separate from ΙΥΓΕ ΚΡΑΠΥΙ (Iovi Grabovio) of the Umbrian Iguvian tables: the meaning seems to be 'the shouter' from the root $\sqrt{\text{gra}}$, found in Slavonic *igrá*, play, dance: $\sqrt{\text{gra}}$ signifies 'shouting' vide Miklosich

Wbh. der Slav. Sprach. p. 95. This will tally with Juvenal's simile of 'Gradivus Homericus.'

The word *viverra* (a ferret), Plin. *N.H.* viii. 81, used in Pliny's time, as now, to chase rabbits, and imported from Africa for the purpose, is a loan-word brought by trappers from the north with the skins which they supplied to the Romans. The Slavonic word is vévera a squirrel: in O. Prussian *vaivaras* signified a weasel; cf. Miklosich p. 389.

H. A. STRONG.

ON THE QUANTITY OF NAMES IN -ινης

IN my *History of Greek Literature* I marked the ι of *Λεπτίνης* long as contrasted with the short ι in *Αίσχίνης*. I have been asked by several scholars to state my authority for this distinction, and am the more anxious to do so, as I now realise that it goes to some extent beyond the evidence.

The scansion *Αίσχίνης* is proved by Theocr. xiv, 2 &c. For *Λεπτίνης* my authority was Fick *Griechischen Eigennamen* xxxv seq. After quoting names in -ίνος like *Ἐρμίνος*, *Χαρμίνος*, Fick proceeds: 'Neben-ίνος erscheint seltner die Nebenform -ίνης, -ίνας wie -ίας neben -ιος, -εας neben -ειος auftritt.' He then quotes 14 names in -ίνης, -ίνας (not including either *Αίσχίνης* or *Λεπτίνης*): e.g. *Καλλίνης* (*Καλλίνος*), *Λακκίνης* (*Λακκίνος*), *Πρατίνης* (*Πρωτίνος*). The last case seems the clearest; *Πρατίνης* being regular Doric, with the characteristic -ας = -ος. The name *Leptines* occurs, so far as I know, only twice in poetry. Archil. 70 Bgk.

Τοῖος ἀνθρώποισι θυμὸς, Γλαῦκε, Λεπτίνεω πᾶι.
and Rhianus Anth. Pal. xii. 93.

*Ὦν δ' ἐπὶ Λεπτίνεω στρέψης δέμους, οὐκετι γυνῆα.

The first of these is inconclusive: the latter tends in favour of τ, since the Ionic Genitive in -εω 'must always be read as one syllable.' (Weir Smyth, *Ionic*, § 428 cf. § 446: 'Ionic -εων is invariably monosyllabic.') For this reason I marked 'Leptines' in accordance with Fick's rule and with the apparent usage of Rhianus.

However, Rhianus is not quite conclusive: he may have taken an unusual licence with a name otherwise unmanageable in elegiacs, and have sought to justify himself by ἄλτεω ὅς Δελέγεσσι in Φ 87; (cf. the late epigram in Weir Smyth's note l.c.) And as for Fick's rule it seems to crumble away upon closer examination. Of his 14 names in -ίνης -ίνας, I can find no single instance where the ι is certainly long, while there are two where it is short. These are *Μυρίνης* (cf. *Μυρίνος*, *Μυρίνη*) in poet. ap. Ath. 32b, 132d, and *Σμικρίνης* in Menander's *Aspis*. Of course *Μυρίνης*, as the name of a *wine*, and adjectival, may not be evidence for real proper names. *Σμικρίνης* rests upon an emendation of Bentley's (MS. *σμικρήν ἤ*), but if the form with Σ was used at all by the Comic poets (see the strong evidence in

Kock *ad. loc.*) the -w- must be short. They would not invent a name which could not be used in iambs.

Πυθίας is marked -iv in Pape's Lexicon, I suspect by a misprint, since in similar names Pape marks -iv. The name only occurs, I think, in Delphian prose inscriptions; e.g. Collitz 2023. If Ἐρασινάδης (-iv-) is the right form in Ar. *Ranae*, 1196 we may infer Ἀλκίναδας in Thuc. v. 24: but the variant spelling -ιδης is probably correct in both cases, and the patronymics come from Ἐρασίνος, Ἀλκίνος, rather than from Ἐρασίνης Ἀλκίνης.

The upshot seems to be that our evidence is at present inconclusive. The suffixes -ino- -ina- are well established in Greek proper

names (Κρατίνος &c.) as well as in words like ἄγχιστίνος, κορακίνος, χοιρίνη (Brugmann Engl. Trans. ii. p. 157 § 68): -ino- -ina- are common in adjectives (δρύνος, φήγινος, ἀνθρώπινος) and are found in such quasi-proper names as Μυρρίνη &c. We find conclusive evidence for Αἰσχίνης and slight indications in favour of Λεπτίνης. Etruscan forms like *Caecina* may or may not be analogous.

May I at the same time correct a more serious error which escaped my notice on p. 398 of the same book? Galen is there placed in the time of 'Augustus.' It should of course be 'M. Aurelius.'

GILBERT MURRAY.

A THEMISTOCLEAN MYTH.

It has sometimes been asserted that myths may owe their origin or at least their form to works of art, of which the meaning was misapprehended. Such myths would form an interesting variety of the aetiological species. Hitherto it has not been easy to point to satisfactory instances of the variety.¹ Recent investigation offering us a curious instance of a myth which seems to owe its shape to a well known statue, it seems worth while to set forth briefly its character and history.

I can claim no merit of discovery in the matter. The credit of discovering the evidence belongs to Dr. Rhousopoulos of Athens; the application of the evidence to the question of the origin of a myth is due to Dr. C. Wachsmuth.² I have only worked out their suggestions in more detail in order to present an interesting discovery to a wider English audience.

In regard to the circumstances of the death of Themistocles at Magnesia we have, as is well known, varying accounts. Thucydides (i. 138) states that he died a natural death, though some asserted that he poisoned himself, because he was unable to carry out the promises he had made to the Great King. Thucydides must here refer to the tale which is alluded to in the *Knights* of Aristophanes (l. 83):—

βέλτιστον ἦμιν αἶμα ταύρειον πίνειν.
ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ θάνατος αἰρετώτερος,

¹ Compare, however, Milchhoefer in *Ath. Mitth.* v. 45; Goblet d'Alviella, *Migration des Symboles.*

² *Rheinisches Museum*, 1897, p. 140.

which shows that the belief that Themistocles had died of drinking bull's blood was accepted at Athens in B.C. 424, and had almost given rise to a proverb. Of later writers Cornelius Nepos follows Thucydides. But Plutarch and Diodorus both accept the tale of the bull's blood. Modern historians naturally prefer the Thucydidean story of a natural death. In so doing they follow the line already taken by Cicero (*Brutus*, xi.). That writer asserts that it was Clitarchus and Stratocles who invented the story that Themistocles sacrificed a bull, and receiving its blood in a patera, drank it and died. Cicero adds that this version was naturally preferred by later writers as more susceptible of rhetorical and tragical embellishment; and here he seems to express the truth.

Themistocles is not the only celebrated man who was said to have thus met his death. Among prehistoric heroes Jason and Midas thus died; among historic characters Psammenitus, and Smerdis the brother of Cambyses. Hannibal is also by some said to have committed suicide by drinking bull's blood in imitation of Themistocles. The earlier of these reputed poisonings can only have been vouched for by vague rumour. The manner of the suicide of Hannibal is probably an invention of the rhetoricians.³

It seems fair to assume with Cornelius Nepos, Cicero, Grote, and others, that the historic fact was, as Thucydides says, that Themistocles died a natural death, and that

³ See Roscher in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1883, p. 158.

the story of the suicide by drinking bull's blood was a myth. Let us then examine the myth and separate its elements. A myth may fairly be regarded as having commonly three parts, an ethical motive, an intellectual justification, and a body or form. The motive of the myth before us may be, as Cicero suggests, merely the desire to have a tale suited to rhetorical and tragical treatment. Or there may have been mingled with this, very Greek, motive, one more strictly moral, the feeling that one who like Themistocles had been a traitor to Greece, ought not to have died in his bed. Mingled with this ethical element are others of a more intellectual or rationalistic kind. Thucydides records, as we have seen, the explanation that Themistocles slew himself because he could not fulfil his promises to the Great King. Another explanation is given by Diodorus¹, that Themistocles induced Xerxes to swear that he would not attempt again to invade Greece save with him as general, and then committed suicide heroically, and so secured Greece from Persian attack. The two explanations seem alike to have arisen in the schools of rhetoric. We have a glimpse which suggests of how flimsy material much of Greek history is made up.

There yet remains for consideration the body or form of the myth. Why is Themistocles said to have sacrificed a bull and then drunk its blood? It is the more desirable fully to explain this form, because it was already fixed at the earliest time to which we can trace the myth, B.C. 424.

It is impossible that any one could drink bull's blood, and straightway fall dead. I am informed on excellent physiological authority that there is nothing poisonous in the blood of bulls. To drink hot bull's blood would be unpleasant, and might make one ill, but it would not be fatal. Pliny² writes 'Taurorum (sanguis) celerrime coit atque durescit, ideo pestifer potu maxime.' This is at the least a great exaggeration. It is possible that the popular notion of its poisonous character may have arisen from the use of the blood of victims by priests, first for producing a temporary inspiration, and secondly, as an ordeal.³ When used as an ordeal fresh blood or even less injurious substances might when allied with a guilty conscience prove fatal.

The belief that Themistocles took bull's blood as a poison, almost to a certainty arose out of the details of a statue of the hero erected at Magnesia, the place of his decease.

Thucydides (l.c.) tells us of a monument, *μνημεῖον*, set up at Magnesia in Ionia in memory of Themistocles. Cornelius Nepos gives us a hint of the character of this monument. It was a sculptural group, *statuae in foro Magnesiae*. In the Athenian *Mittheilungen* for 1896 (p. 22), Dr. Rhousopoulos of Athens publishes a coin of Magnesia, struck in the reign of Antoninus Pius, which almost beyond doubt gives us a trustworthy representation of this monument. It was in the form of a bearded statue of the hero, naked, wearing a wreath, holding in the left hand a sword, in the right a patera over an altar, while a bull lies dead at its feet. The identifying inscription, ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ is added in the field.⁴ The statue is quite in the style of the earlier fifth century. It reminds us especially of the naked bearded figure at Munich commonly called a heroic king, but regarded by Furtwängler as Zeus,⁵ which dates from about B.C. 460.

Dr. Rhousopoulos sees in this statue a representation of the last scene of the life of Themistocles. This appears to me a mistaken view; and I do not hesitate to prefer to it the interpretation suggested by Wachsmuth, which I have worked out in more detail.

The accessories of the statue are intended to show clearly in what light Themistocles was regarded by the people of Magnesia, namely as a civic hero or *οἰκιστής*. The offerings which were brought to persons raised to heroic rank were libations, and a bull, usually sacrificed at an annual festival. The animal was slain at the tomb, and its blood allowed to run into a trench. The ceremony was called *βοῦν ἐναγίζεν*⁶ as opposed to *βοῦν θύειν*, the word *θύειν* being usually reserved for the Gods. Slain bull and patera were added, it would seem, to the statue, to show that Themistocles held heroic rank. But how natural and easy it was for stupid people, among whom myths frequently take their rise, to see in these same accessories allusion to the manner

⁴ The magistrate's name is ἐπὶ Διοσκοουρίδου Γράτον.

⁵ *Meisterwerke* Pl. xxiii, xxiv: *Masterpieces*, p. 212.

⁶ See Hdt. ii. 44: Diodorus iv. 39. &c. Cf. the inscription in Kaibel, *Epigr. Graecae*, No. 461, μέχρις ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις ταῦρον ἐνάγιζεν: also the inscriptions of the Diogeneion at Athens.

¹ xi. 58, 3.

² *N.H.* xi. 222, cf. xxviii. 147.

³ See Frazer, *The Golden Bough* i. 34. Pausanias (vii. 25, 13) mentions the draught of bull's blood as an ordeal to test the chastity of the priestess.

of the death of Themistocles, and thus to furnish an embodiment for the conviction that he must have met with a violent and a self-inflicted death. The very form of the myth as Cicero gives it, *hunc isti aiunt, quum taurum immolavisset, excepsisse sanguinem patera, et eo potu mortuum concidisse*, seems to point direct to the statue as it stood.

Here then we have an excellent instance of the rise of a myth, not out of words misunderstood, but out of a statue misinterpreted. And a specially interesting feature is the rapidity with which the myth sprang up. Themistocles was banished about 471, after which he lived for several

years in Asia. The *Knights* was acted in 424. Within some forty years of the death of Themistocles, and during the lifetime of hundreds who had known him, this curious myth in regard to his death arose, and had become so generally accepted as to be almost proverbial. There is in some quarters a notion that myths in regard to historical persons take a long time to spread and find acceptance. One would like to know on what evidence this view is based. At all events we have in the myth before us an instance to prove the contrary of it.

PERCY GARDNER.

VARIOUS EMENDATIONS.

ARISTOPHANES, *Vesp.* 765 sqq.

- ΒΔ. ἄλλ' ἐνθαδὶ
αὐτοῦ μένων δικάζει τοῖσιν οἰκέταις.
ΦΙ. περὶ τοῦ; τί ληρέεις;
ΒΔ. ταῦθ' ἄπερ ἐκεῖ πράττεται
ὅτι τὴν θύραν ἀνέωξεν ἡ σηκὶς λάθρα,
† ταύτης ἐπιβολὴν ψηφιεῖ μίαν μόνην· κ.τ.λ.

The point lies in the awarding of petty punishments to petty crimes. Editors who have tried to keep *ταύτης* have explained (1) *τῆς δίκης*, which is far to seek, and, when sought, is hardly a satisfactory genitive, (2) *τῆς σηκίδος*. For the latter, the dative is a much more natural case, and hence *ταύτη γ'* of Blaydes. But, even admitting *ταύτης ἐπιβολὴν* to be capable of meaning 'a fine in her case,' what is to be understood with *μίαν*? The commentators say *δραχμὴν*. Yet this word is not (as in such idioms it should be) at once suggested by the context and by usage. Moreover, even if the plural *δραχμαὶς* is in certain circumstances easily omitted with numerals, *e.g.* *χιλίας*, it does not follow that the singular *δραχμὴν* is to be omitted with *μίαν*. We can say in English 'I will charge him five hundred,' viz. 'pounds,' but we cannot equally say 'I will charge him one.' Such expressions are decided by use. Again, would a Greek master fine a slave 'only one drachma' as a paltry infliction for a paltry offence? In the land of the triobol the sum would be a large one to a slave, even if money-fines were likely in such a case.

If any word is to be supplied, it should rather be *πληγὴν*; but the truth lies otherwise. I feel convinced that we should read

βλ αὐτῆς ἐπιβολὴν ψηφιεῖ μίαν μόνην

'you shall vote one single application of the slipper.' *ἐπιβολὴν* then contains a neat play on the sense of 'fine,' and that of *ἐπιβάλλειν πληγὰς*. For 'slipper' (not yet obsolete as a punishment) cf. *βλαντώω*; Lucian, *De Consc. Hist.* 10, *παιόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς Ὀμφάλης τῷ σανδαλίῳ*; Terence, *Eun.* v. 7, 4 (1028), etc.

Theocritus, xiii. 8-15 (Heracles and Hylas).

καὶ νῦν πάντ' ἐδίδαξε, πατὴρ ὥσεϊ φίλον υἱά,
ὅσσα μαθὼν ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀοίδιμος αὐτὸς ἔγεντο·
χωρὶς δ' οὐδέποκ' ἦς

ὥς αὐτῷ κατὰ θυμὸν ὁ παῖς πεποναμένος εἶη,
† αὐτῷ δ' εὖ ἔλκων† ἐς ἀλαθινὸν ἄνδρ' ἀποβαίη.

There is no need to detail the suggestions hitherto made upon the last line. The exact sense required is not, perhaps, so certain as in the case of some other corruptions, but I think the following restoration satisfies all the conditions, most of the mischief having been done by erroneous breathings and an iota subscript. Read

αὐτῷ δ' εὖ εἰκὼν ἐς ἀλαθινὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπο-
βαίη

'and that, an image (copy) of himself (Heracles), he might turn out a genuine man.' αὐτῷ εὖ = *ἐαντοῦ*. Hylas was to be an exact copy of Heracles.

[In the fragment of Eubulus *κυβευταί*, 1, 1

(in the MSS. of Athenaeus) one MS. gives *εἰλον*, but another *εἰλον*].

Theocritus, xiv. 51.

μῦς, φαντί, Θυνόνιχε, ἴγεύμεθα πίσσας.

The few who think that *γεύμεθα* may be a word, and that it may stand for either *γεγεύμεθα* or *γενόμεθα*, will perhaps shrink from altering into

‘μῦς’ φαντί, Θυνόνιχε, ‘γεῦμά τε πίσσας,’

but I hope the suggestion may commend itself to others. ‘The saying goes “a rat and a taste of pitch.”’ This is a sufficiently familiar way of quoting proverbs. Cf. ‘a fool and his money’; ‘the fox and the grapes.’

γευματε was first read as *γεμετα* and then ‘corrected.’ [Cf. MSS. of Xen. *Anab.* vii. 7 § 24 ἦν τό τε ABD for ἦν τε τῷ cett., and Soph. *O. C.* 1105 τό δε L for δό τε].

Theocritus, xxiii. 49.

δδ' εἰπὼν λίθον εἶλεν· ἐρεισάμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοίχῳ
ἄχρι μέσων οὐδὼν ἴφοβερὸν λίθον† ἦπτεν ἀπ'
αὐτῷ
τὰν λεπτὰν σχοιῖδα.

φοβερὸν is without sense, and the inelegance of the second *λίθον* speaks for itself. Read

σοβαρῶ νέω (‘of the disdainful youth’).

See the context, *σοβαρὸς* is a *vox propria* in such connexions. Students of palaeography will find nothing surprising in the corruption of *νέω*, since N = AI and E = Θ. Thus Phot. and Suid. quote from Aristophanes the corrupt *φλείε* for the *φνεί* of *Etym. Mag.*

Theocritus, xvii. 2.

ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε Μοῖσαι,
ἀθανάτων τὸν ἄριστον ἐπὶν ἄδωμεν αἰοδαῖς.

It cannot, of course, be proved that the expression *ἄδωμεν αἰοδαῖς* is wrong. It is, however, very displeasing. The suggestion *κλείωμεν* is quite uncritical. I propose *αἴρωμεν* (AIP for AIA) ‘extol.’

Longinus, *De Sublim.* c. xxxii. § 8.

τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐλαττώμασιν ἐπιχειρῶν ὅμως αὐτῷ Καικίλιος ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Λυσίου συγγράμμασιν ἀπεθάρρηνεν τῷ παντὶ Λυσίαν ἀμείνω Πλάτωνος ἀποφύγασθαι.

Read ὁ Μῶμος αὐτοῦ. Caecilius can find nothing but faults in Plato.

Longinus, c. xxxiv. § 2.

καὶ γὰρ λαλεῖ (sc. Ὑπερίδης) μετ' ἀφελείας, ἔνθα χρή, καὶ οὐ πάντα ἐξῆς καὶ μονοτόνως ὡς ὁ Δημοσθένης λέγει, τό τε ἡθικὸν ἔχει μετὰ γλυκύτητος ἢ δὲ λιτῶς† ἐφηδυνόμενον.

Even if a reasonable meaning could be extracted from this sentence, the combination of *γλυκύτητος*, *ἡδὺν*, and *ἐφηδυνόμενον*, is intolerable. Since *η=ει* in pronunciation, we may read with some certainty.

εἰδὺλλικῶς ἐφηδυνόμενον.

Longinus, c. xxxiv. § 2.

σκώμματα οὐκ ἄμουςα οὐδ' ἀνάγωγα κατὰ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἐκείνους †ἀλλ' ἐπικείμενα.

It is admitted that *ἐπικείμενα* has no sense, and that Longinus would certainly not have said of ‘the classic Athenians’ that their jests were *ἄμουςα* or *ἀνάγωγα*. Read *ἄλας* for *ἀλλ'* and punctuate

σκώμματα οὐκ ἄμουςα οὐδ' ἀνάγωγα, κατὰ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἐκείνους ἄλας ἐπικείμενα, i.e. ‘seasoned with wit after the manner of the classic Athenians.’

Sophocles, *Antigone*, 519.

AN. ὅμως ὃ γ' Αἰδὼς τοὺς νόμους †τούτους ποθεῖ.

KP. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὃ χρηστὸς τῷ κακῷ λαχεῖν ἴσος.

For *τούτους* schol. marg. L. has *γρ. ἴσους*. Professor Jebb's defence of *τούτους* does not convince me. An easy correction, exactly fitting the sense, is *τοὺς οὖς* (*suos*), which would almost certainly be corrupted by some MS. into *τούτους* when written ΤΟΥΤΟΥΣ.

Sophocles, *O. T.* 625.

Professor Jebb is clearly right in assuming the loss of a verse after

ὡς οὐχ ὑπεῖξων οὐδὲ πιστεύσων λέγεις;

I should suggest that the lost verse in re-tort was

ὡς οὐχ ὑφέξων τὴν δίκην παλινστομεῖς;

For the expression, and for the close resemblance in the shape of question and re-tort, cf. 547–555. The reason of the omission becomes obvious at once.

Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 407 sqq.

ἡ ῥοθίοις εἰλατίταις δικρότοις κώπαις
†ἔπλευσαν ἐπὶ πόντια κύματα
νάϊον ὄχημα λινοπόροιςιν αὔραις
φιλόπλουτον ἄμιλλαν
αὔξοντες μελάθροισιν ;

The construction ἔπλευσαν νάϊον, ὄχημα κώπαις is quite without parallel. Read ἔσπευσαν, 'made to speed.' The first syllable in the line of the corresponding strophe is long.

Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 419.

γνώμα δ' οἷς μὲν ἄκαιρος ὄλ-
βου, τοῖς δ' ἐς μέτρον ἤκει.

For these meaningless words the context requires

γνώμα δ' οἷς ἐνικαιρὸς ὄλ-
βου, τοῖς δ' ἐς μέτρον ἤκει.

= 'in the mind of whomsoever there is a well-judged limit in the search for wealth, to them it comes in due measure.'

Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 856.

ἀνυμέναιος, ὦ σύγγον', Ἀχιλλέως
†ἐς κλισίαν λέκτρων
δόλιον ὄτ' ἀγόμαν.

Neither λέκτρων nor δόλιον can be said to have a construction. Nor was Iphigenia brought ἐς κλισίαν Ἀχιλλέως. The point is that she was brought 'on a crafty pretence of marriage with Achilles.' Hence read ἐπὶ κλῆσιν. For ἐπὶ κλῆσιν treated adverbially and yet joined with an adjective, cf. v. 566 :

κακῆς γυναικὸς ἡ χάριν ἄχαριν ἀπόλετο.

Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 895.

τίς.....
δυοῖν †τοῖν μόνου†
Ἀτρεΐδαιν φανεῖ κακῶν ἔκλυσιν ;

But Orestes and Iphigenia are not the only two Atreidae left. Electra not only existed, but is remembered by Euripides, and mentioned in this play by the 'only two' themselves. Read Τλημύονοι ν, which was the more easily corrupted since η=οι in pronunciation, and -μονοι would readily be separated off as an independent word.

Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 910.

ἦν δέ τις πρόθυμος ἦ,
σθένειν τὸ θεῖον μᾶλλον εἰκότως ἔχει.

To begin with, the theology is very questionable. The divine power could hardly be said to depend on human zeal. Nevertheless he would be a bold critic who would meddle with the text on purely theological grounds. Remembering, however, that a fragment of Aeschylus (291) says φιλεῖ δὲ τῷ κάμνοντι συσπεύδειν θεός, and the modern 'Heaven helps those who help themselves,' we may, I think, suggest as more probable than σθένειν, the similarly-shaped word στυθεῖν.

Aeschylus, *Persae*, 676.

ὦ πολύκλυτε φίλοισι θανάων,
τί τάδε δυνάτα δυνάτα
περὶ τᾶ σᾶ δίδυμα †διαγόνει ἄμαρτια†
πᾶσαν γὰν τάνδε
†ἐξέφθινθ' αἰ τρίσκαλμοι
νᾶες ἄναες ἄναες.

This desperate-looking passage may be very simply cured by the insertion of C between O and E, a correction of accents, and the recognition of an idiom.

Read

τί τάδε δυνατὰ δυνάτα
περὶ τὰ σά, δίδυμα δι' ἄγο<ς> ἐν
ἀμαρτία
πᾶσαν γὰν τάνδ'
ἐξεφθίνθαι ; <αἰ> τρίσκαλμοι
νᾶες ἄναες ἄναες.

= 'Why is this possible, possible, touching which was thine—that all this land should have utterly perished as a double penalty for a single sin? Alas! the...'

For the construction ἐξεφθίνθαι ἁμαρτία cf. *Prom.* V. 563 τίνος ἀμπλακίας ποινὰς ὀλέκει ; *Eur. Troad.* 878 ποινὰς τεθνᾶσι, etc.

Aeschylus, *Persae* 655.

θεομήστωρ δ' ἔσκειν,
ἐπεὶ στρατὸν †ὑπεδώκει

Later copies have †εὑ ἐποδώκει†. No passage has brought forth in the way of conjectures greater monstrosities intended for Greek words.

A point never to be lost sight of in the *Persae* is the perpetual objection of the Chorus to the policy of Xerxes in trusting to a sea-force. Previously Persia had carried on all its operations by land, and they had been successful, but Xerxes has dared ἐσορᾶν πόντιον ἄλσος κ.τ.λ., and with

the direst result. The Chorus here again commends Darius for his better judgment.

Read

ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ἐϋποδ' ᾤκει

'when he governed an army *sound on its feet*.'

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi. 4, 24.

εἰ δ' ἐπιλαθέσθαι, ἔφη, βούλεσθε τὸ γεγενημένον πάθος.

The sense is that of 'undoing' or 'compensating for.' Madvig's ἐξιάσασθαι does not belong to sober criticism. Read rather ἐπαναθέσθαι, 'to retract the false move.' The simple ἀναθέσθαι is common enough in this meaning, and ἐπι- frequently = 'back.'

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 2, § 18.

ὁ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης τό τε Κίρειον στρατεύμα καταλογιζόμενος ὡς ἐπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τούτῳ πάντας νομίζων ὁμοίους εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἐβούλετο μάχεσθαι.

For the last words cod. C. has οὐκ ἐπολέμησεν. Does not this divergence almost certainly point to the true reading being οὐκ ἐπολεμήσειεν, 'he had no taste for fighting'? The desiderative verb is glossed in the other MSS. and corrupted in C.

Herodotus, ii. 8, 1.

τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀραβίης οὖρος παρατέταται, φέρον ἅπ' ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσαμβρίας τε καὶ νότου, αἰεὶ ἄνω τείνον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν, ἐν τῷ αἰ λιθοτομίαί ἐνεῖσι, αἱ ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας καταμνηθεῖσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. ταύτῃ μὲν λῆγον ἀνακάμπει ἐς τὰ εἴρηται.

It is a sheer impossibility that anything should run ἅπ' ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσαμβρίας. It may run ἅπ' ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, or to a central point ἅπ' ἄρκτου καὶ πρὸς μεσαμβρίας. The only defence offered for the text is the forlorn one that πρὸς μεσαμβρίας = πρὸς μεσαμβρίην. But there is no instance of the genitive in Herodotus which cannot be readily explained as distinct from the accusative from a natural point of view of the speaker.

The cure lies in reading ἐπ' ἄρκτου. Herodotus regards the range as having its chief part southward and as 'coming to an end' in the north, near the quarries. It

then runs back at an angle (ἀνακάμπει) toward the Red Sea.

[For confusion of ἐπ' and ἅπ' (which is very frequent) cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 29, where all MSS. give ἐπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἅπ' Ἐφέσου, but all editors require ἐπ' Ἐφέσου, the sense being decisive.]

Herodotus, ii. 22, § 2.

κὼς ὢν δῆτα ρέοι ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ τῶν θερμωτάτων ρέων ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα; τῶν ἴτὰ πολλά' ἐστὶ ἀνδρί γε λογίζεσθαι τοιούτων πέρι οἷω τε ἐόντι, ὡς οὐδὲ οἶκος ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν ρέειν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἄνεμοι παρέχονται...δεύτερον δὲ.....τρίτα δὲ.....

For discussions on the passage see Stein. Rather than accept the supposition of a lacuna or some forced explanation, read, not

ΤΩΝΤΑΠΟΛΛΑ,

but ΤΩΝΤΑΠΟΔΗΛΑ,

i.e. τῶν τ' ἅπ' ο δ ἡ λ ἄ ἐστι κ.τ.λ.; 'and, as regards arguments from which it is clear... that it is not even reasonable for it to flow from snow, the first piece of evidence comes from the winds...the second...the third...'

[In ΤΩΝΤΑΠΟΔΗΛΑ it was natural to mark off ΤΑ as an independent word. ἀπὸ may follow its case in Herodotus.]

Herodotus ii. 25, § 1.

ἅτε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου αἰθρίου τε ἐόντος τοῦ ἡέρος τοῦ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, καὶ ἀλειυνῆς τῆς χώρας εὐούσης ἔκαὶ ἀνέμων ψυχρῶν.

This being plainly contrary to all reason, not to mention grammar, one 'edited' MS. has οὐκ ἐόντων ἀνέμων ψυχρῶν, which many editors adopt. It is not, however, clear why οὐκ ἐόντων should have fallen out. I believe the true reading was not καὶ but χήτι ('through the absence of'). Cf. ix. 11. Αθηναῖοι...χήτι συμμάχων, καταλίσσονται τῷ Πέρσῃ. This word seems to have had the form χάτι also.

Herodotus, ii. 39, § 3.

σῶμα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κτήνεος δείρουσι, κεφαλῇ δὲ ἑκείνῃ πολλὰ καταρησάμενοι φέρουσι.

Nothing can be added to the discussion upon κείνη itself. Rather read κ' ο ν ῆ. The prayers are 'for the sins of the people.'

Herodotus, ii. 78, § 1.

περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῷ ξύλινον... μέγαθος ὅσον τε πάντῃ πηχυαῖον ἢ ἑξήκοντα.

It does not seem to have struck commentators as remarkable that the wooden mummy should be spoken of as 'about a cubit or two cubits long.' In plain, but absurd, English it is saying that the figure measures 'about eighteen inches or a yard.' An examination of the MSS. shows that four of them give διπλοῦν. The true reading is plainly δέκουν; 'about eighteen inches or two feet.'

Herodotus, ii. 111, § 3.

δέκα μὲν δὴ ἔτα εἰναί μιν τυφλόν, ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀπικέσθαι οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος, ὡς ἐξήκει τέ οἱ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ζημίας καὶ ἀναβλέψει...

The oracle is in *oratio recta*. That fact is of importance for the entirely unclassical active future ἀναβλέψει. One cannot, of course, absolutely demonstrate the impossibility of such a form, but it is no great boldness to suggest ἐξήκει τέ τοι (= σοι) ὁ χρόνος τῆς ζημίας καὶ ἀναβλέψει α.

Herodotus, ii. 116, 1.

δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πυθέσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν ἐποποιήν εὐπρεπὴς ἦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρήσατο, ἢ ἐς ὃ μετήκε αὐτόν, δηλώσας ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίστατο τὸν λόγον. δῆλον δέ. ἥκατὰ γὰρ ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι... πλάνην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὥς ἀπηνείχθη ἄγων Ἑλένην, τῇ τε δὴ ἄλλη πλαζόμενος, καὶ ὡς ἐς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπῆκετο.

It is unnecessary here to give and review the attempted explanations of the passage as it stands. Neither ἐς ὃ nor κατὰ has any sense. The purpose of this note is to suggest the reading

ἀλλ' (οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν ἐποποιήν εὐπρεπὴς ἦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρήσατο) ἔξω μετήκε αὐτόν ('he put it aside'), δηλώσας ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίστατο τὸν λόγον· δῆλον δὲ κ ἄ ρ τ α. <καὶ> γάρ...

Of course it is not necessary, nor desirable, to mark off the clause οὐ γὰρ as parenthetic, but it is done here to save words as to the structure.

Herodotus, i. 33 (Solon and Croesus).

ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὐ κως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, τοῦτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθία εἶναι,.....

The change of subject from Solon (ἐχαρίζετο) to Croesus (ἀποπέμπεται) is peculiarly abrupt in this instance. One 'edited' MS. has ἀμαθὴς, keeping Solon as the subject. Critics hardly require to be told that such an emendation is not emendation, but a make-shift device. The probable cure lies in changing the second οὔτε into ὅ τ ε... 'and he (viz. Croesus)....' This is quite in keeping with Herodotean idiom.

[For the change cf. *Anab.* vii. 6, § 38, where A.B. give οὔτε for the ὅτε of the rest. There, as here, a preceding negative helped the corruption.]

T. G. TUCKER.

VARIA.

Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 8. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο Ἀπατούρια, ἐν οἷς οἱ τε πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.

It is somewhat grotesque that 'fathers' should be mentioned as a class by themselves and pointedly distinguished from 'relatives.' The Greek does not mean 'fathers and other relatives'; and, even if it did, there is no reason for specifying fathers separately. When we remember the character of the Apaturia as a festival of the phratries, can there be any doubt that for πατέρες we should read φράτερες?

Dem. *Phil.* 1. 22. πόθεν δὴ τούτοις ἡ τροφή γειήσεται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω καὶ δείξω, ἐπειδὴν διότι τηλικαύτην ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι

τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πολίτας τοὺς στρατευομένους αἶμα κελεύει διδάξω.

In this passage τοὺς στρατευομένους can hardly be right, because only a portion of the troops were to be citizens. Dobree thought of τοὺς συστρατευομένους, Spengel of πολίτας τοῖς στρατευομένοις παρεῖναι. Probably we should read πολίτας τοὺς στρατευομένους <ἐνίοις> εἶναι, where the loss of ἐνίοις will be due to the -ενοὺς preceding. Ἐνιοὶ (εἰσὶν οἱ) is sometimes put thus in apposition instead of taking a genitive. Thus *Ol.* 3. 11, τοὺς περὶ τῶν στρατευομένων ἐνίοις: *Aphob.* A. 23 ὅς' ἔνι μὴδὲ καταλειφθῆναι παντάσῃν ἡμφεσβήτηκε: *Thuc.* 1. 6. 6, ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἷς: *Ar. Eth.* 9. 1. 1164 a 27, ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις δ' ἐνίοις: *Poet.* 9. 1451 b 19, ἐν ταῖς τραγηδίαις ἐνίοις. We find

such words as πολλοί, οἱ πολλοί, ἕκαστος, even οἰδεῖς, added in the same way.

* * *

Isocr. (*in Nicoclem*), 2. 45, εὐρήσομεν τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν (i.e. τῶν ἀνθρώπων) οὔτε τῶν σιτίων χαίροντας τοῖς ὑγιεινοτάτοις οὔτε τῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων τοῖς καλλίστοις οὔτε τῶν πραγμάτων τοῖς βελτίστοις οὔτε τῶν θρεμμάτων τοῖς ὠφελιμωτάτοις, ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἐναντίας τῷ συμφέροντι τὰς ἡδονὰς ἔχοντας.

Θρεμμάτων is the reading of the *Urbīnus* and one other good MS. as against the μαθημάτων of the rest. It has had the fortune, rare with bad readings, to be defended by Cobet (*N.L.* p. 154, and *V.L.* p. 515), who refers to the Athenian ὀρτυγοτρόφοι as illustrating Isocrates' meaning, and it is adopted by Blass. But θρέμματα is rather ludicrous after ἐπιτηδεύματα and πράγματα. Perhaps another word may be found, giving a better sense and also explaining better the *v.l.* μαθημάτων. Isocrates must have written τῶν θεαμάτων τοῖς ὠφελιμωτάτοις. A word like θέαμα harmonises much better with πᾶγμα and ἐπιτηδεύμα, and is confirmed by θεωροῦντες (48) and the μῦθοι which are said to have been made not only ἀκουστοί, but even θεατοί (49). Cf. Thuc. 2. 39. 1, θεάματος ὅ... ἂν τις ἰδὼν ὠφελθῇ. Isocrates could also write θεωρημάτων in the same sense, and that would account for the ρ in θρεμμάτων; but perhaps θεαμάτων is the more likely.

* * *

Isocr. (*Panath.*), 12. 131, κατεστήσαντο γὰρ δημοκρατίαν οὐ τὴν εἰκῇ πολιτευομένην καὶ νομίζουσαν τὴν μὲν ἀκολασίαν ἐλευθερίαν εἶναι, τὴν δ' ἐξουσίαν ὃ τι βούλεται τις ποιεῖν εἶδαι· μονίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις μὲν ἐπιτιμῶσαν, ἀριστοκρατίαν δὲ χρωμένην.

Δημοκρατίαν... ἀριστοκρατίαν χρωμένην is an expression which no artist in words, such as Isocrates, would have thought of using. Read κεκραμένην, a word which his contemporary Aristotle employs once or twice in the same connection; *vide Pol.* 6. 3. 8: 8. 8. 2, ταῖς εὖ κεκραμέναις πολιτείαις. Cf. § 153, of this same oration: δημοκρατίαν... τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν μεμιγμένην.

* * *

Pausanias, 1. 23. 10, Ἀναχωρήσας οὖν (ὁ Φορμίων) ἐς τὸν Παιανίαν δῆμον ἐνταῦθα εἶχε δίαται, ἐς ὃ ναύαρχον αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίων αἰρουμένων ἐκπλεῖσαι οὐκ ἐφασκεν· ὀφείλειεν τε γὰρ καὶ οἱ, πρὶν ἂν ἐκτίσῃ, πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐκ εἶναι παρέχεσθαι φρόνημα.

No sense can be made of this, until we have altered παρέχεσθαι to παρέρχεσθαι, when everything becomes easy. Phormio had not courage to join his troops until he was clear of debt. In Pausanias there is no objection to παρέρχεσθαι: cf. for instance ἐρχόμενος in 1. 39. 1, and ἀνέρχεσθαι in 10. 30. 2. Ἐκπλεῖσαι cries out for an ἄν, which must be added.

* * *

Arist. *Rhet.* 3, 6; 1408a 9, οἷον τὸ φάναρ τὴν σάλπιγγα εἶναι μέλος ἄλγυρον.

For εἶναι read ἰέναι as in Plat. *Phil.* 51 D, τὰς ἐν τι καθαρὸν ἰείσας μέλος: *Laws* 812 D, ἄλλα... μέλη τῶν χορδῶν ἰείσων. A trumpet can be said to *emit*, but not to *be* a strain of music.

* * *

Arist. *περὶ ὕπνου*, 2. 455 a 16, ἔστι δέ τις καὶ κοινὴ δύναμις ἀκολουθοῦσα πάσαις (ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν), ἣ καὶ ὅτι ὄρα καὶ ἀκούει καὶ αἰσθάνεται· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῇ γε ὄψει ὄρα· ὅτι ὄρα καὶ κρίνει δὴ καὶ δύναται κρίνειν ὅτι ἕτερα τὰ γλυκεὰ τῶν λευκῶν οὔτε γεύσει οὔτε ὄψει οὔτε ἀμφοῖν, ἀλλὰ τινι κοινῇ μορῇ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἀπάντων.

There is evidently something wrong about ἣ... αἰσθάνεται, and one or two MSS. omit the last καί. I should rather conjecture that we ought to add something, and read ἣ καὶ ὅτι ὄρα καὶ ἀκούει καὶ <γεύεται> αἰσθάνεται. The loss of γεύεται will be due to homoeoteleuton. The use of γεύσις in the next sentence points to the probable occurrence of the word in this; and Aristotle has it several times in the same connection with ὄψις and ἀκοή. For a somewhat similar omission cf. *Magna Moralia*, 2. 7. 1204 b 8, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ <ιδεῖν καὶ> ὀσφρανθῆναι, where ἰδεῖν καὶ is Susemihl's tolerably certain restoration from the words that come a few lines further, ἐπὶ δέ γε τοῦ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ὀσφρανθῆναι, and from the fact that ἰδεῖν and ἀκοῦσαι so constantly go together.

* * *

Arist. *Problem.* 33, 7, διὰ τί τὸν μὲν παρμὸν θεὸν ἡγοῦμεθα εἶναι, τὴν δὲ βῆχᾶ ἢ τὴν κόρυζαν οὐ; Ἡ διότι ἐκ τοῦ θεοτάτου τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς, τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὅθεν ὁ λογισμὸς ἐστὶ, γίνεταί;

Did the Greeks regard sneezing as a god? They called it 'a bird,' Aristophanes tells us, but to personify it as a god was more in the Roman way. Read θεῖον, which is indeed indicated by τοῦ θεοτάτου.

* * *

Diogenes Laertius has not unfrequently written a wretched epigram on the philosopher whose life he gives us. At the end of his account of Socrates (2, 46) he thus throws in a little thing of his own, the second line of which has suffered, if the verses of Diogenes could suffer, from the hand of a copyist:

πῖνέ νυν ἐν Διὸς ὦν, ὃ Σώκρατες· ἦ·σεῖ γὰρ ὄντως
καὶ σοφὸν εἶπε θεός, καὶ θεὸς ἡ σοφία. κ.τ.λ.

The first line makes it clear that in the second he wrote καὶ σοφὸν εἶπε θεὸς καὶ θεὸν ἡ σοφία. The god declared Socrates wise and his wisdom declared him a god. This is so palpable that it has no doubt been pointed out before. The reverse blunder occurs 2, 100 where φῆς δ' εἶναι θεός is written for φῆς δ' εἶναι θεόν.

* * *

Plat. *Phaedo*, 82 D, ἐκεῖνοι, οἷς τι μέλει τῆς ἐαυτῶν ψυχῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ σώματι (οἱ σώματα) πλάττοντες ζῶσι κ.τ.λ. Heindorf's σώματι λατρεύοντες, adopted by Schanz, is at present the only plausible emendation of this passage, but it would appear from Ast's *Lexicon* that λατρεύω does not occur in Plato and that λατρεία is only used by him in its proper religious sense (Apol. 23 C: *Phaedr.* 244 E). Perhaps ὑπηρετοῦντες is the word that he used here.

* * *

Athenaeus, 507 C, Σωκράτης...ἐνύπνιον ἔφησεν ἑωρακεῖναι πλειόνων παρόντων· δοκεῖν γὰρ ἔφη τὸν Πλάτωνα κορώνην γενόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν μου ἀναπηδήσαντα τὸ φαλακρόν μου κατασκαριφᾶν καὶ κρώζειν περιβλέπουσιν.

Kaibel omits μου in both places as *ab epitomatore additum*. A much safer and more obvious change is to substitute ἐδόκουν for δοκεῖν. It is the regular word in telling a dream, e.g. Ar. *Vesp.* 15 ἐδόκουν ἀετὸν καταπάμενον κ.τ.λ.

* * *

Herodotus, ix. 122, The Persians are said to have addressed Cyrus in words beginning ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς Πέρσῃσι ἡγεμονίην διδοί, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοί, Κῦρε, κατελὼν Ἀστυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ κ.τ.λ. The extreme awkwardness of

the words ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοί does not seem to have struck any editor before Herwerden, who attempts to emend the passage by inserting ἐθνέων μὲν before Πέρσῃσι. In this he seems to have missed the right track. The natural thing to say was that Zeus had made the Persians masters of mankind and had made Cyrus master of the Persians. This sense we can get by the insertion of one word, if we write the passage thus: ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς Πέρσῃσι ἡγεμονίην διδοί ἀνδρῶν, <Περσέων> δὲ σοί, Κῦρε. I had arrived at this conclusion, I may add, before I knew that Herwerden had found fault with the words as they stand. Κατελὼν Ἀστυάγην must be either omitted, with Gomperz or altered to the dative: the vocative—for it cannot be nominative—is ludicrous.

* * *

Thucydides, iv. 36, 3, καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι βαλλόμενοι τε ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἤδη καὶ γιγνόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῷ ξυμπτόματι, ὡς μικρὸν μεγάλῳ εἰκάσαι, τῷ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις—ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ τῇ ἀτραπῷ περιελθόντων τῶν Περσῶν διεφθάρησαν, οὗτοί τε ἀμφίβολοι ἤδη ὄντες οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς τε ὀλίγοι μαχόμενοι καὶ ἀσθενεῖα σωμάτων διὰ τὴν σιτόδειαν ὑπεχώρουν.

So no doubt the passage should be arranged, if it is what Thucydides wrote: and its correctness is now supported by Mr. Hunt's transcript of the recently found papyrus. Thucydides, we must suppose, forgot that the words οὗτοί τε κ.τ.λ. were part of a parenthesis, and went on with ἀλλὰ...ὑπεχώρουν as though they were the main sentence. This may well have been the case. Yet in spite of the papyrus I would just suggest for consideration a minute change which may save the author's credit. Ἀλλά and ἅμα are often confused. Read ἅμα here, and the passage will run thus: γιγνόμενοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ξυμπτόματι τῷ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις (ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ τῇ ἀτραπῷ περιελθόντων τῶν Περσῶν διεφθάρησαν οὗτοί τε ἀμφίβολοι ἤδη ὄντες οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον), ἅμα πολλοῖς τε ὀλίγοι μαχόμενοι καὶ ἀσθενεῖα σωμάτων διὰ τὴν σιτόδειαν ὑπεχώρουν. The word ἅμα emphasises the combination of two causes that made the Lacedaemonians give way. They were much outnumbered and also they were much enfeebled.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

CONCESSIVE PARTICLES IN MARTIAL.

MARTIAL'S usage of the particles of concession has been sadly neglected by the grammarians, Schmalz, *Handb. d. Alterthumswiss.* II.² § 263, refers to the usage of Juvenal, but not one word does he say in regard to Martial. Draeger, *Hist. Synt. d. Lat. Spr.* II.² § 566 foll., Kuehner, *Ausf. Gram.* II., p. 960, Landgraf (*Reisig, Vorles.* III. Ann. 427b), all omit Martial in their lists of the writers of the Silver Age. Martial, following the usual practice of the poets, does not by any means make use of all of the available particles of concession but is partial to only two or three of them. *Etsi*, which is very rare in poetry, avoided entirely by Horace and Tibullus, only employed twice by Propertius and twice by Vergil, is not used at all by Martial. *Etiam*, *tametsi* and *tamenetsi*, as one would expect, are not found in Martial, *quamquam* rarely a favourite with the poets, did not meet with favour either with Propertius or Martial, not being used at all by either of these poets. Martial employs *ut* with this force but once: II. 41. 4: *verum ut dixerit*; his favourite particles are *licet*, *quamvis* and *cum*.

Licet always appears in Martial with the subjunctive and, with but one exception, always with a primary tense. This word, though having a concessive force, was still felt to be a verb, and so a few examples of *licebit* are to be found. Draeger cites no example of such a usage; Haase, in a note to Reisig III, § 262 only Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 11, 53; Wagener (*Neue Formenlehre* II.³ p. 973) cites only Hor. *Epod.* 15, 19; S, 2, 2, 59; Lucan 7, 855; 8, 629; Claudian, *in Rufin.* 1, 196; Martial uses *licet* 54 times:

I.	60,	1	licet intres.
II.	1,	8	sis licet.
	23,	1	licet rogetes.
	70,	4	„ abluas.
III.	6,	5	„ dederit.
	30,	5	„ dicas.
	81,	5	sis licet.
IV.	16,	6	defendat Regulus ipse licet.
	54,	8	lautior sis licet.
(10) V.	19,	7	sit licet unum.
	28,	3	licet vincas.
	39,	8	licet fuissem, a sequence extremely rare (cf. Juv. XIII. 56).
	51,	6	fidiculae licet cogant.
	60,	1	allatres licet et laccessas.
	65,	13	saepe „ numeretur.

VI.	23,	3	licet manibus blandis instes.
	49,	10	„ hoc velis negare.
	51,	3	„ usque votes mittasque rogesque.
	52,	5	sis licet placata.
(20)	64,	29	sit placidus licet.
VII.	51,	13	nolis licet.
	97,	5	instent licet premantque curae.
VIII.	8,	1	des licet.
	28,	15	licet sint aemula dona.
	44,	2	cooperis licet.
	54,	1	licet tribuas.
	59,	12	ardeat licet.
IX.	Praef.	1	licet nolis.
	3,	3	„ fiat.
(30)	37,	10	sit lusca licet.
	38,	1	licet ludas.
	91,	3	„ essent.
X.	12,	12	redeas tu licet (= etiamsi).
	68,	11	licet ediscas referasque.
XI.	16,	6	sis gravior licet.
	8	„	Patavina „
	52,	17	relegas licet.
	98,	17	sedeas tu licet.
	104,	22	Lucretia sis licet.
(40) XII.	14,	6	nec sint saxa licet.
	29,	3	Tu licet observes teneasque
	82,	2	tu „ volis.
	8	„	sint „ sordidiora.
XIII.	2,	1	Nasutus sit usque licet.
	3,	5	haec licet disticha mittas.
	86		iste licet pungat.
	88		sint lauta licet.
XIV.	7		licet haec membrana voce-
			tur.
	8		nondum legerit hos licet.
(50)	28		sit licet et ventus.
	70		licet rodas.
	55		caedas licet usque.
	130		Ingrediare viam caelo licet.
	208		Currant verba licet.

Martial uses *licebit* also 6 times:

II.	81	sit licebit.
IV.	55,	28 rideas licebit.
VIII.	21,	11 stent licebit.
VIII.	64,	5 sit vultus tibi levior licebit.
X.	100,	5 habeas pedem licebit.
XIII.	54	Cerretana mihi fiat licebit.

Quamvis (a) occurs 15 times, is used only with the subjunctive and always with primary tenses:

VII.	7,	1	quamvis teneat.
	19,	5	„ cesserit.
	69,	8	„ sit.

VIII. Praef. 10 *quamvis* scripta sint.

IX. 38, 5 „ sint.

51, 4 „ sit.

XI. 23, 5 „ futuam.

43, 9 „ iaceret.

108, 1 „ possis.

XII. 29, 15 „ caleant.

77, 11 „ caverit.

XIII. 73 „ esset.

81 „ gerat.

XIV. 95 „ rubeam.

120 „ dicant.

Quamvis (b) with a participle (rare in Classical Latin, Kühner *Ausf. Gram.* II. p. 960, Ann. 3) occurs 5 times :

V. 15, 5 *quamvis* reverentia.

65, 1 „ obstante.

VI. 58, 5 „ lassa.

XI. 69, 11 „ rapta.

104, 15 „ stertente.

Quamvis (c) with an adjective occurs 3 times :

I. 62, 2 *quamvis* tristior.V. 52, 7 *quamvis* ingentia.

X. 11, 8 „ plurima.

It will be noticed that Martial employs *quamvis* both with the comparative and with the superlative. *Cum* is used as a concessive particle 9 times and chiefly in the earlier books :

III. 27, 1 *venias cum saepe vocatus.*IV. 6, 3 *cum sis improbius.*13, 10 *cum fuerit, non videatur anus.*19, 1 *cum sit pupa.*2 „ „ *anus.*64, 23 „ „ *tam prope Mulvius.*73, 1 „ „ *extremas duceret horas.*

(this may also be taken as temporal)

VIII. 20 *cum facias versus ducen.*XIV. 1, 4 „ *videat tam prope lacus.**Quantumvis* and *quamlibet* do not occur.

It is thus seen that the reigning concessive particle in Martial is *licet*, (54 times) and that next to this he prefers *quamvis* (15 times).

EMORY B. LEASE.

NOTE ON HOMER; *ILIAD* XIV. 139 ff.

Ἀτρείδῃ, νῦν δὴ πού Ἀχιλλῆος ὀλοὸν κῆρ
γῆθῆει ἐν στήθεσσι, φόνον καὶ φύζαν Ἀχαιῶν
δερκομένῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐ οἱ ἐνὶ φρένες οὐδ' ἡβαιαί.

So speaks Poseidon in the guise of an old man whose sympathies are on the side of Agamemnon. Hence there is no possible objection to the tone of ὀλοὸν, but only to the abnormal foot, a tribrach, which it produces in the fifth place in the verse.

At first sight one might imagine that ὀλοὸν had taken the place of an original λάσιον, as we find :—

B 851 Παφλαγόνων δ' ἡγήτο Πυλαιμένους
λάσιον κῆρ

Π 554 ὦρσε Μενουτιάδew Πατροκλῆος λάσιον
κῆρ.

and in reference to Achilles himself there is the well known passage :—

A 188 ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ
στήθεσσιν λασίουςι δαίνοντο μερμήριζεν.

but apart from the doubt as to the suitability of λάσιον here, where the necessity for an

uncomplimentary term is fairly apparent, and it is certain, if only from Π 554, that λάσιον is not such, it is impossible to understand why λάσιον should ever have been displaced by ὀλοὸν. I believe the true restoration is this :—

Ἀτρείδῃ, νῦν δὴ πού Ἀχιλλῇ οὐλόμενον κῆρ
γῆθῆει ἐν στήθεσσι, φόνον καὶ φύζαν Ἀχαιῶν
δερκομένῳ.

Here Ἀχιλλῇ represents Ἀχιλλῆι and the removal of this elided ι would be quite a sufficient motive to induce the later Greeks to substitute ὀλοὸν for what they would consider, erroneously of course, the synonymous οὐλόμενον—inserting the commoner for the rarer form.

The expression as restored has its exact counterpart in :—

N 494 ὥς Αἰνεία θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι γεγῆθει,

where there was no inducement to tamper with the dative Αἰνεία. It is a singular additional confirmation of Ἀχιλλῆι in our

present passage, that the vast majority of our MSS., all the best, although there is complete unanimity as to the genitive of the proper name, give in defiance of grammar *δερμομένης*, and not *δερμομένου* in l. 141. This peculiarity of construction, which is the exact reverse of the usual one, is defended by a very weak-kneed trio I 636, K 188, Ψ 206, which I recommend to the consideration of those who may be interested in the point.

Classen's interpretation of *οἰλόμενος* needs no defence, but the coincidence of the Shakespearian use of 'shrewd' is worth a moment's notice. The 'Beshrew my heart,' of Juliet's nurse approximates very closely to *οἰλόμενον κῆρ* here. Oddly enough if we wanted an equivalent of the somewhat

remote modern use of 'shrewd' we have it in *λάσιον* according to tradition (Eust. τὸ δὲ λάσιον κῆρ ἀντὶ τοῦ πυκνὴ ψυχὴ, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ μεταληπτικῶς πυκνὴ καὶ συνετή). The only difficulty in the way of admitting this traditional explanation of *λάσιον* in the phrase *λάσιον κῆρ* is the above quoted passage, A 189, where 'shrewd,' 'wise,' 'prudent' would ill consort with the furious wrath of Achilles. It may be that *στήθεσσι λασίοισι* is only another example of the habitual carelessness of the later Greeks in maintaining obsolescent words. If this be so, I would suggest *στήθεσ' ἀλαστείοισι*, 'in his indignant breast,' (cf. *νεικέω, νεικέω*) as an original by no means unlikely to have been corrupted into the vulgate.

T. L. AGAR.

ARISTOPHANES, *ACHARNIANS*, 709.

ὅς μὰ τὴν Δήμητρ' ἐκεῖνος ἥνικ' ἦν Θουκυ-
 δίδης
 709 οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀχαΐαν ῥαδίως ἠνέσχετ'
 ἂν,
 ἀλλὰ κατεπάλαισεν ἂν μὲν πρῶτον Εὐάθλους
 δέκα,
 κατεβόησε δ' ἂν κεκραγὼς τοξότας τρισχί-
 λους,
 ὑπερετόξευσεν δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς τοὺς
 ξυγγενεῖς.¹

The difficulty of l. 709 is to understand why Thucydides, in the days of his prime, should have refused to 'put up with αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀχαΐαν.' It is known (Hesychius) that Ἀχαΐα was an epithet of Demeter; and the cult of Δ. Ἀχαΐα is mentioned by Herodotus 5, 61; cf. also Plutarch, *de Isid.* 69 (ὥς ἐν ἄχει οὖσης). Hence the meaning is explained to be, either that he would not have put up with Demeter's presence (as being ill-omened), or would have shouted down even the shrieks of the grief-distracted mother, or would have drowned the noise of her drums and cymbals (ἀπὸ τοῦ κτύπου τῶν κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ ζήτησιν τῆς Κόρης, *schol.*). But such vagueness of reference is more in the style of Lykophron

than of Aristophanes, and is especially unlikely in so forcible a passage. Hamaker conj. *Αἰτοκλῆς παλαίων*. Blaydes remarks *nihil quidem mendosus videtur hic locus*. The true reading is, I think, suggested by the climax of the passage τοξότας, ὑπερετόξευσε, κ.τ.λ. The goddess who excelled at archery was of course Artemis, the goddess of the chase, ἐλαφάβολος, θηροφόνη: and she could be jealous of mortal rivalry, witness the offence given by Agamemnon with his οὐδὲ ἦ Ἀρτεμῖς (Tzetzes *ad* Lykophr. 183). Now the huntress maiden had at Athens (*schol.* Ar. *equit.* 660) the title Ἀγροτέρα, cf. Aristotle, *Αθ. πολ.* 58. Also she had, though it occurs less frequently, the epithet Ἀγραία —cf. *schol.* Plato, *Phaedrus* 229 c Ἀγραίᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἱδρυσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τὸ ἔφορον εἶναι παντὸς τοῦ ἀγρίου τὴν θεὰν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀγρίον καὶ ἀνήμερον καταστέλλειν. Cf. Eustath. 361, 16. Similarly, Apollo had the title Ἀγραῖος, Pausan. i. 41, 3. Aristophanes himself uses the name Ἀγροτέρα in three of his plays, and in this passage I would read

οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀγραίαν ῥαδίως ἠνέσχετ' ἂν.

The error Ἀχαΐαν was possibly helped by the expletive μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα having occurred in the line preceding.

C. E. S. HEADLAM.

¹ τοὺς ξυγγ. 'the (Scythian) relatives of,' cf. also *supra*, 704.

NOTES ON VERGIL AND TACITUS.

Cuncta equidem tibi, rex, fuerit quodcumque
fatebor

Vera, inquit: neque me Argolica de gente
negabo.

Hoc primum: nec, si miserum fortuna
Sinonem

*Finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba
finget.*

Verg. *Aen.* II 77-80.

IN this passage all the commentators seem to me to have overlooked a point, though not unnaturally since it is one of Vergil's feeblenesses. *Finxit* is interpreted as 'has made me to appear,' and the same sense is ascribed to *finget*. Evidently however the two words are not placed in their emphatic positions, made more emphatic by the antithesis, without good reason. Now the only reason which I can see for this is that the words have a double sense (1) the obvious sense, (2) a covert sense. 'If fortune has *feigned* (i.e. (1) 'made to appear' (2) 'made falsely to appear') Sino unfortunate, it shall not *feign* him (i.e. (1) 'make him to appear' (2) 'make him *falsely* to appear') a vain liar? Thus in the *finxit* Sino insolently mocks those whom he is deceiving, and in the *finget* the poet by an employment of the Tragic Irony makes him express his own condemnation. 'Not falsely shall fortune make him out a liar.'

That this is what Vergil intended is, I think, clear; it is an imitation of Greek Tragedy, but wanting in vigour and out of place in the Epic, as the oversight of all the commentators seems to prove.

Silvia prima soror, palmis percussa lacertos,
Auxilium vocat et duos conclamat agrestes.
Aen. VII. 503-4.

In the note on this passage Conington states that the only quoted parallel to the words in Italics is Claudian *Rapt. Proserp.* II 248-9 *planctuque lacertos verberat*. But Facciolati gives us three references to Ovid's *Metamor-*

phoses (s. *lacertus*) and one to Lucan: we may add Statius *Silv.* II 6. 82. In all these passages some form of *plango* or its derivatives occurs, and Sidgwick explains the action in our passage as a 'natural gesture of horror.' Plainly, however, the gesture is in the *Aeneid* a signal and not a mere expression of horror, as appears from l. 504. Vergil therefore understands the gesture in a different sense from his successors. Whether 'natural' or not, it may be of great antiquity, since under the name *āsphtanam* it was a form of challenge used by wrestlers, etc. in ancient India.

Mox cessere hostes et sequentibus diebus
crebra pro portis proelia serebant.—Tac. *Hist.*
V c. 11.

This phrase is usually explained as equivalent to *crebra proelia committebant*. But it is impossible to distinguish between the use of *sero* here and in

bella ex bellis serendo.—Sall. *Mithr.*

ex aeternitate causa causam serens.—Cic.
De Fat. 12.

alternum seritote diem concorditer ambo
—Ennius.

rerum humanarum ordo seritur. — Liv.
xxv. 6.

Therefore the meaning is 'they engaged in a series of combats' sc. from day to day. It is true that from *consero* we have not only

nocti conseruisse diem—Ov. *Am.* III. 6. 10, but also *conserere pugnam*. This, however, is merely an accusative of result, and the things which are really 'strung together' are *manus*. *Serere pugnam* would be an impossible expression: the plural is wanted.

This explanation, let me add, seems to be accepted by Forcellini, from whom the above examples are cited.

F. W. THOMAS.

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI.

(Abstract of a paper read before the Oxford Philological Society on November 5, 1897, by Mr. A. S. HUNT, M.A.)

AFTER a few general remarks descriptive of the great find of papyri made by Mr. Grenfell and himself at Oxyrhynchus last winter, Mr. Hunt gave a sketch of that part of the collection, comprising about one-sixth of the whole, which has up to the present been examined. The literary section was first dealt with. Among the classical pieces not previously extant, the following were specified:—

(1) A Sapphic fragment, from a MS. of the third century, A.D. The five stanzas of which this is composed are rather mutilated, but the sense of the first three is clear, and satisfactory restoration is so far possible. The occasion of the ode is the departure of the brother of Sappho—for there seems to be no reason for doubt that she herself was the writer—upon a voyage.

(2) A hexameter fragment in the dialect of Alkman, and probably to be attributed to him. The papyrus contains three broken lines from the end of a poem, and four complete ones from the beginning of another.

(3) A prose fragment, five columns in length, being part of a treatise on metre, most probably the *ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα* of Aristoxenus. The analysis of the different rhythms of which the fragment treats is illustrated by quotations from lyric poems, possibly the choruses of lost tragedies.

(4) A considerable fragment from a chronological treatise of doubtful authorship, giving a summary of the chief events during the years 356—316 B.C. Account is taken in this work not only of Greek, but of Oriental and Roman affairs, and events of literary interest also find a place. The contemporaneous discovery of a second piece of the Parian Chronicle, covering just the same period, lends this papyrus a peculiar interest.

Brief mention was also made of two comic fragments, a short elegiac fragment, and some mutilated *στίχοι μέλπουσι*, intended to be sung to the flute.

A long list was given of fragments from works already extant, special notice being taken of the following:—

(1) A leaf from a papyrus book of the third century, containing most of the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. The few

peculiar variants preserved in this early fragment are for the most part confined to the spelling of Christian names.

(2) A small vellum leaf from a fourth century MS. of the apocryphal 'Acts of Paul and Thecla.' The fragment exhibits a remarkable number of variations from the mediaeval text, and affords a valuable clue to the extent of the changes produced by the editing processes which the book is supposed to have undergone.

(3) A first-century Thucydides papyrus, recently published in the 'Archaeological Report for 1897 of the Egypt Exploration Fund. The importance of this discovery was shown to consist chiefly in the support given by it to the vulgate text, as against the attacks of some modern critics.

(4) A fragment of Sophocles's *Oedipus Tyrannus*, of the fifth century, which, if containing no remarkable variants, is not unimportant for purposes of textual criticism.

A connecting link between the literary and non-literary sections was found in a number of semi-literary documents—parts of collections of scholia, dictionaries of Homeric and other words, fragments of Greek accidence, medical prescriptions, and the like. A selection of the most interesting non-literary documents was then passed in review, illustrating the variety of the collection and the valuable information which these original records afford upon the public and private life of Roman Egypt.

This survey of the materials led to some deductions upon the relation between the papyri and certain departments of research. It is to Egypt that the scholar now chiefly looks, both for fresh additions to the classical treasury and for new evidence upon existing texts. Much insight too may be gained from this quarter into the obscurer byways of literature, the traces of which have become indistinct or even completely obliterated. To the theologian the papyri offer similar encouragement, by holding out hopes of the recovery, on the one hand of texts which go behind those which have descended to us, on the other of some of those records of early Christianity, which have been partially or entirely lost.

For the internal history of Egypt under Ptolemaic and Roman rule the papyri are by far the most important source of information; and Greek and Roman law may here be studied in the concrete. Palaeography has no less a debt to acknowledge. The Oxyrhynchus collection in particular will throw considerable light upon the development of the Greek literary hand, and will fill up some gaps in the evidence for the

history of cursive writing. It also includes some remarkably early specimens of tachygraphy. These papyri are, moreover, rich in miscellaneous palaeographical data, *e.g.*, for the history of abbreviations and contractions, the rise and growth of the use of accents, breathings and other lection signs, the forms of books, and other cognate subjects.

THE TEXT AND INTERPRETATION OF LOGIA JESU II.

λέγει Ἰησοῦς, ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσατε ἃ τοῦ κόσμου ἔσονται οὐ μὴ εἴρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα.

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 15, 99 has οἱ μὲν εὐνουχίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν μακάριοι οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τοῦ κόσμου νηστεύοντες. The striking similarity of this last phrase with the above quoted logion seems to justify the correction of the acc. to the gen.

The whole passage in Clement, from which the extract is taken, may be read as a commentary upon the logion. The third book of the *Stromata* deals with heretical teachings about marriage, especially those which leaned towards asceticism. Among other writers Clement singles out Julius Cassianus, l.c. 91. Now Cassianus in the passage quoted by Clement makes special use of Isaiah 56, 3, μὴ λεγέτω ὁ εὐνοῦχος ὅτι ξύλον ἐγὼ εἰμι ζῆλον. Clement devotes two paragraphs l.c. 98, 99 to the discussion of this same text, and it is in the latter that the striking parallel to the logion occurs.

In this discussion, Cassianus, l.c. 91, appeals to 'a saying of the Lord' (ἔφη ὁ κύριος). Clement objects, l.c. 92, that it is not found in any of the four Gospels but is found in the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and then proceeds to interpret the saying in an allegorical manner, l.c. 93. From this it may be inferred that Clement had access to the Gospel in question, if indeed it was not actually before him at the time of writing this book of the *Stromata*; cf. *Strom.* iii. 9, 63 ff.

Let us now turn to iii. 15, 98-9, remembering (a) that Clement has Cassianus in view, (b) that we are to be ready therefore for references to the Gospel of the Egyptians. Clement begins by quoting Isaiah 56 vv. 3-5 and comments upon the passage

thus: 'Neither the condition of a eunuch, nor his keeping of the sabbath justifies him, unless he do the commandments.' It is in the same spirit that Clement ends the passage l.c. 99, and gives the interpretation of the strange phrase 'fasting from the world.' 'Those who have made themselves eunuchs from all sin (i.e. spiritually) for the kingdom of heaven's sake—blessed are they for *they fast from the world*.'

I venture to suggest, therefore, that the Logia are fragments of the Gospel according to the Egyptians, or even fragments of an original collection of sayings upon which the Gospel was perhaps based. The extant portions of that Gospel are in the form of short sayings uttered in response to questions upon particular cases, and resemble very closely both in form and matter the recently discovered Logia; cf. Clem. *Strom.* iii. 6, 46; 9, 63 ff. (The first part of the fifth logion seems to be alluded to *Strom.* iii. 10, 68.)

If this is the case, the Logia are perhaps to be interpreted in the light of the Encratism amid which the Gospel according to the Egyptians was in vogue. (Salmon, *Introduction to N.T.* 4th Ed., p. 203.)

It is noteworthy however that Clement seems to attach an almost canonical authority to his quotations, cf. 64. Perhaps we may connect the Logia with the apocryphal Gospel, without closing altogether the question of their genuineness.

FRANK GRANGER.

NOTE.—Since I wrote the above, I find that Professors Harnack and Armitage Robinson have discussed the relation of the Logia to the Gospel according to the Egyptians, in the *Expositor* for December 1897. Harnack, however, does not refer to the above parallel, and Armitage Robinson draws somewhat different inferences.—F. G.

NOTE ON [DEM.] 42, 25.

[Dem.] 42, 25. καλὼν γὰρ κάγαθὼν ἔστι δικαστῶν τοὺς μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν ἐθέλοντας, ὅταν εὐπορώσι, λητουργοῦντας καὶ ἐν τοῖς τριακοσίοις ὄντας ἀναπαύειν, ὅταν τούτου δεόμενοι τυγχάνωσι, τοὺς δὲ νομίζοντας ἀπολλύειν, ὅταν εἰς τὸ κοινόν τι δαπανήσωσιν, ἄγειν εἰς τοὺς προεισφέροντας καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν δραπετεῦναι.

Baiter and Sauppe, Dindorf (1874), and Blass (1889) print in this passage ἐθέλοντας. The change of an accent restores clearness and order to the period. Read ἐθέλοντάς, and compare Dem. 19, 230, καὶ ὁ μὲν χορηγῶν καὶ τριηραρχῶν ἔτι καὶ ταῦτ' ὤφετο δεῖν ἐθέλοντῆς ἀναλίσκειν, λύεσθαι, μηδέν' ἐν συμφορᾷ τῶν πολιτῶν δι' ἐνδειαν περιορᾶν, 18, 68 τῆς ἐλευ-

θερίας αὐτεπαγγελτοὺς ἐθέλοντάς παραχωρήσαι Φιλίππῳ, *ib.* 99 τῶν ἐθειλοντῶν τριηράρχων τότε πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὧν εἰς ἣν ἐγώ, 21, 156 τραγωδοῖς κεχορηγήκε ποθ' οὗτος, ἐγὼ δ' αὐληταῖς ἀνδράσι. καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο τᾶνάλωμ' ἐκείνης τῆς δαπάνης πλέον ἔστι πολλῷ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ δῆπον. καὶ γὰρ μὲν ἐθειλοντῆς νῦν, οὗτος δὲ καταστάς ἐξ ἀντιδόσεως τότε, οὐ χάριν οὐδεμίαν δῆπον δικαίως ἂν τις ἔχοι, *ib.* 13 παρελθὼν ὑπεσχόμην ἐγὼ χορηγήσειν ἐθειλοντῆς, 4, 29 ἐγὼ συμπλέων ἐθειλοντῆς πάσχειν ὅτιοις ἔτοιμος, ἂν μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχη, 45, 85 πέντε τριήρεις ἐθειλοντῆς ἐπιδοὺς καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ πληρώσας ἐτριηράρχησε τριηραρχίας.

W. WYSE.

NOTES ON THE *PHILOCTETES*.

1. ἀλλ' ἀνέδην, ὃ δὲ χῶρος ἄρ' οὐκ ἔτι, οὐκ ἔτι φοβητὸς ὑμῖν, ἔρπετε.

'Nay roam at large; the place hath no more terrors for you—no more.'

The translation is Professor Jebb's, and ἄρ' οὐκ ἔτι is his correction of ἐρύκεται.

But ἄρα is not the conjunction required, nor is it helped by reading ὃ δὲ for ὅδε. Why not read ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔτι? We have several instances of the synizesis in this play:

ἔμελλ'. ἐπεὶ οὐδέν πω κακόνγ' ἀπώλετο. 446.

οὐ γὰρ ἂν σθένοντά γε εἰλέν μ'. ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἂν ὧδ' ἔχοντ' εἰ μὴ δόλφ. 947.

ἔξοιδα δ' ὡς μέλει γ'. ἐπεὶ οὐποτ' ἂν στόλον ἐπλεύσατ' ἂν τόνδ'. 1037.

Porson's correction of χωλὸς for χῶρος seems clearly to deserve acceptance.

2. οὐ γὰρ με τᾶλγος τῶν παρελθόντων δάκνει, ἀλλ' οἶα χρή παθεῖν με πρὸς τούτων ἔτι δοκῶ προλεύσσειν. οἷς γὰρ ἡ γνώμη κακῶν μίτηρ γέννηται, τᾶλλα παιδεύει κακά. 1358.

Philoctetes here gives us a screed of

juristic or ethical psychology: viz. He who has once committed a deliberate, premeditated crime is capable of any wickedness. Γνώμη, then, stands for the Aristotelian προαίρεσις, deliberate intention; which implies, when it violates law, ἀδικία, κακία, πονηρία, ἥθους—a readiness to break law on every occasion. This being the thought, τᾶλλα is evidently inadequate, and should be replaced by πάντα, as Meineke recommends. Professor Jebb reads κακοὺς; but κακά is perhaps preferable; for, according to the doctrine, the agents are already κακοὶ (depraved, wicked) without any further παίδευσις. Translate: 'It is not resentment for the past that stings me; but I seem to foresee what I am doomed to suffer from them in the future: for men whose deliberate intention has been author of a single wrong are prepared to perpetrate any crime.'

Here 'single' is implied by the aorist. The language (μῆτηρ, παιδεύει) is not felicitous, but no proposed emendation is satisfactory. Philoctetes, of course, is speaking perversely: for it is impossible to believe that fear rather than anger dictates his refusal to go to Troy; but Sophocles intends him to betray that long sufferings have warped his judgment—or his will.

E. POSTE.

THE WORD *χλωραύχην* IN SIMONIDES AND BACCHYLIDES.

SOME years ago I wrote a brief note in this *Review* (vol. iv. p. 231) in which I attempted to show that the words *χλωρής*, *χλωραύχην* applied to the nightingale in the *Odyssey* and in Simonides, should be referred to sound, not to colour; that the force of *χλωρός* here is the same as in *χλοερά ῥέεθρα*, derived from the springing of the grass as being *fresh, living, gushing*, so that the nightingale is described as having a clear, liquid, or gushing note; that, in fact, the idea is the same as in the 'liquidæ voces avium' of Lucretius, or the 'full-throated' of Keats. I am confirmed in my opinion that, at any rate, it is not a word of colour by the use of *χλωραύχην* in Bacchylides, v. 172—Imagine Bacchylides, four lines further on, using *χλωρώλενε Καλλιόπα* as equivalent to *λευκώλενε Καλλιόπα*!—Bacchylides applies to a girl, whom he wishes to compliment, the same epithet which his uncle applied to a nightingale. What have a girl's neck and a nightingale's in common? In this position of the case surely colour is put out of court. We must choose between two things, *form* and *sound*. Both bird and lady may be supple-necked, flexible-necked, or both may be clear-voiced, liquid-voiced. Here may be suggested a comparison with Hesiod, *Op.* 203, 'ἀηδόνα ποικιλόδειρον.' Paley says 'spotted-necked.' To this there is an objection which I must confess I regard as superior to all philological considerations. The nightingale has not a spotted neck. For I do not think anyone will maintain that the *αἰδών* of the Greeks was the so-called 'thrush-nightingale.'¹ But there is no difficulty in taking the word to mean 'with quivering throat,' and in that epithet ideas, both of form and sound, are conveyed. Or it may = *ποικιλόγηρον*, 'of varied note.'

¹ The true nightingale, of course, is common in Greece.

In the latter case an objection may be raised to giving *δέρη* (or *αἶχην*) the meaning of *λάρυγξ*: but I think the passage in Aesch. *Ag.* 328, 'ἐξ ἐλευθέρου δέρης ἀποιμώζουσι' supports that meaning; and in a physical sense the word *αἶχην* unquestionably can do duty for both our words 'neck' and 'throat.' It can be applied equally to the back of the neck which bears the yoke, or to the throat of the victim, which is cut.

I confess I halt between two opinions, form or sound. In favour of my original view that it refers to sound, there is this consideration: that it is difficult to see how *χλωρής* would get its sense as easily, if it referred to the flexible neck of the nightingale. In one case neck is omitted, in the other voice. Which would be most natural, 'flexible nightingale' or 'liquid nightingale?' I think it is easier to imagine the nightingale as all voice than as all neck—in fact, as an 'unbodied voice,' just as Shelley's lark was an 'unbodied joy.' The nightingale does not sing quite as much out of our sight as the lark does, but it is much more often heard than seen; the proportion, perhaps, is about the same as in the case of the cuckoo, who, to Wordsworth, was 'a wandering voice.' Hence it is not improbable that the nightingale might have an epithet which properly belongs to its note. On the other hand it may be adduced in favour of 'flexible-necked,' that it may not improperly in the passage of the *Odyssey* (xi. 518) convey the idea which is emphasized three lines further on by the words 'ἢ τε θαμὰ τρωπῶσα': and the *χλωρὸν γόνυ* of Theoc. xiv. 70 will probably support this rendering. Whichever of these two interpretations may be right, it is surely made quite clear by Bacchylides that the lexicons are wrong with their 'pale-green-necked.'

G. E. MARINDIN.

HAIGH'S TRAGIC DRAMA OF THE GREEKS.

The Tragic Drama of the Greeks. By A. E. HAIGH, M.A. With illustrations. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1896. Pp. 499. 12s. 6d.

MR. HAIGH is deservedly well known by his *Attic Theatre*. His present work is, there-

fore, one that the student of Greek tragedy will open with an interest due at once to the subject and to the author. But to some the first impression may be a certain sense of disappointment. In many respects the feeling is unjust. Mr. Haigh has sent out his book void of preface, but one would

fairly infer from the preface to the *Attic Theatre* that his purpose in this second treatise had been to collect and piece together all the available information concerning the origin, development and decay of the old Athenian tragic drama. It may further be inferred from the general style of the book itself that it is the result of Mr. Haigh's college lectures, and that its usefulness has been already tested. He has aimed to put sound material in the hands of students at large, not to write an 'epoch-making' book, and has supplied a comprehensive English manual of the subject. He has tried to say not new things, but always true ones. He has read much and intelligently; he writes clearly and sensibly; he is not carried away by new theories, because they are new; and he has covered the wide ground of his subject with tolerable evenness. But a book of this commanding form that contains little that is strikingly novel or new will, rightly or wrongly, disappoint scholars, glad though they may well be to recommend it to their students.

To enter somewhat more into detail, Mr. Haigh has divided his material into six chapters. In the first he treats briefly (too briefly one may well think, considering the size of the book) the early history of Greek tragedy. Then three several chapters are given to the lives and works of the three great tragedians. A fifth chapter deals with the form and character of Greek tragedy and a sixth with the later history of Greek tragedy down to its formal extinction. It may be said in passing that it would have been justifiable and doubtless productive of good, had the 'Great Three' been treated in another than the orthodox order, *i.e.* had Euripides been made to follow Aeschylus immediately, Sophocles being then discussed in his relations to the other two.

In the opening chapter the author's apparent absence of personal opinions and his lack of sureness in the handling of matters of mythology and archaeology hinder distinctness and coherence. A primitive indigenous nature-worship (phallus-worship, tree-worship) and an alien cult of Dionysus as coalescing forces are not made distinct enough. Nor is the tendency of a strongly marked and systematised cult to absorb kindred and even alien elements sufficiently emphasised. Again, the failure to distinguish periods of art and such vague reference as 'ancient paintings' vitiate the paragraph that deals with the Bacchantes and the minor followers of Dionysus (pp.

7-8). At p. 26 one misses in note 1 a reference to the late Professor Merriam's monograph on Icaria in the *Seventh Annual Report* of the American School at Athens. What is said of a 'formal prologue' in the Thespian tragedy (p. 31 *sq.*) is not satisfactory. Notwithstanding the impossibility of attaining absolute certainty in this matter (see p. 248, note 1), it is surely venturesome to claim a prologue in the Euripidean (or, rather, Aristophanic) sense for the early tragedy. The most that can be affirmed seems to be that the Aristotelian prologue (*i.e.* non-lyrical matter preceding the parodos) may be earlier than Aeschylus. It is hardly hypercritical to object to the statement (p. 35) that at the opening of Aeschylus's *Supplikes* 'the fifty [?] daughters of Danaus are seen *crouching round an altar*' (italics reviewer's) or to the implication (*ibid.*) that the opening anapaests of that play are sung by the whole chorus.

But Mr. Haigh improves as he advances in his subject. The account of Aeschylus is good—clear, sober and sensible. But one dislikes to see at this late day the famous tale of the *ἔκρια* and the stone theatre told as it is at p. 48. The fact that the Athenians were, in the growth of their empire, *δύσερωτες τῶν ἀπόντων* is perhaps a sufficient explanation of Aeschylus's geographical digressions (p. 76). The terms trilogy and tetralogy are assumed (p. 96) to go back to the fifth century, though there seems to be no direct proof that they are prae-Alexandrian. At p. 100 we miss in the account of the preservation of the plays a reference to v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf: indeed the references throughout the book often surprise one by their omissions. But of this more later. It must further be said that the question of the date of the *Prometheus* is not treated fully enough and that something should be said about the possible post-Aeschylean revision of the play.

Notwithstanding Mr. Haigh's apparent wish to treat Sophocles with orthodox admiration, his frank study of the poet makes him say some things that will give heretics a wicked pleasure; but the treatment is uneven. At p. 156 we are told that 'though the connexion [of Sophocles's choruses with the subject matter of the drama] varies in point of closeness, it is always obvious and intelligible.' It did not need M. Decharme's trenchant words (*Euripide et l'esprit de son théâtre*, p. 466) to emphasise the looseness of attachment of *Antig.* 334-375—a passage that would have been treated as a flagrant *εμβόλιμον* had its

author been Euripides. But at p. 188 Sophocles is charged with padding the *Ajax*, and the harshness of style of the *Antigone* is not overlooked at p. 162. The treatment of Sophocles's style at pp. 163-165 is excellent, but one would like to see its Thucydidean quality brought more into relief. To mention some matters of detail, at p. 136 (note 2) Sophocles is said to have copied Herodotus in *Ant.* 905-911, but the famous question about this passage is first referred to at p. 185, where it is handled with justice (I think) though perhaps too briefly. At p. 140 (or in chap. V.) something might perhaps have been said about the question of the regulation of the length of Attic plays. At p. 162 the opening of the *Antigone* is cited in illustration, of Sophocles's fondness for involved expression! This is but one of the instances, not a few, that might be cited of Mr. Haigh's uncritical attitude towards his texts (not to mention such things as his retention of the forms *σῶζω* and *οἰκτεῖρω*). The question of the dating of Sophocles's plays is not well handled. A combination of the data furnished by the hypotheses of the *Antigone* and *Alceste* (in the latter *ιζ* for *ιξ* seems certain) may be interpreted as showing that the numbers refer not to lists 'drawn up for the convenience of students and purchasers' (p. 402), but to records (didascalic?) in which the year of the poet's dramatic career was indicated. The date 437 B.C. for the *Antigone* would hang well enough together with the story of the generalship, especially as the *Γένος* says that Sophocles was made general seven years before the Peloponnesian war. Of course, this is assuming that the traditions of the generalship and of the date of the play are confused in our 'sources.' Again the references to the Plague and the reminiscences of the *Hippolytus* in the *Oedipus Rex* (cf. 965 sq. with *Hipp.* 1058 sq.; 584 sqq. with *Hipp.* 1012-1020; 1325 sq. with *Hipp.* 86 [and perhaps 1091 sqq.]; possibly too 481 sq. should be compared with *Hipp.* 564), taken together with other indications (see Bethe, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters in Alterthum*, p. 194, note 15), seem to fix 427 B.C. as the *terminus post quem* of Sophocles's play. The date of the *Electra* is not discussed. Before leaving Sophocles Mr. Haigh's just appreciation of that beautiful play, the *Thraciniae* (p. 188) must be warmly commended.

The long treatment of Euripides (pp. 304-321), in a manner the *pièce de résistance* of the book, is in the main just and

good, but demands correction and criticism in details. The works of M. Decharme (whose *Euripide et l'esprit de son théâtre* is incorrectly named at p. 207, but rightly at pp. 262 and 271) and of Professor v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (particularly his *Herakles*, which is cited at p. 299 without indication of volume or edition) would justly, it seems to the reviewer, have been more freely referred to. The latter's *Herakles*, as well as his *Analecta Euripidea*, should have been cited at p. 281 (note 1), and his reasonably certain dating of the *Heracidae* (in independent agreement with Haupt: see *Analect. Eur.* p. 152) between 429 and 427 should at least have been mentioned. M. Decharme's treatment of the Euripidean prologue and epilogue should have been mentioned in connection with what is said pp. 247-251, and his treatment of the chorus in Euripides, which is fairer, though less moderate, than Mr. Haigh's, should have been alluded to.

One may be justified in thinking that Euripides's relation to Sophocles is hardly well stated at p. 218. His 'priesthood' too (if 'priest' be the proper rendering of *πυρφόρος* as used in the *Γένος*) is not necessarily to be regarded as it is at p. 268 (note 2). (See Wilamowitz, *Herakl.* p. 5, note 8. Had a youthful temple-service any influence on Euripides's charming picture of Ion at Delphi?)

At p. 279 the fact that *Med.* 246 has been rejected by Wilamowitz and after him by Weil and v. Arnim (though M. Weil in his note on v. 266 inconsistently accepts a scheme of division of vv. 214-266 that would prove v. 246 genuine) might have been alluded to, if only to defend the tradition. It may be doubted in passing whether Mr. Haigh has quite done justice to Euripides's treatment of women. But it is not easy to do it. At p. 283 (note 4 to p. 282) the *Bacchae* and *Iph. Aul.* are dated 'soon after 406.' Did Euripides write in the other world? This brings us to the dating of Euripides's plays in general, a matter of which Mr. Haigh might have given a fuller treatment.

At p. 283 the methods of ascertaining the date of plays of which the date is not preserved in an *ιπρόθεσις* are not quite well stated. Nothing is said of allusions to historical events in the plays themselves or of references in Aristophanes and the scholia, although both these methods are employed in the sequel. The question of the authenticity of the *Rhesus* is unsatisfactorily handled. The more recent literature

of the subject including Professor Rolfe's article in *Harvard Studies* vol. iv. pp. 61 *sqq.*, might well have been referred to. The date assigned to the *Heraclidae* (430 or 429) ignores Wilamowitz (see above), nor is his discussion of the date of the *Hercules* alluded to. For the date assigned to the *Electra* M. Weil's notice in the *Sept Tragédies* should have been cited. Though the *Iph. Taur.* is placed after the *Helen*, the question of the probability (or improbability) of its posteriority is not discussed. The *Ion* is inserted between the *Helen* and the *Iph. Taur.* with its date given as 'very uncertain.'

It may be remarked that the treatment of the *Alcestis* can hardly be pronounced satisfying. The *Troades* too gets scant justice. The famous picture of the sack of the city in the *Hecuba* (p. 295) might well be called not merely 'one of the most beautiful lyrics in Euripides' but one of the most beautiful in all literature. It may be noted that Evadne's allusion to her future renown (p. 296, note 1), if indeed it be such, need be no more than a reference to the play itself (like that in *Alc.* 452, where see Weil's note).

The chapter on the form and character of Greek Tragedy is divided into sections dealing with general characteristics, the subjects, the characters (at the close of this section the famous 'pity and terror' is briefly discussed without, however, entering into the question of the objectivity or subjectivity of the 'terror'), unity of structure (what is said of the romantic drama at p. 338 is good: it might have been added that the first part of the story of *Othello* would have found place in a Euripidean prologue, like that of the *Hippolytus*), treatment of the plot, formal divisions, language, versification, symmetry of form, the satyric drama, and the titles of Greek tragedies. It may be noted that *πρόλογος* did not 'originally' (p. 351) denote the whole of the opening scene (that sense is Aristotelian) and that *ἐπεισόδιον* (*sc. μέρος*) is derived directly from *ἐπίστροφος*, 'subsequent entrance' (p. 353). The opening anapaests were more probably recited by the coryphaeus than by the chorus (p. 355). The term *στάσιμον* is rightly to be explained as an adjective derived directly from *στάσις* (see Professor Jebb's *Oed. Tyr.*² p. 8). In the section on language one ought to be referred to Professor Smyth's *Ionian Dialect*. To mention the Epic language as old Ionic (p. 366) is to tread on dangerous ground.

With versification Mr. Haigh does not deal as fully as he might have done; how-

ever, this is a case in which discretion is the better part of valour. Still in discussing iambs he might have gone a little further. The fact should be noted that it is Sophocles that elides at the end of a trimeter and otherwise shows a tendency to treat that verse as a colon, thus working with larger unities in the dialogue. The use of anapaests by the coryphaeus at the close of a choral song seems susceptible of a better explanation than that given at p. 375.

A very interesting part of chapter V. is that which has to do with symmetry of form. It is well that this important subject should be brought prominently to the notice of students. It has been too little regarded. It is meet too that it be treated with some wise reserve. But Mr. Haigh keeps too far to windward. It ought to be plainly said (and here again Mr. Haigh's uncritical attitude towards the text is very evident) that the bad preservation of the Tragedians is to blame for the fact that structural (and verbal) responses are not more evident. One is surprised to find (p. 382) the speeches of Medea and Jason in *Med.* 465-575 declared to be of fifty-four and fifty-five lines respectively. But v. 468 is generally and justly condemned; so the speeches are of precisely equal length. Again the speeches of Creon and Haemon in *Ant.* 639 *sqq.* (cited p. 382, note 2) may fairly be regarded as of equal length. The simplest cure for the difficulty in vv. 690-1 is to assume, with van Herwerden, a lacuna of a verse after 690, to be supplied perhaps <τὸ μὴ τῶν ἀντὶν ἐμφανῶς χρῆσθαι ποτε>. So again in the *Septem* it seems against all reasonable probability that we have in vv. 375-676 only partial symmetry: there are abundant indications that the text is mutilated. More than that there is some verbal balancing. Thus (the most striking case) in vv. 421-451 (15 = 15) the words *μεσημβρινοῖσι θάλασσειν* in 431 are answered by the same words in 446. But this is not the place to carry this discussion further. It may merely be added that the choral antistrophic responses referred to at p. 339 are not confined to phrases, but extend to words and syllables, and might well have been more fully treated and illustrated.

The final chapter on the later history of Greek tragedy, where Mr. Haigh's knowledge of inscriptional evidence comes into play, seems to call for no detailed discussion. It may be observed in passing that the doubt about the spelling of Meletus's name (p. 417) would seem to be settled by the puns in Plato's *Apology* (24 D and 25 C).

The book concludes with two useful appendixes, one of tragic poets with a brief account of each, supplemental to the account of minor poets in chap. VI.; the other, of titles of Greek tragedies and Satyric dramas classified according to mythic cycle and subject.

The process plates representing the

Tragedians (including, of course, the famous Lateran Sophocles) and the youthful Dionysus (facing p. 12) add to the attractive appearance of the book.

The mistakes in the printing and accenting of Greek are commendably few.

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GARDNER AND JEVONS' GREEK ANTIQUITIES.

A Manual of Greek Antiquities, Books. I—V by PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., Books VI—IX by F. B. JEVONS, Litt.D. London, Charles Griffin & Co., pp. 736, 1895. 16s.

THE present work aims at supplying the student with an introduction to the social, religious and political antiquities of Greece. Within the compass of a single volume of more than 700 pages the authors traverse the ground covered in the well-known Handbooks of Schömann, K. F. Hermann and Iwan von Müller. Professor Percy Gardner is responsible for the first four hundred pages, including Chapters on the 'Land and People,' on the house in Homeric and historic times, on Religion and Mythology, on Temples and Religious Societies, on Sacrifice and Oracles, on the Public Games and the Mysteries. These amongst other topics occupy the first three Books. The fourth is on the 'Course of Life,' and touches on Education and Travel, on the position of women, on the treatment of disease, and on burial and tombs. The fifth is on Commerce, including agriculture and pasturage, manufactures and professions, trade-routes, and the money-market and coins. Dr. Jevons is responsible for the remaining four books, on Constitutional and Legal Antiquities, on Slavery, on War, and on the Theatre.

The object of the authors is 'to present to the English reader the elements of these subjects in a readable form.' The result of a careful perusal of the seven hundred pages of their work, which has occupied all the leisure hours of a single week, is a cordial appreciation of the success which has on the whole attended the execution of their laborious task. Professor Gardner's work is marked throughout by a mastery of the archaeological and the literary evidence bearing on religion and mythology and also

on the antiquities of ordinary life; while Dr. Jevons is no less thorough in his treatment of constitutional and legal antiquities and the other important topics that have fallen to his share. Perhaps the most satisfactory parts of the work are those in which Professor Gardner summarises the results of his own papers elsewhere, *e.g.* the chapters on the Homeric house, and the Olympian festival, on the mysteries of Eleusis and on the Asclepian shrine at Epidaurus. The chapter on sacrifice (inspired in part by Robertson Smith) and that on the classification of myths are also of special interest and importance, although the interpretation of the meteorological group of myths may be open to exception. Thus Hera is to some extent a 'moon-goddess' (126), yet she persecutes Io who also 'seems obviously the horned moon wandering through heaven under the countless eyes of the stars, which the breath of morning makes pale and closes.' The mythological counterpart of this is the story that Io 'is watched by the hundred eyes of Argus until that guardian is slain by Hermes' (90). Hermes is here identified as a wind-god, but it may be doubted whether the closest observation of the stars at dawn has ever detected any obscuration due to the influence of the wind.

Dr. Jevons has done good service in writing a consecutive account of Attic law which ought to be of special use to students of the Private Orations of Demosthenes; he has also given us a very satisfactory chapter on a more novel subject, the Law of Gortyna, and he has supplied us with a fairly adequate discussion of the views of Dr. Dörpfeld on the Greek Theatre.

Among the slight defects of the work may be mentioned a certain amount of repetition due in part to the way in which the subjects overlap one another. Thus, the manumission of slaves is treated not

only by Dr. Jevons under the head of 'Emancipation of Slaves' (p. 623), but also by Professor Gardner (p. 195), and the same illustrations from the Delphic inscriptions are noticed by both. In another edition some of these redundancies may be readily removed. Certain minor inaccuracies, which must here be noticed, will, it is hoped, be corrected at the earliest possible opportunity.

On p. 5 we are told that Plato 'compares the bare hills of Greece to the limbs wasted by disease of a once robust body : ' whereas the passage quoted from the *Critias* does not refer to Greece in general but to the primitive state of the land that was afterwards known as Attica. On the same page *Boreas* is the N.E. wind, *Zephyrus* is N.W., and *Notus* the S.W. : but, although *Boreas* is sometimes described as the N.N.E. wind, there seems no sufficient reason for departing from the usual identification of these winds as N., W. and S. respectively. The influence of the climate of Attica and Boeotia on the intellectual character of their inhabitants is imperfectly illustrated by Pindar's *Βωτορία* ἴς: it would be better to refer to Cicero, *de Fato* iv 7, *Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici; crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani et valentes*. Pausanias is described on p. 15 as 'the traveller,' but he has already been mentioned on the previous page without any such description. Beginners, for whom such a description may be necessary, will perhaps find it hard to understand what is meant on p. 13 by saying that the market-place at Athens was frequented by 'the masters of the Socratic elenchus'; nor will they expect to be told in the text (instead of in the note) that 'Rumpf is wrong in supposing that there was anything special or technical in the application of the term' *μυχός* (p. 26). When they read (on p. 14) that 'Athens had other smaller markets besides that of the Ceramicus, for instance, a corn-market, *στοὰ ἀλφιτόπωλις*, built by Pericles,' and that 'in addition Piraeus had two markets, one close to the sea and one further inland,' they will infer that the corn-market in question was in Athens, but they may eventually discover that it was in Piraeus, as we are expressly told by the Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 548.¹

¹ It is, of course, very probable that there was also a *στοὰ ἀλφιτόπωλις* in Athens itself (Curtius, *Athen*, p. xc), but it was the one in the *Peiraeus* which was ascribed to Pericles (*ib.* p. cxvii), though Curtius himself (p. 173) happens to say the same of that in Athens. See, however, Curt Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II i 96, 101.

The reference (for *πηλίνους τοίχους*) to Plut. *Dem.* ii (on p. 18) is meant for 11 § 6. On the next page we are told that Hipparchus 'engraved moral saws' on the Hermae 'in all parts of the city'; but the passage in Plato's *Hipparchus*, p. 228, only mentions inscriptions on Hermae in the country. On p. 32 we are told that Demosthenes is 'speaking of the heroes of the days of Marathon' when he says that 'they erected such buildings and set up such works of art as posterity has never been able to surpass'; this would seem to imply that the Parthenon, &c., belong to 490 B.C., but a glance at the context of *Olynth.* 2 § 25 will show that the orator is referring to the age of Pericles no less than to the 'days of Marathon.'

Pausanias 'of Ceramicus' (p. 38) is an awkward rendering of *ὁ ἐκ Κεραμείων*, i.e. 'of Ceramicus.' The *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon is on pp. 45, 350 exceptionally called the *Economics*. On p. 65 the authority for the long hair of Gylippus rousing the ridicule of the Syracusans is not Thuc. i 6, but Plut. *Nic.* 19. The former refers to the Athenian *κρωβύλος*, on which mention may now be made of Studniczka's elaborate excursus to the new edition of Classen's *Thucydides*. One might have welcomed a precise reference on p. 101 to the interpolated passage in Hesiod in honour of Hecate, and on p. 149 to 'one of the few poetical lines' in the *Theogony*. On p. 131 *Aboniteichos* is used as an equivalent to *Ἀβώνον τέχης*. On p. 143 we are told that 'Lemnos contains an extinct volcano Mosychlus,' but it is known that not a trace of this volcano has been found by travellers, and the most plausible theory respecting it is that it is submerged among the shoals N.E. of the island (see Jebb's *Philoctetes*, p. 244). On p. 165, after Xenophon's *Mem.* iii 8 § 10 has been quoted as 'declaring such spots to be most fitted for dedication to the gods as could be well seen by all'..., we read 'Aristotle speaks to the same effect.' One might have expected a reference to *Pol.* viii 12 § 1. On p. 221 we find that the keenest shafts of polished wit are directed against outlandish cults by *Aristion*, Menander and Theophrastus. Is this a misprint for Aristophanes? On p. 232 the reference to ordeals by fire in the *Antigone* (*πῦρ διέρπειν*) might have been supplemented from the *Conon* of Demosthenes (54 § 40). For the varied applications of the word *ὄρνις* in the sense of 'omen' one would have preferred a precise reference to the *Aves*, l. 719, and similarly for the *πελειάδες* of Dodona, to *Trach.* 171. The chapter on 'Divination and Oracles' is

immediately followed (on p. 269) by one on the Public Games, ushered in by the words:—‘To our account of Greek gymnastics, we add here a brief account of the Public Games’; but gymnastics is not treated until a later part of the volume, so that the chapter on the Public Games must originally have been meant to follow p. 322. On pp. 270–274 and p. 379, students who are not in the habit of thinking in *Olympiads* would have been glad to see the dates B.C. added in the margin. The position of Andania is undefined on p. 275, but ten pages later it is described as ‘in Messenia’; similarly ‘Arrhephoric maidens’ are mentioned on p. 288 to be explained seven pages afterwards. ‘*Election* by lot’ (pp. 304, 484) is surely an inaccurate way of expressing *appointment* by that method. The fact that the παιδονόμος at Teos had to be ‘not less than 40 years old’ (p. 311) may be paralleled by the rule at Athens which required τὸν παῖσι χορηγοῦντα to have attained that age (‘*Αθ. πολ.* 56). A reference to the treatise just quoted (42 § 3) should have been added to the account of the training of the Athenian ἐφηβοί (p. 312), and also (43 § 1) to the notice of the κρηνῶν ἐπιμελῆται (p. 372). Of butter we are told on p. 328 that ‘the Thracians seem to have employed it more especially for rubbing themselves with,’ although the ordinary use of butter was so familiar to the Thracians that they are described by Anaxandrides as ἄνδρες βοτυροφάγοι. On the same page ἀκτάζειν is so rare a term for a seaside picnic that one might have expected a reference to *Plut. Symp. Q.* iv 4. The reference to *Plato* p. 212 on p. 335 requires the addition of the name of the dialogue, the *Symposium*. For the instance in ‘*Demosthenes*’ of a ‘dowerless wife’ who was ‘acknowledged to be legally married’ (p. 344), we should refer to p. 1015 (40 § 24) rather than to p. 1016. As the name of one of the early tribes of Attica, the form Ἐργαδεῖς (p. 380) has far less authority than Ἀργαδεῖς. In the English style there is little to criticise, though one does not like the split infinitives ‘to constantly issue’ (392), and ‘to annually estimate’ (505), or ‘spectators in carefully arranged clothes’ (317), or ‘the cultivation of the bee’ (376), or ‘fashion’ occurring twice in the same short sentence (95), or the odd effect produced by the description of Aegina in the following sentence:—‘(the Acropolis) was above the level of the city, and looked over it to Aegina, the eyesore of the Piræus, and Salamis and Acrocorinthus’ (p. 357). In contrast to these occasional

infelicities of phrase it is only fair to quote Dr. Gardner’s fine characterisation of Athena

‘As the pure and high-minded virgin, who shared the counsels of Zeus and imparted of her abundant wisdom to men; the lofty patroness who founded the Athenian state and still upheld it in a thousand dangers, giving its statesmen wisdom, and diffusing through the breasts of its soldiers valour, such as in days long gone by she had bestowed on Herakles and Tydeus and Odysseus; receiving from the hands of the Athenian people all that they had best to bestow of art and poetry, and in return blessing the givers of these gifts with tenfold increase so that their city shone throughout Hellas as the queen of wisdom and the mistress of beauty’ (p. 141).

Dr. Jevons contributes to the joint work more than 300 pages, mainly on Constitutional History and Law. This part of the work is, on the whole, excellent. Only a few small points admit of improvement in future editions. Thus, in connexion with Sparta we are told that the military office ‘was for ever limited to the strict duty of the original war-king or *heretoga*’ (419): we have to wait until the next chapter before this official is more precisely defined as the ‘*Teutonic heretoga*’ (438). Under Athens, it may be noticed that Aristotle’s ἐκτημόροι has better authority than Plutarch’s ἐκτημόριοι (444). In the time of Solon, we are informed that ‘for the archontate, each tribe elected the four men it thought best; and from the forty thus elected, the nine archons were chosen [or rather ‘appointed’] by lot’ (447); whereas we are expressly told that each tribe nominated ten (‘*Αθ. πολ.* 8 § 1), the number of tribes being four, as Dr. Jevons is well aware, for on a subsequent page he marks the transition from the ‘four old tribes’ to ‘the ten new tribes’ under Clisthenes (p. 450). The date at which the Areopagus was deprived of its political power by Ephialtes is stated (on p. 452) as B.C. 464, although the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία (25 § 2, followed by Busolt) gives B.C. 462. *ισοτέλεια* is described as ‘total exemption’ from the λειτουργίαι as well as from the μετοίκιον (p. 455); here it ought to be made clear that by the λειτουργίαι are meant those that fell on the μέτοικοι alone. The Athenian is said (as in Gilbert i 218²) to have come of age ‘on the completion of his seventeenth year’ (458, 635), although we are distinctly told in ‘*Αθ. πολ.* 42 § 1 that it was on the completion of the eighteenth (ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότες). The procedure in appointment by lot is somewhat awkwardly expressed on p. 464: ‘the mode of election was that in the fifth century the demes, in the fourth century the

tribes, each nominated a certain number of candidates from whom the requisite officials were *chosen by lot*; the demes, however, proved corruptible, and their power of nomination was transferred to the tribes.' In the note on δοκιμασία (465), it might have been well to refer to 'Αθ. πολ. 55 §§ 2, 3. The distribution of the duties of the στρατηγοὶ began at an earlier date than 'between B.C. 334 and 325' (as stated on p. 473, and in my note on 'Αθ. πολ. 61 § 1); an inscription as early as B.C. 352 mentions τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας χειροτονημένον (Foucart in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xiv 434, 443). The singular number δ' ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν (474) must now be altered into the plural (see 'Αθ. πολ. 43 § 1, 47 § 2). Perrot, p. 255, appears on p. 477, without the title of the work referred to: it is not every student that is familiar with the *Essai sur le Droit Public d'Athènes*. Harpocration's quotation (p. 465) is now superseded by the actual text of the 'Αθ. πολ. 58 § 3. The reference for the polemarch's possible retention of jurisdiction in certain military offences (p. 480) should be *Lys. c. Alcib.* § 3 (not § 4); the other reference for this (D. 169), I do not understand. The tribunal of the polemarch was not 'in the *Lyceum*' (479) but at the 'Ἐπὶ Λύκειον' ('Αθ. πολ. 3 § 5), and that of the Thesmothetae was not the *Thesmosion* (480) but the Θεσμοθετεῖον ('Αθ. πολ. l.c.). Certain private cases came not 'before the Fourteen' (482), but before the Forty. For the jurisdiction of the polemarch in δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων it is unnecessary to refer to any inscription (482); it is enough to quote 'Αθ. πολ. 58. Similarly, instead of relying on Caillemier's article on *Archontes* for information on the jurisdiction of the *Thesmothetae* (481), an article written while our information was still necessarily imperfect, it would have been better to follow c. 58 of the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία. *Paredri* is misprinted for *proedri* (486). On the *Ecclesia* (492) a precise reference to 'Αθ. πολ. 43 § 4 should be added. On p. 498 *on* is omitted between 'any proposal' and 'the subject.' 'Any man who had to resort to *legislation*' (529) is a misprint for *litigation*. The case of death ensuing 'from an act which no one could foresee would have such a result' is illustrated by an example somewhat far removed from the province of Attic law, or even of real life, viz. 'the act of a merchant who cast away a date-stone, thereby causing the death of the genie's invisible son' (530). ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι μῆδ' ἄν δανείζειν should now be quoted on the authority of 'Αθ. πολ. 6

and 9 rather than on that of Plutarch's *Solon* (539).

On p. 580 we read 'it was only the new dicasts who had to be distributed by lot among the *dicasteria*': the last word here seems to be used not of the 'law-courts,' but of the 'dicastic sections.' On p. 595 we are told that the manner in which 'the dicasts recorded their vote [in deciding between alternative penalties] in the fourth century is unknown': but it may be learnt from 'Αθ. πολ. col. 37, ἔπειτα πάλιν τιμῶσι, ἂν δέη τιμῆσαι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ψηφίζομενοι. Olynthus was captured by Philip not in 353 (p. 612) but in 348: this mistake is to be traced to Büchschütz, *Besitz u. Erwerb*, p. 112. νεώριον is surely a 'dock-yard' rather than a 'harbour' (658). On p. 676 one would have welcomed a reference to the authority for the use of ἀπὸ Λήμνου in the sense 'off Lemnos.'¹ On pp. 683, 686 A. Müller ought to be named, just as on p. 688. On p. 687 the index figures referring to two of the notes have gone wrong. On pp. 690-3 the term ἐκκύκλημα is repeated far too often, being printed no less than 24 times in Greek characters, and twice in English. 'It is only by a violent emendation and an improbable conjecture,' that the costume of tragedy can be connected with that of the Hierophants and Daduchi at Eleusis (698): but we have no reference to the passage meant, viz. *Athen.* p. 21 E. Texts on Thespis and on the 'choruses of men' are cited on p. 705 without any reference to their source, the Parian Marble. On pp. 706 and 708 it would have been well to refer to the copy of the inscription of B.C. 419-8 quoted in Haigh's *Attic Theatre*, p. 324. It is in connexion with the public performance of tragedies and comedies that we are told on p. 710 that 'where a modern audience cries *encore*, the Greek cried *αἰδής*,' but the only authority for this, *Xen. Com.* (i.e. *Conv.*) 9, 4, refers to a private performance of a pantomime; and it might have been more to the purpose to quote *Cic. Tusc.* iv 63 *cum Orestem fabulam doceret Euripides, primos tres versus revocasse dicitur Socrates*.

The following words are wrongly accentuated on the pages referred to: γυναικεία ἀγορά (13), θεός (41), κλῖναι (46), λέβητες (48), χιτῶν (53, 57, 58, 59), χλαμύς (56), βλαῖνται, κόθορνοι and Ἀχαῖοι (64), τέττιξ and τέττιγες (65), κυνοφόντις (93), εἶδος (110), ἀπαρχαί (181), μελισσαι (207), ἀγρός (216),

¹ 'Off' is expressed by ὑπὲρ in *Thuc.* i 112 § 4 (ὑπὲρ Σαλαμῖνος), 137 § 2; viii 95 § 5. This sense is not noticed in Liddell and Scott.

στεφανῖται (269), ὀπλιτῶν (273), κῆρυξ (276), γραμματιστής (308), κοσμητής (312), κλῖναι (329), ἑταῖροι (339, 352), συγγραφὴ (339), μου (345), δέσποιναι (353), ἰδρία (368), αὐτοπῶλαι and ἔμποροι (391), τραπεζῖται (395), ἀγελᾶται (436), βασιλίσσα (478), σιτῶναι (483), ἔξῃστι (529), συνθηκῶν (540), and ἀποκηρύξαι (557). γυναικωνίτις is misspelt (37), ὠτᾶφαμι is a misprint for ἀφαμιῶται (433), Κυθηροδίκης (615), and Πατροκλείδης (710) appear without the capital letter. 'According to *Ephesus*' (438) is meant for *Ephorus*, *Pegasae* (613) for *Pagasae*, *deites* for *deities* (244); *Bosphorus* (388, 393, 510), is preferred to the more accurate form *Bosporus*. ξενίας (482), φυλοβασιλεῖς (530), ἰδιῶται (534) δῶρων or δωροδοκίας (560), and διαιτητής (586) are misprinted, and διοσημία appears as διοσημέια (596). On pp. 555-6, the abbreviation for *Isaeus* is misprinted in all the four references to that orator. It is fair to add that in the *Index*, which is the work of Miss E. M. Platt, the accents are almost invariably correct, the only exception noticed being ἄγνος for ἄγνός. κοσμητής (312) should be added to the *Index*, and further references for ἀγορά (12*n* and 460), and ὀστρακιsmός 451.

There are nearly 40 cuts, most of them satisfactory. The plan of the *Greek House at Delos* (40) is specially welcome as a substitute for the 'supposed house at Delos which figures in Guhl and Kauer and other works.' 'Men Bathing' (315), is badly printed. The cut on p. 31 should be referred to on p. 29, 'the frieze of alabaster and glass.' The 'Greek Window' on p. 44 belongs to the previous page. The cuts are purposely limited in number, and for further illustrations the student is referred to Prof. Anderson's edition of Schreiber's *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, as a work which may advantageously be used as a companion to the present volume.

Probably many of the above inaccuracies might have been removed if the authors had resorted to the simple expedient of, each of them, reading the proof sheets of his colleague. Such inaccuracies do not, however, detract seriously from the substantial merit of the work which, as a whole, deserves a hearty recognition on the part of scholars and a widely extended use among students of Greek Antiquities.

J. E. SANDYS.

BARNARD'S EDITION OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Quis Dives Salvetur*, edited by P. M. BARNARD (Texts and Studies v. 2). Cambridge Press, 1897. 3s.

THIS edition of Clement's most popular work does great credit both to the editor, and to the series of which it forms a part. The text is a vast improvement on that of all preceding editions, being based upon an Escorial MS. of the eleventh century (named by the editor S), from which was derived, what was till now held to be the ultimate authority for the text, viz., the Vatican MS. (V) of the sixteenth century. Even this latter seems to have been never examined since 1623, when Ghisler printed a very inaccurate transcript in his Commentary on Jeremiah, which has been the source of all subsequent texts. In the Introduction we read how Dr. Stählin, who has for some time been engaged on the much needed work of preparing a complete edition of the text of Clement, communicated to Mr. Barnard the fact that the catalogue of the Escorial MSS. made mention of a

homily commencing with the introductory words of the *Q.D.S.*, and how it was agreed between them that the collation of this MS. should be left to the latter. Both scholars had already collated the Vatican MS., and when the collation of S was made in August 1894, it speedily appeared that V was dependent upon it, as the words and letters which remained in a torn page of S were carefully copied in V, blank spaces being left for what had been torn away. The new collations not only enable us to correct many words which were wrongly given by Ghisler, but also to supply whole lines omitted by him. Of the former we may take the following examples.

§ 3 (D. p. 382, 20) εἴτ' ὑπὸ ταυμάτῳσιν : on which the note is 'V has εἴθ' ὁπότεν μάθῳσιν quite clearly, but Ghisler's copyist seems to have been thrown out by the first ο of ὁπότεν not being closed at the top and by the use of an ordinary ligature for ταυ. Segaar conjecturally restored the right reading, but subsequent editors were unable to see the excellence of his conjecture, which is not mentioned in Dindorf's critical note.'

§ 10 (D. p. 389, 5) ἐν τούτῳ παρῆναι τοῖς ὅλοις οὐ δεδύνηται: note 'V has παρῆναι, for this Ghisler printed παρῆναι...Stählin suggested προσθεῖναι which proves to be the reading of S.'

§ 12 (D. 390, 25) τὴν διάθεσιν γυμῶσαι τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν παθόν: so Ghisler with V, Segaar conjectured ὑπόντων, which is found in S.

§ 28 (D. 406, 3). Here Ghisler read with V οἶον ἔλαιον, Segaar conjectured οἶνον, which is found in S.

§ 37 (D. 412, 26) ὁ μονογεῆς υἱὸς θεός: S omits υἱός, which appears as a marginal correction in V.

There are six cases in which a line or more was omitted by Ghisler, usually owing to homoeoteleuton, e.g. § 8 (D. 387, 19), after τί μέγα ἢ ὑπέρλαμπρον γήρας ἄγονον ἀμαρτημάτων; Mr. Barnard adds from the MSS. ὧν ἐπιθυμία τίκτοντι νεανικαὶ ἢ ὀργὴ ζέουσα ἢ ἔρως χρημάτων; § 30 (D. 407, 28) for <πρὸς> τοὺς ταῦτα μὴ παρασχόντας <ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ἐφ' ὅσον οὐκ ἐποιήσατε ἐν τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε> of Dindorf (where the words between brackets are due to previous editors), S has τοὺς ταῦτα μὴ παρασχόντας αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐμβάλλει τὸ αἰώνιον, ὡς αὐτῷ μὴ παρασχηκός, the eye of the copyist having passed from παρασχόντας to παρασχηκός.

But the excellence of the edition is not simply due to the use made of the two MSS. The judgment of the editor is shown both in the improved punctuation and in the emendations adopted or suggested. One of the most striking of these occurs in § 13 (D. 392, 3), where the old reading ἐπιξενούσθαι Ζακχαῖω κελ εὐεῖ καὶ Ματθαίῳ, is changed to ἐπιξενούται Ζ. καὶ Λευεῖ κ. Μ., Clement here distinguishing between Levi and Matthew, as in p. 595. I presume that S has ἐπιξενούται, but that is not distinctly stated. It would, I think, have been more satisfactory if all the information about the text had been given in the critical notes. We may assume, I suppose, that, where nothing is said, the text represents S, but I should like to have been sure of this in such a case as § 31 (p. 24, 18 Barnard) ὁ τοῦ κυρίου λελεγμένος, where I much prefer the old reading ὁ τῷ κυρίῳ λ. Again in § 2 (B. p. 3, 3) it is a pity, I think, that the conjecture given at the end (ἀνθρώποις for ἀνθρώπων ἢ) should not have appeared at the bottom of the page; and so frequently.

Great however as is the improvement of the text in the new edition, it still presents not a few cruces on which I am tempted to add such emendations as have occurred to

me on a fresh perusal of the book. § 13 (p. 10, 32 B) τὴν δὲ δικαίαν κρίσιν ἐπιθεῖς, καὶ τὴν ἄδικον ἀφελὼν καταγγέλλει, Σήμερον σωτηρία κ.τ.λ., alluding to the story of Zacchaeus. Here the meaning of κρίσιν is not plain: if we read κτήσιν, the sense might perhaps be 'conferring upon him the just possession but taking away the unjust' (i.e. by fourfold restitution and half given to the poor). I think however I prefer ἔκτισιν, which is used with ἐπιτιθέναι in Din. 107, 12 δεκαπλασίαν τοῦ τιμήματος τὴν ἔκτισιν ἐπιτιθέντας. The sense would then be 'imposing the just fine, but removing the unjust.' § 18 (p. 14, 16, B.) εἰ τοῖνυν ἐστὶ τὸ ζησόμενον...ἡ ψυχὴ...δῆλον ἤδη σαφῶς ὅτι αὕτῃ...σάζεται, read αὕτη for αὐτή. § 20 (p. 16, 1, B.) συνήρδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μήπω τὰ πάθη τέλεον ἀποτιθεμένοις. The present participle does not go well with τέλεον: Segaar suggested ἀποθεμένοις; I should prefer the perfect ἀποτεθειμένοις. § 21 (p. 17, 12, B.) τοῦτ' ἂν ἀπτοίτο ἤδη τοῖς ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐγγραφησομένοις. The old editions had τοῦτ' ἀνάπτοίτο; I should prefer τοῦτ' ἂν ἀνάπτοίτο, as we find this verb in the same construction just below (§ 29) τὰ πρωτεῖα τῆς ἀγάπης ἀνάπτει τῷ θεῷ. § 25 commenting on Mark x. 30 'houses and brethren with persecution,' Clement says 'Those who are called to life are neither without money nor without houses nor without brethren, for he has called even rich men, only in the way we have described, and brethren too in the same way, only being of one mind with one another and with Christ'; and then goes on τὸ δὲ μετὰ διωγμῶν ταῦτα ἕκαστα ἔχειν ἀποδοκιμάζει, which is translated in the note 'but it is the having these things with persecutions that He disallows.' But surely Christ nowhere disallows of persecutions: they are the mark of the true Christian. I believe that some such words as εἰπὼν τοὺς ἀναξίους have been lost before ἀποδοκιμάζει 'By saying that these blessings would be attended by persecutions he rejects the unworthy.' Compare Matt. 13, 21 γενομένης δὲ θλίψεως ἡ διωγμοῦ...σκανδαλίζεται. Just below Clement speaks of the soul being the prey of evil passions καὶ φαύλων ἐλπίδων καὶ φθαρτῶν ὀνειροπολημάτων. Should not we read φθαρτικῶν 'corrupting dreams.' § 31 (p. 24, 13, B.) αὐτον ζητεῖν τοὺς εὖ πεισομένους ἀξίους τε ὄντας τοῦ σωτήρος μαθητάς, read γε for τε. § 32 (p. 25, 6, B.) ὁ φίλος οὐκ ἐκ μιᾶς δόσεως γίνεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅλης ἀναπαύσεως καὶ συνοσίας μακρᾶς. Perhaps ἀναπαύσεως is a corruption of ἀναπλήρωσεως 'a full satisfying of all wants.' § 33 (p. 25, 1. 18 B.) 'It is better to benefit the unworthy than from

excess of caution μηδὲ τοῖς σπουδαίοις περιπεσεῖν.' The final word can hardly be right. It is generally used of disasters. Possibly it represents [ἵ]πηρετεῖν. § 36 (p. 27, 18 B.) 'the holy seed are sent into the world ὑπὸ μεγάλης οἰκονομίας καὶ ἀναλογίας τοῦ πατρός. Perhaps we should read ἀναγωγῆς 'man is sent into the world by God's ordaining and upbringing,' i.e. as a result of God's plan for training us. § 38 (p. 28, 31) 'Let not this thought remain in your mind so as to produce despair, if you were also to learn who is the rich man who has no place in heaven.' I think something must have been lost at the end of the first clause: at present there is nothing to explain τοῦτο. § 39 (p. 29, 1) is the order of εἰ ἦν δέ possible? (p. 29, 4) I cannot quite agree in the translation given at the end, 'if a man allow himself to be completely mastered by sins at first committed ignorantly or involuntarily, this man is altogether condemned by God.' The sentence which follows: παντὶ γὰρ τῷ ἐπιστρέψαντι...ἀνεώγασιν αἱ θύραι, and indeed the remainder of the paragraph, show that it is the abounding mercy of God which forms the subject of the preceding sentence. While agreeing with Ghisler that a negative is needed, I think its loss is most easily accounted for, if we insert οὐδὲ before οἶτος. Below l. 7 δέχεται τρισάσμενος πατὴρ υἱὸν ἀληθῶς μετανοοῦντα, I should prefer τρισασμένως.

There are some cases in which I think the editor has been too cautious in admitting emendations. (p. 2, l. 10 ff.) τοῦτο μὲν ἐξαιτουμένους παρὰ θεοῦ...τοῦτο δὲ λέγω διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ σωτήρος ἰωμένων τὰς ψυχάς. Here the note says 'λέγω may have slipped in owing to the frequency of the phrase τοῦτο δὲ λέγω.' Is it not simpler to suppose with Segaar that it stands for λόγῳ? § 14 (p. 11, 13) I think Segaar's ἀμουσίας should have taken the place of ἀπουσίας, and his οὐρανίου taken the place of οὐρανοῦ before βασιλείας in p. 12, 36, as we have βασιλείαν οὐράνιον in p. 24, 39, and it is the plural οὐρανῶν, not the singular, which is used in this phrase in pp. 15, 17, 23, &c. § 18 (p. 13, 28) τοὺς πλουσίους μαθηματικῶς ἀκουστέον τοὺς δυσκόλως εἰσελευσόμενους εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν, μὴ σκαίως...μηδὲ σαρκινῶς. The older editors objected with reason to μαθηματικῶς, and I think it would have been well to have adopted Dindorf's μαθητικῶς, as we find μαθητικὴν ἄγουσα σχολὴν in p. 8, 26, and in § 20 (p. 15, 32) we have the equivalent phrase καλῶς ἤκουσαν καὶ ὡς μαθηταὶ τοῦ παραβολικῶς λεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου. § 19 (p. 14, 30) τῷ κατὰ κόσμον πτωχῷ καὶ πλουσίῳ

κατὰ τὰ πάθη ὁ κατὰ πνεῦμα [οὗ] πτωχὸς καὶ κατὰ θεὸν πλούσιος Ἀπόστηθι κ.τ.λ. Here the older editors inserted φησί after ἀπόστηθι, but in the note the omission of the verb of saying is justified by a reference to § 22 (p. 17, 17) ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Ἰησοῦς Ἀμὴν ἑμὶν λέγω. I think the omission is much harsher in the former passage, and would suggest that the superfluous οὗ represents an original φησί. § 25 (p. 19, 20) ὅταν (ἡ ψυχὴ)...καθάπερ κέντροις ἢ μύσφι, τοῖς προκειμένοις αὐτῇ πάθουσιν ἐξαίμυσηται. Here Segaar's προσκειμένοις is far more suitable than προκειμένοις. § 28 (p. 22, 1) 'The Master ἄνωθεν καταβαίνων ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἄγει τῷ λόγῳ τινὰ εἰς Ἱεριχώ.' The note here is 'Ghisler corrected to καταβαίνοντα, but the nom. though bold is perhaps possible in this graphic passage.' I think καταβαίνοντα is needed with ἄγει τῷ λόγῳ ('represents one coming down'), and that the accusative would easily be changed to nom. before ἄγει. § 31 (p. 24, 15) Segaar's φειδομένως should certainly have taken the place of φειδόμενον ὡς, which plainly originated in the copyist's correction of the last syllable of φειδόμενον. Just below (l. 17) ἰλαρὸν δότην ἀγαπᾷ ὁ θεός...δίχα γογγυσμῶν καὶ διακρίσεως καὶ λύπης καὶ κοινωνοῦντα, Segaar rightly omits the last καὶ. In one case the editor rejects, as I think without reason, an old reading which is supported by S. (§ 1, p. 1, 10 f.) τῆς περιουσίας καθ' αὐτὴν ἰκανῶς οὐσης χανῶσαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν κεκτημένων...οἱ δὲ (B. has οἶδε) προσεκπλήσσουσι τὰς γνώμας τῶν πλουσίων. This appears to me to be a case of δὲ in *apodosi post participia absoluta*, which Klotz (on Devar. ii. 372) illustrates by the following apposite quotation from Isocrates, δέον αὐτοὺς τὴν φρόνησιν ἀσκεῖν μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ χεῖρον παιδεύονται. I have noticed one misprint (p. 20, l. 10) ἀδεέστερον for ἐνδεέστερον, and suspect another in p. 29, 1, where Dindorf has τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν for B.'s τῶν αἰωνίων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, as in neither edition is there any note as to the MS. authority.¹

There are two passages in which I was at one time inclined to question the reading: § 13 (p. 10, 27) γυμνὸν σκεπάζει καὶ ἄστεγον συνάγοι, which I now think is defended by Isa. 58, 7 πτωχοὺς ἀστεγούς εἰσαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου, and by Nahum iii. 18, where the LXX. has ἐκδεχόμενος, but according to Schleusner some of the other versions have συνάγων 'ubi notat hospitio accipere.' The other is § 26 (p. 20, 7) ῥέπει πρὸς τοὺς πολυκτήμενας *ad divites spectat*, where I was

¹ Since this was written I have learnt from Mr. Barnard that both ἀδεέστερον and τῶν ἀγαθῶν are found in S.

inclined to read βλέπει, but am now satisfied by the parallel in Arist. *Plut.* 50 ὁ χρησμός εἰς τοῦτο ῥέπει.

I have gone so much into details, because the book is one which ought to secure a large sale, and, where so much pains has

been taken, I hold it to be both a duty and a pleasure for those whose work lies in the same field to help, so far as they can, to make the second edition an even greater success than the first.

J. B. MAYOR.

NUTT ON THE CELTIC DOCTRINE OF RE-BIRTH.

The Voyage of Bran to the Land of the Living, edited with translation by KUNO MEYER. With an Essay upon the Irish *Vision of the Happy Otherworld and the Celtic Doctrine of Rebirth*, by ALFRED NUTT. Volume II. The Celtic Doctrine of Rebirth. London: Nutt. 1897. Price 10s. 6d.

THE Science of Comparative Mythology is undergoing such extensive alterations and repairs that the business which it once did in the pre-historic antiquities of the Aryan peoples seems to be temporarily suspended. Doubtless when the hoardings are removed which at present screen it from the view, it will resume operations on a larger scale than ever. Meanwhile a junior concern, the Science of Comparative Antiquities, is seizing the opportunity to establish itself; and Mr. Alfred Nutt must ever be reckoned as having been amongst the foremost to venture on this new emprise. In his first volume (reviewed in the *C.R.* Vol. X. No. 2. pp. 121-124) he sought to show that the belief in a Happy Otherworld was found amongst the Celts and the Greeks and went back to times before the dispersion of the original Aryan people. In this volume he seeks to show that a belief in the transmigration of souls existed amongst Celts, Greeks and Hindoos and must also be regarded as a pre-dispersion belief: psychologically the belief is connected with the phenomena of ecstasy, especially as manifested in Dionysus-worship, which is itself but a form of an agricultural worship, common in its main features to Celts and Greeks.

One of the greatest difficulties which the Science of Comparative Antiquities has to surmount is that of distinguishing between what has been inherited from pre-dispersion times and what has been borrowed in post-dispersion times; and the difficulty is especially great in that branch of antiquities with which Mr. Nutt is concerned in his present

book, for in this department pre-historic men seem to have been as adept as modern authors in borrowing each other's ideas. It is therefore with sound scientific instinct that Mr. Nutt begins his second volume, as he began his first, by endeavouring to prove that the doctrine in question was not borrowed by the Celts. This is an operation of some difficulty and delicacy, for there is nothing in Comparative Antiquities, corresponding to Grimm's Law in Comparative Philology, which enables us to distinguish decisively between what is inherited and what has been borrowed. And the difficulty is enhanced in the case of Celtic material because the documents embodying it belong to Christian and comparatively late times. The first thing to do therefore is to establish by a comparison of texts the oldest form of any given tale presupposed by the existing literary variants; and that Mr. Nutt is especially competent for this indispensable and valuable preliminary work is shown by the high praise given to his first volume by such specialists as M. Gaston Paris, M. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, M. H. Gaidoz, and Professor F. Y. Powell. In the non-Celtic student, the mere Saxon who does not know even how to pronounce such names as Cichmaine, Eochaid, etc., it would be impertinence to praise this part of Mr. Nutt's work; but one may express one's gratitude to the scholar who, like Mr. Nutt, makes accessible what otherwise would be a sealed book.

The oldest form of any given tale having been established, the next thing is to discover whether it or its incidents can be probably assigned to pre-Christian times. And here readers of the *Classical Review* who are not 'Celtisants' can form an independent opinion of their own, for the basis of the argument consists in certain passages from the Classics. In the Celtic stories the belief is postulated that a man, having died, may be born again in human form. Various classical authors state that the

Druids taught the doctrine of re-birth in human form. The conclusion indicated is therefore that the belief is a genuine, pre-Christian, Celtic belief. It is true that there are apparently only about half-a-dozen of these Celtic stories, and about eight classical references (some of which are possibly mere repetitions), but, however jealously sifted, they will be found, I believe, to leave a residuum of fact only to be explained on the hypothesis that the Celts of pre-Christian times believed in re-birth in human form. The fact of the matter is that this belief is so common amongst uncivilised peoples that what would in other cases rightly be considered a very slight amount of evidence is in this case quite sufficient. But most observers who have recorded instances of this belief as occurring amongst savages have ascribed its origin to the resemblance between a child and its parents or grandparents—a resemblance for which the savage accounts by the hypothesis that the grandparent or parent (if dead) has been re-born in the form of the child. There is nothing, as far as I know, to lead to the idea that this belief is associated amongst savages with the phenomena of ecstasy, or that it is confined to peoples who have reached the agricultural stage.

Another belief which Mr. Nutt postulates for the early Celts, and which is so common amongst savages that the postulate may be granted, is that men can be transformed into animals. But this seems to me not to be the same thing as transmigration of the soul. In transmigration, the man dies before he becomes an animal; in transformation, he does not. The soul which migrates leaves a dead body behind it; the man who is transformed does not.

To complete our account of Mr. Nutt's Celtic evidence, we must mention the case of Tuan MacCairill. 'The Christian classic learning which has so profoundly modified much in Irish tradition,' also produced an 'elaborate system of pre-Christian chronology modelled upon and synchronised with that of Biblical and classical antiquity...The main feature of this annalistic scheme is, that each successive race is supposed to have died out or vanished from mortal ken. The question naturally arose, by what means was the knowledge of past races handed down?' (pp. 76, 77). The answer is given by Tuan MacCairill; he

was there all the time, 320 years, saw everything and related it afterwards. For a hundred years he was a man, then he transformed himself into a stag for eighty years, then into a boar for twenty, then into an eagle for a hundred, and then into a salmon for twenty. Finally, he was re-born in human form. The question then is, Is the legend of Tuan, apart from the annals foisted into it, a genuine pre-Christian Celtic legend? or, Is it the invention of the Christian annalist, who wanted a framework for his scheme, and made it by combining two forms of incident (transformation into animal shape and re-birth in human form) which must have been fairly familiar to him from his knowledge of Celtic myths? To me it seems that the scheme is too philosophical to be a genuine piece of folk-lore. Tuan first lives on the earth for 100 years, then in the air for 100, and then in the water for 100 (if we take the account given in the Book of Ballymote). He spends three hundred years in animal form, and his transmigration takes the form of a cycle: he begins as human and ends human. All this is singularly like the Egyptian theory of transmigration, as recorded by Herodotus, ii. 123: 'the soul of man is immortal, and when the body perishes it enters the body of some animal; when it has performed the round of all creatures that are on the land and in the sea and in the air, it again enters a human body, and the round takes 3,000 years.' This may be a very easy and natural development of the simple, savage belief that a man may be re-born in human form. But there is no evidence to show that Celtic belief had taken this turn in pre-Christian times.

Having produced his Celtic evidence, Mr. Nutt turns to Greece. That the Greeks believed a man might be re-born in human form, is a proposition which I do not feel inclined to dissent from. Indeed, I once wrote in the *Classical Review* (June, 1895) to argue that certain Greek burial laws seemed to postulate the belief. But that the original Aryans had the belief, because the Greeks and Celts had, I am by no means certain. The idea was developed by the Algonkins, for instance, quite independently of the Greeks and Celts, and may have been reached by the Greeks and Celts quite independently both of one another and of the original Aryans. Indeed, if Mr. Nutt is right in associating the belief with agricultural worship, it cannot go back to Aryan times, because agriculture seems to be certainly later than the split between the

Hindo-Persians and the European branch of Aryans.

However, without undertaking to determine what the pre-dispersion Aryans did or did not think on this point, let us assume they did believe that a man could be re-born in human form. What can we infer from that fact? Most Aryan peoples dropped the belief so completely that no trace of it is left amongst them. The Celts never, at any rate in pre-Christian times, carried the conception any further, any more than the Algonkins did. The Hindoos added to it the belief that man could be re-born in animal shape; and, above all, they gave the belief an ethical character—the good man got a good birth, the bad man a bad one. Pythagoras taught transmigration not merely as a moral theory but as a religious doctrine, involving the notion of a day of judgment, and taught it in a form so closely resembling Egyptian notions that the balance of opinion still is in favour of the supposition that he borrowed his teaching from Egypt. Mr. Nutt, however, is inclined to ask if the Hindoos could develop a complicated theory of transmigration for themselves, why could not the Greeks? *A priori* reasons can, of course, be supplied—I have attempted some in *An Introduction to the History of Religion*—but the question is, after all, one of evidence. Are the resemblances between the Egyptian and the Pythagorean doctrine so remarkable that borrowing is the most probable explanation of them? And some weight must be allowed to the Greeks' own feeling that Pythagoreanism was an exotic.

Finally, Mr. Nutt returns to the Happy Otherworld, and argues with great force and ability that the views as to the next world which were taught in the Mysteries were purely Greek and Aryan in their origin and development, and were no more

borrowed than were the Hindoo views on the same subject. Now, so many races have independently attained for themselves a belief in a state of future happiness for the good and of future punishment for the bad, that it would be foolish to suppose that the Greeks were incapable of doing so too. The odd thing is that there are no signs of any such development of ideas amongst the Greeks until just the very time when this belief began to manifest itself with great activity amongst the Northern Semites. Mr. Nutt thinks that if we assume the movement to have spread thence to the Greeks, we ought also to assume that it spread to the Hindoos, and this seems to him rather too much. I am not prepared to say it is not, but I will conclude with a quotation from Huxley (*Evolution and Ethics*, p. 104): 'The Ionian intellectual movement does not stand alone. It is only one of several sporadic indications of the working of some powerful mental ferment over the whole of the area between the Aegean and Northern Hindostan during the eighth, seventh and sixth centuries before our era. In these three hundred years prophetism attained its apogee among the Semites of Palestine; Zoroasterism grew and became the creed of a conquering race, the Iranic Aryans; Buddhism rose and spread with marvellous rapidity among the Aryans of Hindostan, while scientific naturalism took its rise among the Aryans of Ionia. It would be difficult to find another three centuries which have given birth to four events of equal importance. All the principal existing religions of mankind have grown out of the first three: while the fourth is the little spring, now swollen into the great stream of positive science.'

F. B. JEVONS.

FRIEDLÄNDER'S 'JUVENAL.'

D. Junii Juvenalis saturarum libri v, mit erklärenden Anmerkungen von LUDWIG FRIEDLÄNDER. (Leipzig: Hirzel). Pp. 612 and 108*, 8vo. 14 M.

PROF. FRIEDLÄNDER'S 'Juvenal' consists of, first, 120 pages of Introduction dealing with the life and literary merits of the satirist and the history of his text—this contributed in part by Prof. Bücheler—, secondly, the

sixteen satires with critical notes in Latin and explanatory notes in English, and, thirdly, a 'Register' with an apparently complete Index Verborum. In character, arrangement, and even in appearance the whole closely resembles its author's edition of 'Martial,' issued just ten years ago. The merits of that admirable work are known to all Latin scholars, its judgment, its learning, its taste, its terseness. I may

express my opinion, which is also the general opinion, of the present edition, by saying that perhaps it even surpasses its predecessor. It deserves an honourable place in every scholar's library.

The life of Juvenal, the subject with which the book opens, is an old puzzle. Here is Prof. Friedländer's solution, familiar in part to readers of his 'Sittengeschichte.' Juvenal was born about A.D. 60, and in his youth probably served in the army, holding one of the 'Militiae equestres' and as an officer, perhaps, visiting Britain, Egypt and other provinces with which he seems personally familiar. He retired soon, possibly because he failed to get promotion—passages in his writings suggest such disappointment—and about 90 came to reside in Rome. Here he stayed, studying rhetoric and enjoying literary society, especially (till 98) that of Martial; here, later, he wrote his Satires (115–130). If he was exiled (which cannot be decided), it was before 110; if he was *quinquennalis* of Aquinum, he may have left Rome for a year for the purpose. It is an attractive sketch of a career in which (so far as one knows) every detail is possible; its one difficulty, I think, is the date of the Satires. Juvenal, as is well known, refers specifically to three or four events which occurred in Trajan's later years or under Hadrian. Prof. Friedländer combines these references with the presupposition that Juvenal wrote his poems in one definite period. Thus he obtains the limit of fifteen years (in round numbers) between about 115 and 130. But the presupposition seems, at least, needless, and the references in question occur chiefly in the latter part of the Fourth and the Fifth Book. The whole atmosphere of the first three, perhaps of the first four Books—that is, two-thirds or three-quarters of the whole—the personages mentioned in them, the resemblances to Martial, and many other details, reek of Domitian's reign. Juvenal promised, in his first Satire, to deal chiefly with the dead, but he can hardly have lived so wholly in the past as to write or publish in 115 a satire on the men and manners of nearly thirty years before, all the more when those men and manners had been largely swept away by the downfall of Domitian. If he did this, it is certainly a literary problem of considerable magnitude. It is surely more probable that these Satires were published soon after 96, when the memory of the third Flavian was yet fresh. We may venture further. The Flavian colouring (if I may so call it) is

most marked in Satires i–vii, less so in viii–x, while in xi and following it fades wholly out. Again, Satires xi and following show a new and weaker manner; they also contain nearly all the references to events later than 115. It is credible that Juvenal began to write before or about 100, and to publish soon after that date, and that he continued to write at intervals until 130, gradually dropping his Flavian allusions as the Flavian age faded from his and the popular memory, changing his manner with this change in matter and growing weaker in style as he grew old. Whether he wrote his Satires in their present order, whether he revised, remodelled, re-edited, are problems which it is safer at present not to raise.

I may pass by the rest of Prof. Friedländer's Introduction, excellent and complete as it is. The sections of most interest, those dealing with the history of the text, have been already expounded admirably to readers of this review by Mr. S. G. Owen, whose own edition of the poet we are all awaiting. I will only express my regret that the chapter on 'Juvenals Versbau' contributed by another hand, should seem to me below the general level. It contains numerous statistics, but statistics, popular as they are in contemporary scholarship, are very blind guides. They have certainly not enabled their compiler to grip the central fact about Juvenal's 'Versbau,' that his rhythm is Virgilian and not Horatian. In many respects—use of colloquialisms, use of dialogue, indifference to logical sequence of thought—Juvenal followed the tradition of the old Satura. In his rhythms he broke away, and that fact is surely noteworthy. For the rest, the Introduction is complete, interesting and judicious.

The commentary is equally admirable; two of its merits seem to deserve special notice. In the first place it exhibits a rare combination of fulness and brevity. Everything is adequately explained, and yet text and notes, both printed in a fine legible type, together occupy no more than 480 pages. It is a fault of the present age to confound length with learning and the word 'short' with the word superficial. It is therefore a great gain that a scholar with Prof. Friedländer's deserved reputation should set a contrary example. It is a further gain that he should give us a full and brief edition of Juvenal. We have, of course, one admirable edition, Mr. Mayor's monumental work. But Mr. Mayor's monument is Juvenal's tomb, while the smaller English and foreign editions are too

small for advanced students. Prof. Friedländer gives us a commentary of the right length and the right learning. And, in the second place, his notes combine in an unusual degree a command of many subjects: Latin, history, antiquities. The interpretation of Juvenal demands this combination to a rather special degree, though editors (Mr. Mayor apart) have rarely recognized the fact and have in consequence written oddly, for instance, about the Roman army. Prof. Friedländer, with aid from Prof. Hirschfeld, Dr. Klebs (who supplies some valuable 'Nachträge') and others, deals adequately with all problems.

I conclude by noticing a few unimportant points, and first I. 158 *cum fas esse putet curam sperare cohortis*. The command of a cohort commenced the Equestrian career, on which Juvenal himself had embarked with more labour than profit. He is naturally indignant at the spendthrift's easy entrance. Probably the latter was of senatorial birth (*maiorum censu*), had lost or resigned his rank (Tac. Ann. ii. 48, xii. 52, etc.), and, through influence, had been consoled with a salaried post. I may add that I see no reason for saying that either *cura* or *sperare* are here used technically. *Cura* = 'command' is common in Imperial Latin, but I very much doubt whether, even on military inscriptions, it ever denotes special or extraordinary command, as is sometimes affirmed. *Optio ad spem ordinis* and similar phrases (*Ephem.* iv. 471) are certainly technical, but only of certain promotions; they do not apply here.

I. 67. *Signator falsi qui se lautum*, etc. No one, except Mr. Mayor, not even Prof. Friedländer, has quite faced the fact that while the context is about forging, the word *signator* means 'a witness,' and Mr. Mayor's theory of a friend 'called in at the mortal agony' seems open to the objection that five witnesses were required. The Cornelian Forgery Law apparently provided for the case of witnesses who knowingly signed a forged deed by which they were to benefit, and who therefore were accomplices. I

suppose Juvenal's *signator* must have forged in some such manner, perhaps concocting the will as well as sealing it. Witnesses, however, are not often mentioned as tampering with wills, while some doubt arises about *falsi*, for the text in P seems only half certain and *falsum*, though constantly denoting the crime of forgery, does not seem to denote a forged document.

I. 155. *Tigellinum*. There seems some reason to think that the monster's name was Ofonius, not Sofonius or Sophonius, though *nomina* formed from barbaric, or, at least, non-Roman names, do occur in the early Empire.

II., 35. Dr. Klebs is plainly right in referring Juvenal's and Horace's *Scauros* to the Aurelius Scaurus who fell nobly in Gaul in 105 B.C.; the Aemilii Scauri, who were prominent from about B.C. 120—A.D. 20, seem to have been throughout a bad lot. But the reference may be also to Scauri unknown to us. Virgil's *Gracchi genus* (A. vi. 842) is possibly the same.

III., 64. *Gentilia tympana*. Dr. Klebs renders 'foreign' a sense which he finds also in Horace's *terruit Urbem, terruit gentes*, Tacitus' *duret gentibus amor nostri* and elsewhere. The sense is common enough in the fourth century, and, as the 'tribe' was an uncivilized thing, neither Roman nor Greek, the Roman was on the verge of this sense whenever he used *gens* to mean a 'tribe.' But the first instance I know of *gentilis* 'foreign' belongs to A.D. 232, and the frequent occurrence of the adjective in Tacitus to mean 'native' shows that we may expect that sense here, where it suits perfectly. Besides, one may object to Dr. Klebs that a Syrian from the Orontes was not a 'foreigner' but a subject of Rome and native of a Roman province. In Horace, I suppose, *terruit gentes* means 'terrified the World,' a suitable antithesis to Rome. Tacitus in the words quoted comes, naturally enough, nearer to the later sense, but he probably means no more by *gentibus* than uncivilized tribes.

F. HAVERFIELD.

PAYNE'S HARVEY AND GALEN.

Harvey and Galen; the Harveian Oration delivered to the Royal College of Physicians, Oct. 9th. 1896. By J. F. Payne, M.D., Oxon., &c. London, 1897. 2s. 6d. net.

IF we have delayed the due notice of this excellent little book we may truly say that

its value is not transitory; until the author himself, or some student of like competence widens and enriches the argument in a fuller treatise the present essay has a permanent claim on our attention. Dr. Payne is one of the few physicians who has combined historical scholarship with large

experience and success in the field of modern science and practice. It is needless to say that in discussing such subjects as the present a practical expert has a great advantage over the closet student.

And this advantage is eminent in every page of the Oration. Dr. Payne's text is the establishment of the true relation of Galen to Harvey; and in such an inquiry a survey of the historical position of other great physicians, such as Linacre and Caius, is incidentally undertaken. The enormous volume of the works of Galen has been one of the chief obstacles to a proper understanding of his real claims on our gratitude as a pioneer of scientific medicine. Galen, in a way, confesses this, 'If,' he says, 'I do write long books it is not my fault; it is the fault of the other people who will write books full of so many wretched arguments.' It is against his true appreciation that thus so much of his work had but an ephemeral value; had he been less of a rhetorician and philosopher his scientific merits would have been more eminent. As it is, his works are too voluminous for ready study; and the edition which we were to have had from the learned pen of Dr. Daremberg never got beyond the second volume. As Dr. Payne says, 'His original observations, which are many and of great value, have to be dug out of his theoretical expositions like fossils from a rock.'

We owe therefore no inconsiderable debt to Dr. Payne in so far as he has prospected Galen's claims and has done already some very efficient digging. It is not too much to say that no one can read Dr. Payne's oration without receiving a fresh conception of Galen and an impulse to the further study of this most interesting ancient.

Dr. Payne points out that to Galen Harvey owed much more than the transcendental advantage of scholarly tradition. Through Linacre and Caius Harvey was brought into direct contact with the very work and method of Galen. Linacre contributed a knowledge of Greek and an enthusiasm for the new learning; Caius also much Greek and Latin with a zeal for anatomy and a training in clinical medicine. Harvey in his turn had a profound knowledge of anatomy, some experimental methods, and a great enthusiasm for Aristotle. It is likely that Harvey would have admitted his great debt to Galen had it not fallen to his lot to resist the dogmatic infallibility of Galen, and to demand for the direct investigation of nature a place before the worship of scriptures. But, after all, to the Galenists

clinical medicine owed its revival; the Galenists and 'medical humanists,' especially in the study of anatomy and botany, were turning to the investigation of nature. Dr. Payne rightly praises Vesalius for correcting the errors of Galen; but his researches were based upon the system which he destroyed, and 'it is hard to see how anatomy would have arisen when it did, had Galen's works perished.'

What honour or gratitude has Galen received for this signal service? In modern times scanty praise or none. The orator goes so far as to assert that there is perhaps no other instance of a man of equal intellectual rank who has been so persistently misunderstood and even misrepresented—a reaction no doubt from the extravagant homage formerly paid to him. Anatomy is little regarded in the Hippocratic treatises, and, but for Galen, the great discovery of Harvey might never have been made. In this field Harvey stands face to face with Galen; nor is there any third figure that can be compared with them, except that of the founder of biological science, Aristotle himself.

In a very happy passage Dr. Payne tells us how the mere accumulation of correct data was of little avail in the discovery of the circulation. Why did not Vesalius, or Fabricius, or Colombo, whose anatomical knowledge was quite as complete as was required, get near it? After comparing such data to a word puzzle in which a number of letters are thrown on the table to make a word, the orator says that the 'master mind of Harvey arranged the letters in the right order, and so the word was spelt for all the world to read.' To do this required that high and peculiar faculty of synthesis which is rightly regarded as an attribute of genius, and is closely allied to the poetical imagination.

In the next place, Dr. Payne endeavours to estimate Galen's relation to Aristotle; and even to modern physiology. He says that often a difference in language makes Galen's views seem much more different from modern physiology than they really were; especially in regard to his study of the nervous system, and the old and famous doctrine of the 'animal spirits.' If Galen seemed to oppose Aristotle it was because the use made of the great biologist's authority was an unintelligent one; the Peripatetics talked about anatomy, but they would not dissect. 'Come and see for yourselves' was his constant cry. Galen's standard of reasoning was perfectly sound nevertheless,

judged by the criteria of Bacon or Mill. On the mechanism of the respiration, indeed, Galen, as Dr. Payne points out, was actually in advance of Harvey.

Every physiologist should read what Dr. Payne says concerning Galen's investigations into the nature of the brain and nervous system. Instead of the adumbrations and analogies of Aristotle, Galen gives actual proofs. His experimental research into the spinal cord by sections at different levels, and by half sections, was most remarkable. 'It is quite modern in precision and completeness.' And his application of his physiological knowledge in diagnosis is no less striking. We cannot look without sympathy upon the spectacle of Galen wrestling with the philosophers, and striving to bring them to the evidence of facts and the teaching of

nature. Even at the present day such an example is not without its application. We owe our thanks to Dr. Payne, not so much for setting us right in this detail of text and interpretation or in that, but because he has changed our perspective of more than one of the most interesting of the world's benefactors.

Although in the brief space of this oration, and in the notes which are supplied in the printed edition, we have a compact presentation of the outcome of long and fruitful study, yet I trust that Dr. Payne will occupy his scanty leisure in developing his thesis, and in contributing on a larger scale a new and original chapter to the history of medicine.

T. CLIFFORD ALBUTT.

VAN LEEUWEN AND DA COSTA'S EDITION OF THE ODYSSEY.

Homeri Odysseae Carmina cum apparatu critico ediderunt J. VAN LEEUWEN et MENDES DA COSTA. Editio altera passim aucta et emendata. Accedunt tabulae tres. Pars Prior. Carm. I—XII. Lugduni Batavorum apud A. W. Sijthoff. MDCCXCVII. 3 M.

In preparing their second edition the editors have had the advantage of using the collation of G F P by Molhuysen. This circumstance alone suffices to make the book indispensable for serious students of the poet. The preface, *Manuscriptorum Notitia*, is also deserving of careful attention. Part I. gives a list of the authorities for the text, including the papyri, and arranges them, as far as possible, according to their relations to one another. Part II. shows how in many passages recent investigation has found in old MSS. readings that before depended on late MSS. or on mere conjecture. Here the importance of G is very evident. The editors maintain nevertheless that even the most cautious cannot always abstain from conjecture, and support their view by a list of passages in which all or most MSS. agree in error. '*Textui igitur talibus vitiis inquinato aut hisce locis aut alibi passim anxie inhaerere malle quam suo stare iudicio . . . superstitionis est merae. Luculenter autem ostendunt hujusmodi errores artis-simis cognationis vinculis cohaerere cunctos nostros codices. Non minus tamen certum est*

optima exemplaria GFPHMXUn . . . neque alterum ex altero esse ducta neque inter ea duo plurave esse quae eundem habeant patrem. Itaque quamquam de codicum utilitate non nimis magnifice sentiendum esse vidimus, non tamen impune ex iis unum alterumve omnino neglexerit quispiam.'

On two passages mentioned in this introduction the reviewer would like to offer some remarks. On p. xxvi. the editors seem to be sure of the correctness of πεδόθεν in v. 295 πεδόθεν φίλοι εἰσίν. This is the reading of P. and Eust., while G (Molhuysen) and the rest of Ludwich's MSS. have the impossible παιδόθεν. May not Schulze, *Quaestiones epicae*, p. 86, n. 1 have hit the mark with his πάθεν "'a puero," quod in παιδόθεν, deinceps in πεδόθεν corruptum est'? Again p. xxi. the editors accept the reading peculiar to G of ρ 347

αἰδῶς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχηρμένον ἄνδρα κομίζειν

in preference to the vulgate

ἀ. δ' οὐκ ἀ. κεχηρμένῳ ἀνδρὶ παρῆναι.

This they find obscure, while G gives precisely what is wanted, viz. something to encourage a beggar to beg: '*pudor non est utilis ad virum egenum nutriendum*. But Monro's interpretation of the vulgate, H.G.² p. 198 'shame is not good to be beside a needy man (is not a good "backer" for)'

seems to meet all the requirements of the case. Would any difficulty have been felt in the vulgate, which is also the reading of Plato, *Charmid.* 161 A and *Lach.* 201 B, if it had been cast in the impersonal form commoner in later Greek, οὐκ ἀγαθὸν αἰδῶ κ.τ.λ. ? Further, as the editors point out, what G gives is identical with the correct reading of Hesiod, *Op.* 317. Now the scribe of G was very liable to write down not what he had

before him, but some parallel passage: cf. Molhuysen, *De tribus Od. codd.* p. 22: is it not possible that he has given us here a parallel passage from Hesiod?

It is somewhat disappointing to find that the *tabulae tres* are those already published by Molhuysen.

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NIESE'S SUMMARY OF ROMAN HISTORY.

Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, herausgegeben von Dr. IWAN VON MÜLLER. Dritter Band, 5. Abtheilung. *Grundriss der römischen Geschichte nebst Quellenkunde*, von Dr. B. NIESE. Zweite Auflage. 5m. (München, Beck.)

PROFESSOR NIESE'S *Grundriss* (pp. 1-248) gives a useful summary of Roman history as far down as the end of the empire in the West (A.D. 476),—a much more reasonable place to leave off than the accession of Augustus, generally observed by English writers. Its exact object is said to be 'eine brauchbare kurze Zusammenfassung der wichtigsten und glaubhaft überlieferten Thatsachen,' but from the necessity of the case it includes a little more. There must always be a certain element of conjecture about ancient history. The history has to be restored or recovered; the documents are defective; conjecture must therefore play a part. So we should describe the Professor's new book rather as 'a summary of what is known or probably conjectured, stripped of the mythical, the picturesque and the personal, and set forth with solid reasonableness.' But solidity is not always lively, and the work is cut into sections,—a practice which is, though we hardly know why, depressing. In fact, the *Grundriss* does not seem to us to be everybody's book. It is rather for those who know a good deal already, who can take up allusions, and who understand something of the theory of evidence generally and of the nature of the evidence for Roman history in particular. It is not a readable and popular sketch, but a trustworthy encyclopaedia-article, and it has the defects as well as the merits of that kind of composition.

Herr Niese has tried to pack too much into a small compass. The story is overlong for the pages, and in addition there is

the *Quellenkunde*. The paragraphs which deal with the latter subject suffer from the want of some general theory or introduction. Simple as the theory may be it needs to be laid down somewhere. The student who uses the book will often wonder why a story, a view, or a conjecture is rejected as insufficiently supported, because his attention is nowhere drawn to the general rules of evidence with which this particular case does not comply. Indeed the treatment of early and of republican times is somewhat too summary and too little critical all through. Views or stories are not so much discussed as summarily rejected:—"ruht auf unsicherer Grundlage": "diese Vermutungen sind sehr zweifelhaft": "freilich manches sehr zweifelhafte vorgebracht wird." Of course all this expresses a right and cautious attitude; nothing could be better than the general remark that "In Wahrheit können wir über diese Königszeit nichts bestimmtes wissen": but the attitude wants justifying somewhere if ancient history is to be a useful "Disziplin." Here again is a sound judgment, but one requiring explanation point by point for readers not familiar with the line of inquiry:—

"The latter (not the earliest) form which Roman story took, found to some extent in Cicero, but especially in Livy and Dionysius, has been greatly worked up under rhetorical and antiquarian influences, and in telling of the older political struggles it follows the model of struggles later than the Gracchi, uses Greek analogies, and monotonously repeats similar incidents."

The story of the heroic resistance offered by Saguntum to Hannibal is, it appears, "Rhetorenarbeit ohne Wert." Perhaps so, but why? In short Niese's attitude as a doubting Thomas is judicious, but, practising it as he does he will not impart it to any one else or make a good model. Much more of the principles of doubt in these matters may

be learned from C. Wachsmuth's *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*.

On the other hand there are times when Homer nods and Niese accepts blindly. The imputation of motives has charms for everyone, even—or especially, for students of ancient history. It is no doubt deplorably necessary now and again, but the conscientious writer (such a man as the late Mr. George Long) takes care that his readers know the difference between the facts handed down and the motives ascribed. Far too lightly does Niese set forth in three lines the assurance that Spurius Cassius, Spurius Maelius, and M. Manlius all aimed at a despotism. One is equally surprised, too, to find him taking as probable the guess that Servius Tullius was really the last of the Roman kings, and considering the *Panegyricus* of Pliny a 'wichtige Quelle.' Here a little suspicion would be in place.

For some time now the centre of gravity of new Roman histories has been shifted, and the chief interest of each fresh one has lain, not in the style, not in views of personal character (though Mommsen's are certainly racy), but in the conjectures on constitutional history. Various causes have put us recently into possession of many new keys to questions of that sort, and in consequence we have had a multitude of theories through which the study is still groping its way, and among which it has not arrived at many very fixed conclusions. In dealing with these theories, especially about the later times, Niese is perhaps seen at his best. He knows which to omit and which to mention, and we can only regret that he has little space in which to explain or discuss. He has some very judicious remarks as to the exact point of time at which we are to say that the Roman Empire begins, deciding for Jan. 16, B.C. 27; and he declares that 'Augustus' work can only be called a restoration of freedom if we think of the Civil Wars and of the Triumvirate, not if we are comparing the old days': but the pages given to the constitutional character of the principate are too few (pp. 177–181). We are glad to see that he is not enthusiastic for Mommsen's term of *Dynarchy* as expressing a union of the old senatorial government and the new principate. Augustus' apparent

arrangement was indeed 'eine Verbindung unvereinbarer Gegensätze,' and the new name, if convenient, is essentially misleading. Yet Niese makes Diocletian's rule a more distinct epoch in the growth of monarchical power than we can. We all feel of course a difference from the time of Diocletian onward, yet it is not easy to put it into words which will not apply to earlier rulers. 'With Diocletian,' he says, 'begins outspoken monarchy and an entire setting aside of the old constitution and of the senate.' But monarchy could not be much more outspoken than the Emperor Gaius made it, and the senate could hardly feel more really set aside than under Nero, Domitian, or Aurelian. Indeed we find Niese saying in another place 'the monarchy was no less complete under the emperors from Nerva to M. Aurelius than before, in spite of consideration then shown to the senate; it was quite rooted.'

Niese is laudably cautious in his handling of Tiberius and Nero, subjects which belong half to constitutional, half to personal history. The foreign policy of the early emperors is treated together, and a general unbroken view is thus obtained, of great interest. The author declines (like Finlay) to recognise the Antonine period as that of greatest happiness, enumerating with some force the first plain signs of decay then perceptible in the Roman world.

No literary history is included in the *Grundriss* except where literature directly touched politics, as in the cases or assumed cases of Virgil, Lucan, and one or two other writers; Catullus is strangely passed by. The account of Cicero is interesting, but too compressed. Niese certainly does not rate Cicero as high as Cicero rated himself; he treats him rather in politics with a cool indifference which reminds one of Sallust. But he does not forget that Cicero has other claims to immortality than what the Catilinarian conspiracy gave him, and his judgment of the high after-importance of the stylist and philosopher, expressed in few words, coincides with the fuller treatment of the subject by Th. Zielinski in his recent *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*.

F. T. RICHARDS.

ZERETELI ON GREEK TACHYGRAPHY.

GREGORIUS ZERETELI. De Compendiis scripturae codicum graecorum praecipue Petropolitano- et Mosquensium anni nota instructorum. Accedunt 30 tabulae. Petropoli typis academiae Caesareae scientiarum. MDCCCLXXXVI.

PATRIOTISM knows no law, but a manual of Greek contractions in Russian, must, if the book is intended for use outside Petersburg, fail in its object, and the publisher will have cause to regret that Mr. Zereteli did not array his observations in either of the classic tongues of palaeography—the native or the acquired language of Montfaucon. It is true that in a palaeographical handbook the letterpress sinks to its lowest value; the plates for the most part explain themselves, and so few general conclusions can be drawn in the subject that the reader, if annoyed, need not seriously lament his ignorance. The learning and kindness of the Rev. Ll. J. M. Bebb has unlocked for my benefit the purport and arrangement of this handbook.

Mr. Zereteli begins with an introduction of forty-three pages, in which the names of Gomperz, Gitlbauer, and Wessely, emerging more or less disguised from the paragraphs of Russian script, guarantee that the information is up to date. The origin, however, and early history of Greek tachygraphy has still to be told; Wessely's paper (*Denkschriften der k. Akad. der Wiss. in Wien*, Band XLIV. Abhandl. 4, 1895) is a notable attempt, but the material for the inquiry is still unpublished, and until the Sibyls who keep the keys of papyrus have done with tying theological squibs to the tail of the Nonconformist conscience, speculation on the prae-minuscule stage of compendia must be premature.

Mr. Zereteli follows with a collection, arranged alphabetically, of letters and syllables that are expressed by symbols.

Part of these are taken from dated MSS. at Petersburg and Moscow, but to them Mr. Zereteli has added *en bloc* all that have been gathered by previous inquirers. The necessity for such a collection is not obvious, for the time for a final conspectus of compendia is still far off; and the proportion, both in number and in value, of the Russian additions is not great. (In the plates the Petersburg forms have no numeral attached, the Moscow are distinguished by 2, the old examples by 3.) By some fatality dated MSS. are as a rule barren of graphical peculiarities, and the Russian minuscules are evidently ordinary types of Eastern ecclesiastical MSS. The editor's diligence and system are admirable, and it is not his fault if his material was not richer. His analysis of the earliest dated minuscule MS. (A.D. 835) is worth having, but the most solid contribution the book makes is the abundant list of examples from MSS. of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. This ungrateful labour, together with the wealth of facsimiles of these centuries provided by M. Henri Omont, should suffice to establish their usage.

Search for abbreviations within minuscule writing may still be pursued in two directions. In minuscule MSS. generally, dated and undated, of all ages but principally 900–1100, a certain, though small, harvest remains to be reaped. The process is very long, and can only be undertaken by a librarian or someone having constant access to a library. Besides this general field, the so-called Italian or Lombardic Greek minuscule MSS., written in the south of Italy and now nearly all among the *Vaticani graeci* contain a rich vein of compendia, as yet scarcely worked. The reviewer possesses some store of both, and holds them at the disposition of the enthusiastic publisher.

THOMAS W. ALLEN.

ARNOLD AND CONWAY ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK AND LATIN.

The Restored Pronunciation of Greek and Latin, with Tables and Practical Explanations, by E. V. ARNOLD and R. S. CONWAY. Second Edition. Cambridge: at the University Press. Price 1s.

THE scheme of 'restored' pronunciation, prepared by Professors Arnold and Conway,

and officially sanctioned by their colleagues in the University of Wales, ran the gauntlet of criticism at the time of its publication some two years and a half ago, and met with a general welcome. There is therefore little to be said about the second edition, except to recognise that it has been improved by the removal of a few ambiguous or misleading

expressions. In the first instance it wisely aimed at no originality in its main features: they are to be found in all the best recent grammars; and the noteworthy part consisted in its careful adaptation to the needs of Welsh students. It is strange to find no reference, where the evil consequences of the conventional 'English' pronunciation are pointed out, to the confusion which it causes in the understanding of inflexional and other changes: e.g. *caedo* and *cecidī*, *audacter* and *audaciter*. It is open to question whether *grandfather* is a good example for *ā* and *ǣ*: surely the pronunciation of the second *a* as long is both common and legitimate. It may be doubted whether *z* was always *sd*; e.g. in *Zmyrna*, or whether there are any words borrowed from Celtic, beginning with *rh*: *rheda* is of course an illegitimate spelling; are the writers possibly thinking of *Rhenus*? Whatever date we may assign for the change

of aspirated mutes or 'plosives' into spirants—a question perhaps not yet settled, certainly not by Miss Dawes's thesis—it hardly took place first in modern Greek; and the softened or sibilated pronunciation of *c*, *g*, *t* before *i*, etc., certainly came about in late Latin, and should not have been apparently limited to English and other modern European languages. The writers show good judgment in dealing with the question of 'hidden quantities,' recognising their importance for phonetics, but remembering that they should be disregarded as a rule in practice. The scheme, as a whole, deserves to be widely adopted; it may be remarked that it is in all points virtually identical with that which has been in use for some five and twenty years in one at least of the colleges of the Victoria University.

A.S.W.

NOTES ON BACCHYLIDES.

SOME of the following notes have been anticipated in the *Athenaeum* or elsewhere; in such cases I have occasionally erased my own, but generally let it stand in the form in which it already stood when the other appeared. Hence, e.g. the crude form of the note on v. 26.

There is so much adverse criticism of Mr. Kenyon's edition in them that I should like first to add my testimony to the value of the very important work which he has done. The defect of the edition is the faulty manner in which the metre is treated.

i. 1. *βαθυδείλον* if right at all, would mean 'sunny,' I think.

3. *ἔπλε δέ?*

32. *νόσων*.¹

42. To save a monstrous piece of scansion read *χρόνον οὐδ' ἔλαχεν τιμάν*, which also improves the sense. Cf. frag. 48 and Longinus ix. 3. I keep *οὐδὲ* as nearest the MS. but *οὐκ* would be more natural.

iii. 5. [*φέρων*]το.

22. Looks like *ἀγλαΐζεθ' ᾧ πᾶρ' ἄριστος* ἄλβων.² But this will not suit if the previous

¹ A Scotch friend (they do not teach the elements of Greek verse in Scotland, I believe, nor apparently in some other places) entreats me to explain *why*? I do not wish to insult the readers of the *Review* by explaining the elements of verse to *them*; let my inquisitive friend look up some introduction to the subject.

² [See also notes by Tyrrell and Richards.]

line is right. Perhaps *ἀγλαΐζε τῷ πᾶρ' ἄριστος* ἄλβων.

26. *κρίσιν*? cf. *Il. A. 5*.

27. Is [*ἐάλωσαν*] lyrical? [*ἐλήφθησαν*]?

48. *τόσ' εἶπε καὶ ἄβροβάταν κέλευσεν*
ἄπτειν ξύλινον δόμον.

A man cannot tell (as Bacon has it) whether *ἄβροβάταν* or *Ἀβροβάταν* be the more trifier. In my opinion Bacchylides wrote *ἄβροβατῶν* (or *ἄβροβατέων*). Mr. Kenyon is, I think, mistaken in saying that *ἄβροβάται* at *Persae* 1072 is practically a synonym for Persian; Aeschylus meant it, I imagine, to be predicative, and the line means, 'wail, treading softly,' as mourners do. 'And Agag came unto him delicately, saying, Surely the bitterness of death is past.' Similarly it is natural for the poet to say that Croesus, 'stepping delicately' as a mourner in a funeral procession, gave orders to light the pyre. But he was already on the pyre. Not necessarily; at 34 the word used is *ἐπέβαινε*, not *ἐπέβη*, and he would give the order while going up. Hence possibly came the *ω* erased by the writer before *-ταν*.

63. *ὅσοι μὲν Ἑλλάδ' ἔχουσιν, οὗτις*.

There is one syllable short, and what it is that has dropped out can easily be guessed. Croesus sent more gifts to Apollo than any other mortal; Hiero, goes on the poet, has

sent more than any other *Greek*. Read then ὅσοι γε μὴν, the emphasis being thus thrown strongly on Ἑλλάδ᾽—‘Howbeit of all who dwell in *Greek* lands.’

64. Read : ὦ μεγαίνητος Ἱέρων, θελήσει
[αὐχέϊ]ν σόο πλείονα χρυσὸν
[Δοξί]α πέμψαι βροτῶν.
[εἰ, λέγ]ειν πάρεστιν ὅσ-
τις μὴ φθόνῳ πιαίνεται
[εὖστα]λῇ φίλιππον ἄνδρ’ ἀ[ρ]ήιον.¹

The ἀνὴρ φίλιππος is Hiero plainly, not Bacchylides. I at first proposed αἰνέειν, but with great doubt about the uncontracted infinitive; Prof. Housman improved it to εὖ λέγειν.

Since this was written Mr. Nairn has also proposed αἰνέειν and βροτῶν. With φθόνῳ πιαίνεται compare *Pyth.* ii. 56. For μεγαίνητος cf. Hermann’s restoration of *Pyth.* i. 92.

Hiero seems to be digammated here and in 92. Observe also how his name is brought out at the same place in the strophe at 4, 64, 92, no doubt with some special musical effect.

71. The accent in the papyrus is against Κῶν and I rather fear that Cos and Merops have no business here. Μερο- may very well mean nothing but *mortal*, or μέρος may be the true reading.

77. [νῦ]ε of course, not νῖφ.

81. πεντήκοντ’ ἔτεα can have nothing to do with Hiero’s age. If my doctor says to me: ‘Your heart is bad, you may die to-morrow or may live fifty years,’ what does that prove about my age at the time? Well, it might prove that I was not very old; but here the words are not said to Hiero at all, but by Apollo to Admetus as a general maxim. Cf. Anacreon 8, ἔτεα πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατὸν Ταρτηρσοῦ βασιλεύουσαι.

I can by no means agree with Mr. Nairn in advocating ὁ βουκόλος (Kenyon) at 77; ὁ ἀναξ’ Ἀπόλλων ὁ βουκόλος might do in Aristophanes. Professor Jebb’s ἑκαβόλος is surely better than that.

88. π[ρο]έντα is at any rate better than παρέντα. It is all very well to talk of leaving one’s youth behind, but who ever heard of leaving old age behind? Besides Hiero was not an old man at all according to Mr. Kenyon’s note. Possibly γ’ ἀφέντα (γ’ Marindin).

90. μινύθη?²

96. Prof. Housman called my attention to the difficulty of καλῶν. To him therefore

as much as to me is due the then pretty obvious βαλῶν.³

v. 6. I do not feel sure that εὐθυδίκων would not be better.

8. Put a full stop after νόῳ, and keep ἦ with the MS.

v. 9. ὑφάνας
ἔμνον’ ἀπὸ ζαθέας νάσου ξένος ἡμετέρων
πέμ-
πει κλεινὰν ἐς πόλιν
χρυσάμπυκος Οὐρανίας κλεινὸς θεράπων.
ἐθέλει δέ

Mr. Walker is clearly right in getting rid of the superfluous syllables. He reads πλεῖ for πέμπει and ejects δέ, but thus leaves a curious asyndeton, which seems too abrupt; there are plenty of other asyndeta in Bacchylides, but none, I think, quite like this; it is not a passage of animated narrative. If, as Mr. Walker says, these verses have been ‘cooked’ in the supposed interests of metre, we need not invoke palaeographical probabilities, because the zealous cook never thought of them. So I propose to read πλέων for πέμπει; when δέ was added after ἐθέλει, the participle had to be changed to an indicative. For the scansion cf. frag. i. 13, ἀποπλέων, *Odyssey* a 183, and Timocreon i. 8.

For the simile of the eagle and the little birds, which follows, compare *Titus Andronicus* IV. iv. 83:

The eagle suffers little birds to sing,
And is not careful what they mean
thereby,
Knowing that with the shadow of his wing
He can at pleasure stint their melody.

Bacchylides as an eagle would remind me of that ode of Ciber’s, which amused Dr. Johnson so much, wherein he speaks of a linnet soaring on an eagle’s wing. But the truth is that the eagle is Hiero. The eagle rules earth, air, sea, and so I also have plenty of choice in praising Hiero, victor alike in games and war.

Compare also Aleman 28: δῦσαν δ’ ἄπρακτα νεάνιδες, ὥστ’ | ὄρνεις ἱέρακος ὑπερπταμένῳ.

26, 27. Delete the comma after χάει and read νομᾶ to govern ἔθειραν. But νομᾶται is quoted by the scholiast to Hesiod; however even if we keep νομᾶται it must govern ἔθειραν.

28. Obviously πνοιᾶσιν.

48. ἔται involves at least something very

¹ [See also notes by Thomas, Headlam, and Sandys.]

² [See also note by Headlam.]

³ [See also note by Thomas.]

like a false quantity. The line then began *ἱερ'*. But what is *νεόκροτον*? The best I can think of is *ἱερ' αἰνησίμβροτον*, which, being perhaps written *-σιβροτον*, had to be corrected somehow when *ἱεται* was wrongly divided. From *νησιβροτον* to *νεόκροτον* is still a long way, but what would a copyist make of *νησιβροτον*? He would correct it *σημεῖον*. Or has *αἰνεσίκροτον* any sense?

60. *κύν' ἄξοντ'* is straight from *Odyssey* xi. 623, elisions and all.

64. *ἐδάη* is strange. *ἔιδεν*? *ΕΙΔΕ* and *ΕΔΑΕ* are very near.

107. *πλημύρων*. (So also Housman and Nairn).

110. *εἰσάνταν*, (for *εἰσάντην*, cf. *εἴσαντα* and *ἄντην*).¹

121. [*τοὺς δ' ὦ*] *λεσε μοῖρ' ὀλόα*.

[*τλάμονα*]^s· οὐ γάρ πω δαίφρων.

τλάμονας has of course no claim to scansion. Meleager has spoken of burying those slain by the boar, and then goes on: 'others did dire fate slay, for Artemis was not yet content.' What then must be supplied? Something like 'a different' fate. Hence I conjecture that some word such as *δουρὸς* is missing, but cannot find one of more than six letters.

Then, does a poet worth his salt say *ὤλεσε ὀλόα*? Something like *τοῖς δ' ἔμπεσε* would be more natural. Is the *λ* certain in *ὤλεσε*?

160. *τόδ' ἔφα*. Another impossible piece of scansion. *τοῖδ'* first hand. Did Bacchylides say *τεῖδ'*? If not, at least we must read *ᾠδ'*, or *τᾶδ'* or some long syllable. This among other things looks as if the third hand was sometimes emending on his own account, and a pretty bad metrist he must have been.

175. This abrupt ending of the myth at such a place is positively comic, unless there was some point in the marriage arrangement here described, a reference to some wedding at Hiero's court at the time. Suspicion becomes certainty when we look at *Olymp.* i. 69-89, written for the same occasion.

189. *ἀπωσαμέναν* or more likely *ἀπωσαμένους*. The *τις* in 190 is responsible for the change to the singular. But the short syllable, is not, I think, quite impossible.

196. *γῶσσαν οἰωνὸν καλᾶς*. An adjective is wanted with *κελεύθου*.

197. Translate, 'for thence spring noble scions, whom may Zeus preserve!' and read [*φυλάσσοι*] for [*φυλάσσει*].

viii. 6. οὔτις ἀνθρώπων κ[λεεν]-
νᾶς ἐν ἄλικι χρόνῳ
παῖς ἐὼν ἀνὴρ τε π[
νᾶς ἐδέξατο νίκας.

In line 8 *ποσσὶ πλεύνας* is already conjectured by Dr. Sandys, and is excellent so far as it goes, but it leaves the extraordinary phrase *ἐδέξατο νίκας* untouched. Read :

παῖς ἐὼν ἀνὴρ τε ποσσὶ στεφάνους
πλεύνας ἐδέξατο νίκας,

which gives a much better rhythm and the required sense. Hence if *κλεεννᾶς* be the right word at 6 we must accent *κλεεννᾶς*. Then at 12 read *περὶ κρᾶτα τιθεῖς*, or *τιθείς οἱ*, or *τε θές*, or in short something with some semblance of verse about it. And at 13 :

γλαυκὸν Αἰτωλίδος
ἄνδρμ' ἐλαίας,

the ear yearns for a choriambus after *Αἰτωλίδος*; e.g.

γλαυκὸν Αἰτωλίδος ὑψικλάδοι' ἄνδρμ' ἐλαίας

would make a decent verse.

ix. 10. *φοινικάσπιδες*.² Yet the army of the Seven was notoriously *λευκάσπιδες*—well, even *καὶ λευκάσπιδες* would be better than γὰρ *νικ*. Nonnus (xxv. 387) calls the shield of Dionysus *πολύχρους*, but that is a wonderfully wrought shield like the shield of Achilles. This also was partly coloured red according to Quintus Smyrnaeus v. 27, *πέδον ἅπαν αἵματι πολλῷ δευομένῳ ἦϊκτο κατ' ἀσπίδος*. And of course there is the *παρήϊον ἵππων* of *Iliad* Δ 141 which a woman *φοίνικι μαίνει*; this shows that in Epic times some parts, at any rate, of armour might be red.

14. σᾶμα μέλλοντος φόνου.
ὦ Μοῖρα πολυκρατές· οὐ νιν
πεῖθ' Οἴκλειδας πάλιν
στείχειν.

Put a comma after *φόνου*, another after *πολυκρατές*, and read *οἶ*, despite the accent in the MS. which was not put there by the poet. 'Where Amphiaras strove to turn them back, but hope deceived them.'

19. *Ταλαϊονίδα* for the sake of scarified ears! and at 45 *πολυζήλωτε ἄναξ*.

86. *κάλλιστον ἐ[ῖχος καὶ θανούσιν]*. Cf. xiii. 30, 171. I can find no word to suit beginning with *εἰ*.

¹ [See also notes by Headlam, Richards, and Sandys.]

² [See also note by Sandys.]

88. Corrupt as well as mutilated, as the scansion shows.

x. 6. χρῦσο... But the first syllable is short; read χρῦσε... χρῦσος is almost unknown.

10. Possibly Πασία, τὴν δ' ἐκείνησεν.¹ Cf. *Olymp.* vi. 12. There is some evidence that τιν may be long, and if so the δ' is not wanted.

12. εἴη? But I should prefer ἀνθρώποισι *θείη*; or the epic *θείη* is nearer the MS.

15. ὁσά<κισ>? Cf. 27, etc.

25. τετρακῶλον unluckily will not scan. If the first syllable be long it makes a logaedic verse, if it be short there is no getting it to correspond to the similar line in the second epode. The only words apparently that will fill up are τετραέλκτον and τετραέτηρον, if anything can be made of either of them. Or the line may have begun with τετράκι. Of course it is possible that Bacchylides wrote τεσσαράκῶλον (cf. *τεσσαράβοιος*) and that it was written τετράκῶλον by some one contemptuous of metre. But Mr. Kenyon's principle is a good one, not to emend in a mutilated passage, if it can possibly be helped.

28. εὐβού- | λων [Χαρίτ]ων προφᾶται.

But this is a logaedic verse and the ode is Dorian. Moreover εὐβούλων does not mean 'favouring,' and is no proper epithet of the Graces. Therefore χαρίτων must be wrong, but it is not so easy to see what is right. The best I can think of is εὐβούλων ἀεθλάρχων προφᾶται; Mr. Kenyon marks a lacuna of six letters, and seven is as near to six as five is; I am in no way proud of ἀεθλάρχων, but ἀγωνάρχων seems forbidden by euphony, βραβευτάων is too long and a dubious word besides for poetry, and in short ἀεθλάρχων is the best I can devise.

x. i. Perhaps

φήμα, σὺν γὰρ ἄμβροτος ἀνθρώπων πεδοιχνεῖς ἄθλα.²

47. Stop after ἐσθλῶν, instead of after κάλλιστον. But still ἐσθλῶν is bad: the MS. has ΕΣΕΛΩΝ, read ἀέθλων and compare *Pyth.* i. 99. Also read μὰν or μὴν for μέν.

51. Mr. Adam proposes γλώσσαν ἰθύσας, which appears to have been the reading of the first hand.

53. λαμπρὸν ἐϋφροσύνα. Or possibly ἄστρον.

xi. 1. Νίκα γλυκύδωρε, διδοῖ γὰρ σοὶ πατήρ

¹ [See also note by Pearson.]

² [See also note by Headlam.]

τιμὰν ἀγόνων, or something of the sort, and put a comma after verse 7.

30. Reading κ' ἐπὶ (Housman) at 24, supply here πορτιτροφό[ον Ἰταλίαν νικῶνθ'].

43. ἐφόβησεν.

47. εἴτι is no sense unless it can be shown that maidens might not enter the temple; even then ἐπὶ would be far better.

77. It was Professor Housman who pointed out to me that the last syllable must be long; read κάμοντ' ἐλθόντες.

87. δοίαζε?

106. ἀριστοπάτρα.

110. Read ται for γᾶ.³

119. The metre proves plainly that we must read πρὸ γονοῖ for πρόγονοι. Hence the whole theory about the ancestors of Bacchylides must vanish again into the thin air from which it sprang. Cf. iii. 19.

xiii. 29. Read παύροις βροτῶν αἰεῖ. If there be not room for αἰ- before -εῖ, it is easy to suppose that the word was written αἰεῖ.

48. ἐν πάντεσσιν [ἐπέειποι].

50. Remove the stop after φαίνων.

53. ταρφέ[ς].

xiii. 77.

ὁπότε Π[ηλείδας] . . α . . τα . . .

ὠρεῖνατο[ο Δαρδανιδᾶν] τ' ἔλυσεν ἀ[λκάν].

οἱ πρὶν μὲν . . .

Δαρδανιδᾶν and ἀλκάν Jebb, who also suggests (after Πηλείδας) ἐπαύετ' αἰχμαζών, ὁ δ' οἶος, thus making the subject change from Achilles to Ajax. I think Achilles is subject all through. Also the first syllable of the word following Πηλείδας ought to be long; the only other short syllable in this place in the ode is in another suggestion by the same critic which happens also to be ridiculous poetry (123); Mr. Kenyon knows better and marks the first syllable long. Though a short is theoretically permissible in this place it is something of a poetic license, and Bacchylides has carefully put a long one in all the eight lines where his text is preserved. Then ὠρεῖνατο is odd enough anyway, but if Ajax is the subject it makes it odder still. Achilles sulked but Ajax ὠρεῖνατο! Again, what is Δαρδανιδᾶν ἔλυσεν ἀλκάν? Ajax did nothing of the sort; he covered a retreat, he defended a ship; would you say that Ney ἔλυσεν ἀλκάν of the Russians in 1812? Why, Ajax could not keep the enemy from firing the ships, and even allowing for the exaggeration of an ode, ἔλυσεν ἀλκάν is still too strong.

Fill up then rather with something like: ἡνάνατ' ἀλκάν καὶ χόλῳ κῆρ | ὠρεῖνατο, Δαρδανιδᾶν τ' ἔλυσεν ἄλγος or ἄταν. Achilles

³ [See also note by Pearson.]

refused to fight, because he was stirred at heart by wrath, and so he stayed the woe of the Trojans. Neither ἄλγος nor ἄταν seems right, but no better word beginning with ἄ can I think of at present. ὠρεῖναι is truly extraordinary and perhaps we should read ὀργαίνετο¹ (Bacchylides wrote OPI and probably did not mean it to be augmented, but if you prefer ὦρ because somebody who knew no more about it than we do once transliterated it as ὦρ, why there is no harm done). I prefer ἡνάναι to ἀνάναι for the reason given on page xlvi. of Mr. Kenyon's introduction, but of course it is fifty to one that ἀνάναι was not the verb used at all.

Professor Housman improves further to Δαρδανίδας τ' ἔλυσεν ἄτας, or whatever the genitive may have been.

81. Evidently the lacuna had a negative in it, e.g. [φόβω οὐ τι].

84. [πτ]ᾶσσαν.² If there is not room for [πτ] read [δ' ἔπ] at end of 83, and -τασσαν in 84. But this would involve ἦρω' at 71 and would make ν[ᾶσσαν] doubtful at 149.

85. I think ἐν πεδίῳ right; it seems better sense and the poet nowhere else uses ἐν for ἐς. And cf. *Islh.* vii. 54.

91. For the simile compare *Paradise Lost* ii. 286:—

The sound of blustering winds which all
night long
Had roused the sea, now with hoarse cadence
lull,
Seafaring men o'erwatched, whose bark by
chance
Or pinnace anchors in a craggy bay
After the tempest.

You would have sworn Milton was copying Bacchylides.

95. λῆξεν δὲ σὺν φαεσμι[βρότῳ]
'Αοὶ στόρεσεν δέ τε πό[ντον]
οὐρία, νότον δ' ἐκόν[τος] —
ιστίον, ἀρπαλέως ἄ-
ελπτον ἐξ[ίκο]ντο χ[έρσον].

So Kenyon, admitting that νότον ἐκόντος is unparalleled, but arguing that νότον must have some sort of construction. Look at the opposite page and you will see that οὐρία is the corrected MS. reading, not οὐρία. What if νότον depends on that? Again ἀρπαλέωτα first hand, σ is written over τ; does not this mean that we are to read ἀρπαλέως τ' ἄελπτον? Then στόρεσεν πόντον οὐρία strikes

¹ With γυναικὺς, for example, instead of χόλψ κῆρ in the previous line.

² [See also notes by Sandys and Thomas.]

me as not quite the natural thing. Rude Boreas ceases at dawn and *by ceasing* lulls the sea; every one remembers δεινὸν τ' ἄγμα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε στένοντα πόντον and fifty other things of the kind. Then ἐκόντος being so doubtful, is there no other possibility? Yes, ἐκόντες, the sailors *willingly* hoist their sails to the south wind, after being *unwillingly* driven by the storm.³ The word following ἐκόντες probably began with a consonant, because to shorten the last syllable of two epitrites running is a sad confession of weakness. Considering all these things, I propose:—

πόντον,
οὐρία νότον δ' ἐκόντες κούφισαν (or some better word)
ιστίον, ἀρπαλέως τ' ἄελπτον ἐξίκοντο χέρσον.

The objections are (1) οὐρία νότον, which I cannot precisely parallel, but if Pindar says οὔρος ἐπέων and so on, why not οὐρία νότον too? (2) The accent on οὐ. in the papyrus. This can only point to οὔρια, but there seems no making anything of that, and the accent is perhaps only a mistake for a breathing. (3) The position of δ', which I do not remember elsewhere as third word in Bacchylides, who is very orthodox in the position of his words, except at x. 45. But like it or not it seems clearly what the MS. points to.

100. ἐπεὶ κλύον, with θεοῖσιν in 105.⁴

117. πάροι.

122. Did ever any poet out of Bedlam talk of ἡμίθεοι in one line and ἰσόθεοι in the next? I think the second line may have run αἶξαν ἱσοι θεῶν δι' ὁρμάν, but even the MS. reading is uncertain. Or αἶξεν ἱσος, with ὅς τότε γ' in 121.

124. ῆ.

125, etc. Something like:

[θάλλ]οντες ὑπερφίαλον
[φρόνημ'] ἔθρεψαν]
[Τρῶε]ς ἱππευταὶ κυανώπιδας ἐκ
[πάτρας ἀπόσσεσθαι] νέας
[νυκτὸς δ' ὕπνον εἰλα]πίνας τ' ἐν
[ἀμέ]ρ[α]ς ἐξείν θ[εὸδ]ματον πόλιν.

(Τρῶες Kenyon, εἰλαπίνας Kenyon, ἀμέραις Blass, θεόδματον Blass.) Bad enough lines in all conscience, but they will scan and that is something to be thankful for.

145. An adjective is wanted to agree with δόξα. Read then ἀκ[αμάτῳ] or better ἀκ[αμάτῳ].

³ τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ἄελλαι πόντον ἐπ' ἰχθύοντα φίλων ἀπάνευθε φέρουσιν. *Iliad* T 377.

⁴ [See also note by Sandys.]

160. Mr. Adam proposes to read ῥοᾷ if there be not room for Mr. Nairn's θαμὰ δῆ.

193. Something like [ἐχαρίσσατ' ἐμάν].

194. ἐπαθρήσας τ[έχναν].¹

195. εἴ κ' ἐνέσταξεν, καρύξοντι is the most remarkable Greek I have seen since looking over the London B.A. pass papers. εἴ γ' is obvious and exactly suits the sense, but Professor Gildersleeve says εἴ γε is not lyrical. εἴθ' seems out of the question.

xiv. 1. δαί[μονος].²

3. ἐσθλῶν.

5. [θυμ]ὸν, καὶ [ἄμ'] ὑψιφανῇ τεύ-
[χει κ]ατορθωθείσα.

12, 13, 15. [οὔτ' ἄ]ν—ἀρμό[ξοι]—[οὔτ' ἄ]ν.

17. Should not the line end at ἔργματι, the first syllable of κάλλιστος being the anacrusis of the next?

xv. 13. σύν <τε> θεοῖς or something of the sort.

61. Read σφ' ἐς.

xvi. 13. One would certainly expect κλύομεν, rather than κλέομεν.

20. μέλλεν?

29. προτὶ to judge from the space left in the uncial text. λιπαρὰν for λιπαρόν is demanded by euphony and sense; cf. v. 169.

xvii. It is not at all clear how much license Bacchylides allowed himself in Paeonian verse. Certainly a great deal more than Pindar did, unless the text is very corrupt. But he was as much inferior to Pindar in the management of verse as he is in most other things, as is shown very clearly in his Dorian rhythms. However I will propose tentatively that at 37, to cure two metrical faults, we should read ἰόπλοκοι κά | λυμ' — ὦ Νηρηίδες. Of course εἶμα would drop out easily but it is barely sense, and anything else may have gone. At 62 σὺ would drop out more easily than τὸ and is perhaps more poetical, but also perhaps nothing need be inserted. At 102 if exact parallelism be needed we may read ἔδεισ' δλβίοιο Νηρέος. At 109 σερμάν τε πατρός... ἶδε βοῶπιν. In 91 the last syllable of ἀήτα (ἄητα) must be short; compare Simonides 41 where the word occurs again and the rhythm shows pretty clearly that it is short. At 92 the third syllable of Ἀθαναίων is short. In 42 it is easy to read ἀμβρότου; in 20 read φερτάτοι' with the opposite change. At 112 αἶψα will scan well enough. At 50 read probably Ἀελίου, and in the corresponding line 116 δολόεσσ' for δόλιος

(δόλιος first hand in the papyrus and the second hand is worthless or nearly so). The feminine δόλιος is suspicious, though Euripides uses it as he will do with any adjective, such was his misogyny. Finally, if the eighth and ninth lines of the epode go together, as seems not improbable, read τέκ[εν] at 54 for τέκ[ε] and Κνωσίων at 120 for Κνώσιον.

37. Mr. Kenyon has forgotten the loveliest line in Alcaeus:

ἰόπλοκ' ἄγνα μελλιχόμειδε Σάπφοι.

39. τῷ should not be changed to τῷ.

49. ἀδρὸν?

58. καὶ σέ.

74. Θησεῖ, τὰδ' ἐμὰ? What does δῶρα mean?

90. I propose with great doubt:

ἔτο δ' ὠκόπομπον δорυσσόος (-όας, -όα)
νιν Βορέας κ.τ.λ. (v. Housman).

If δорυσσόος means 'driving a spear' and δόρν means also 'a ship,' it follows that δорυσσόος may mean 'driving a ship.' And for the middle ἔτο, 'sent before it,' compare Homer's ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο.

The stop after δόρν in the MS. is very abrupt, and can hardly be right.

118. φρενοάrais. For the form cf. Pindar's χαλκοάran Μέμνονα (*Isth.* iv. 45) and χαλκοarân (*Isth.* iii. 81).

xviii. 9. What are μήλων ἀγέλας? μῆλα σεῖδόν τ' but the tense is bad.

33. πολεμῆίοισιν | ὅπλοισιν?

39. τοσοῦτων seems better.

41. ἦ—μήσεται; Medea's bad conscience is working. 'Or can it be that he is a divine messenger of vengeance?'

43, 44. The meaning is: 'It is not easy for one who is always doing evil to escape evil.'

46. ἀμαρτεῖν is the regular form in old poetry.

50. By some bold transposition one might get rid of the difficulties:

κῆρυκτον κυνέαν κάρα
λάκαιαν περὶ πυρσόχαίτον,
στέρνοις τε πορφύρεον χιτῶν' ἄμφι.

But one must then assume the passage to have been altered on imaginary metrical grounds. If πυρσοχαίτον came from πυρσοχαίτας (see Index) it would be πυρσοχαίτα.

xix. 5. ἰοβλέφαροι τέ εἰ καὶ. If not, at least correct the antistrophe to εἴντ'.

21. κέλευσε.

¹ [See also note by Thomas.]

² [See also note by Headlam.]

seems to lurk in Catullus' verse Ixv. 395 *aut rapidi Tritonis hera aut Rhamnusia uirgo*; for Athena and Nika would naturally be combined as *encouraging* an army, whereas Nemesis would appear rather to give a warning.

ix. 17. ἀσαγέοντα is perhaps a mistake for ἀλατεύοντα 'roaming,' as the child Opheltēs (Archemorus) is described by Statius *Theb.* iv. 792 *nemorūque malorum Inscius et uitae multum securus inerrat.* Lactantius on *Theb.* iv. 779 *Archemorum Lyeurgi filium quem draco interemit* is almost a translation of Bacchylides' words τὸν ξανθοδερκῆς | πέφν' ἀλατεύοντα δράκων.

30. Perhaps ἀμύμονα.

37. Possibly

τοίφ[ποτ' ἀλκί]μω σ[θένε]ι
γυία[λκεία λή]ματα [πρὸς] γαία πελάσσω[ν]
ἱκετ' [Εὐξείνου] παρὰ πορφυροδῖαν.

Eur. *H. F.* 410 in his catalogue of Herakles' exploits mentions his crossing the *Euxine* to war with the Amazons about Maeotis, τὸν ἱππευτάν τ' Ἀμαζόνων στρατόν | Μαῖωτιν ἀμφὶ πολυπόταμον | ἔβα δι' Εὐξείνου οἶδμα λίμνας. Possibly the rivers of Ares (45) are these Scythian rivers about the Maeotis, perhaps including the Ister: for the Amazons reached the Ister, and Thrace, as we learn from Herodotus v. 13, was colonized by Teucrians from *Troy* (ὑψιπύλου Τροίας ἔδος), cf. Grote iii. p. 283 ed. 1.

Thrace, and generally, the northern regions of ice and snow, were the special seat of Ares. Hence, in the *Iliad* (xiii. 301) Ares and Phobos start from Thrace, τὼ μὲν ἄρ' ἐκ Θρηκῆς Ἐφύρους μέτα θωρήσσεσθον; hence Virgil calls Thrace *Mauortia* G. iv. 461; cp. Servius there *idcirco Thracia Mauortia tellus dicitur quia in diuisione terrae Marti cessit.* Hence Statius *Theb.* vii. init. summons Mars from thence (5-10, 34-38, 64 *sqq.*): the rivers of the North might therefore fairly be called *rivers of Ares*.

ix. 55. I suggest [τίς δ' οὐ δολιχῆρετ]μον Αἴγινα; Pind. *O.* viii. 20 ἐξένεπε κρατέων πάλᾳ δολιχῆρετμον Αἴγινα πάντραν.

x. 51. Possibly τί μακρὰν [γλ]ῶ[σσ]αν ἰθύνας ἑλάνω | ἐκτός ὁδοῦ; unless ἰθύνας of the papyrus is used transitively. The language is comparable with Pindar *Nem.* vii. 70, 71 ἀπομνύνω | μὴ τέρμα προβάς ἄκονθ' ὅτε χαλκοπάραον ὄρσαι | θοὰν γλῶσσαν.

xi. 102. 3. With this compare the Greek epigram in Vitruvius viii. 3. 25, and my article in *Cambridge J. of Philology*, vol. vi. p. 273. The writer of the epigram uses the very word of Bacchylides to describe the madness of the Proetides, λύσσα

xiv. i. παρὰ δαίμονος seems more likely than παρὰ δαίμοσιν.

3 *sqq.* Perhaps

συμφορὰ δ' ἐσθλῶν ἀμαλδύ-
νει βαρύτατος μολοῦσα
[πλοῦτ]ον καὶ [ἐς] ὑψιφανῇ τε-
[λεί κ]ατορθωθείσα· τιμάν
δ' ἄλλος ἄλλοίαν ἔχει.
[μυρί]αι δ' ἀνδρῶν ἀρε[ταί], μιά δ' ἐ[ς]
[τιμὰ]ν πρόκειται.
[ὅς γε] πὰρ χειρὸς κυβερνᾶ-
ται δικαίαισιν φρένεσσιν.
[οὔτοι] βαρυνθένθεις ἀρμό-
ζει μάχαις φόρμιγγος ὁμφὰ
[οὐ λί]γυκλαγγεῖς χοροί.

xvii. 4. Το Κρητικὸν τάνμεν πέλαγος corresponds in the antistrophe Αἶσαν ἐκπλήσομεν ὅταν. Kenyon edits τάνμε; but it is not impossible that τάνμεν is right, and ἐκπλήσομεν should be changed to ἐκπλήσωμεν. I am aware that in the *second* strophe and antistrophe, παιδὶ πανδερκέα θέμεν and ἡθέων γένος ἐπέ, the former of the two corresponding verses has a short syllable in this place, and the latter, *seemingly*; for, as a whole, the metre only corresponds imperfectly. But in view of the many cases in this ode where the correspondence of metre is not consistently carried out, if the papyrus is right, it seems worth while to suggest the above possibility.

10. I should prefer Κύπριδο[ς ἐσθλ]ὰ δώρα.

37. I do not believe any alteration is safe here, though a syllable is wanting at the end to make the metre correspond. At any rate it cannot be τοι. A syllable is wanting in the same place xviii. 35.

62. δικάων θράσει [σὺ] σῶμα is an easy correction.

67. ἀμειτρον of the papyrus is perhaps ἄμτρον, a Cretan word = μικρόν (Hesych.). The prayer was *short* and is therefore not expressed by the poet.

74. I doubt whether the inserted σὺ is right: it spoils the effect of the following σὺ δ' ὄρνυ.

80. ἡυδενδρον must have some special reference: but it is not easy to see what.

91. May not *νεν* be *νιν*, as perhaps in xi. 15, σόει an imperfect connected with σένειν, ἱπποσόας δορυ-σόος, etc. and meaning 'urged on'?¹ The lengthening of the *ν* in δόρνυ, if exact correspondence of metre is thought indispensable, might perhaps be accounted for from the commonness with which short vowels preceding -σόας, -σότης, etc. cause the following *σ* to be doubled.

¹ [See also notes by Pearson and Richards.]

112. For the corrupt αἶονα of the papyrus δῖαν is a possible suggestion. It would mean, I suppose, a purple hem, i.e. a robe with a purple border.

xviii. 27. Πολυπήμονός τε καρτερὸν | σφύραν ἐξέβαλεν Προκό | πτας, ἀρείονος τυχὸν | φωτός. These vv. are natural and intelligible if Prokoptes, which seems a mere variation on Procrustes, is supposed to be the son of Polypemon. Such he is apparently in Ov. *Ib.* 407 *ut Sinis et Sciron et cum Polypemone natus*; for with Sinis Sciron Polypemon Cereyon (*Ib.* 412) it was almost inevitable to add Procrustes as in *Met.* vii. 436 *sqq.*, *Her.* ii. 69, 70.¹

The Ibis scholia, it may be noted, are, so far as I know, the only authority extant till the discovery of Bacchylides for the story, given at length in Bacchylid. *fr.* i. (p. 105 Kenyon), of the rape, committed by Minos on Dexithea and the birth of Euxanthius in consequence. The scholion is thus given in MS. Phillippis 1726, one of the best which I employed for my edition (Oxford, 1881). I cite the part only which contains the legend. *Ad quas* (Macelo and her sisters) *cum uenisset Minos cum Dexione concubuit: ex qua creauit Euxantium unde Euxantidae fuerunt.* This is identical with the scholion published by Saluagnius, and in the ed. Paris. of 1573, except that these for *ad quas* have *ad alias uero seruatas, Desithone* or *Desitone* for *Dexione*, and *Eusantium* *Eusantiae* for *Cuxantium*, *Cusantie* of *P.* It is impossible to say whence this scholion was drawn: but it is now an ascertained fact, which the new papyrus puts beyond doubt, that it could not have been from Apollod. iii. 1, 28 or the scholion on Ap. Rhod. i. 186.

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p. 9 i. 38: Callim. *Ep.* 33, 5 (*A.P.* xii. 102), Hor. *Sat.* i. 2. 138, Ov. *Am.* ii. 9. 9.

i. 42 (= 19) is unmetrical, but the words admit of transposition: ὅσσον ἂν ζῶῃ, λάχε τόνδε χρόνον τίμαν.²

p. 21 iii. 38, 39: Aesch. *Cho.* 899, Eur. *Tro.* 430.

p. 23 iii. 49 ἐύλινον δόμον 'structure': Hom. *M.* 169, 301, Aesch. *Supp.* 141, Eur. *Alc.* 165.

p. 25 iii. 63 οὐτις...θελήσει

65 <αἰχῆ>ν σὸ πλεῖονα χρυσὸν
>α πέμψαι βροτῶν.

67 <εὐλο>γείν πάρεστιν, ὅς-
τις μὴ φθόνῳ πιαίνεται.

¹ [See also note by Housman.]

² [See also note by Housman.]

v. 66 = 'to a poet'? v. 67 or εἰ λέγειν v. 67: cf. v. 188, xiii. 166. v. 68: Pind. *P.* ii. 55.

p. 29 iii. 90: I cannot credit μινῦθει. To my mind μινύνθη is most probable both here and in v. 151 μινύνθη δέ μοι ψυχὰ γλυκεῖα (cf. Theognis 361, Aesch. *Theb.* 903).

v. 22: Alcaeus 27, Soph. *Aj.* 171, Alcman 28.

p. 47 v. 80 γελανώσας = γαληνώσας, as γελανῆς = γαληνῆς.³

p. 51. The division (remarked by Mr. Kenyon) of the words Καλυδῶν' and ὑμνοάνας[σ'] is normal: see Bast *Greg. Cor.* p. 859.

v. 110 read, as the accent indicates, ὅστις εἰσάταν μόλοι (= ἄντην, ἔσαντα).⁴

v. 142. The conflict of emotions expressed in ἀγκλαύσασα (Prof. Jebb's correction of ἐγκλαύσασα) is amplified by Ov. *Met.* viii. 462-511.

p. 65 vii. 1 ὦ λιπαρὰ θύγατερ Χρόνου τε καὶ Νυκτός, i.e. Ἀμέρα, as Mr. Kenyon infers from Hes. *Theog.* 124. Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 276 εὐάγγελος μὲν, ὥστερ ἡ παροιμία, ἕως γένοιτο μητρὸς εὐφρόνης πάρα. 291 τῆς νῦν τεκούσης φῶς τόδ' εὐφρόνης. *Fr. adesp.* (Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* i. 2. 31) v. 8 Χρόνου παίδων Ὁρᾶν, αἶ πάντα φύοντι. According to Eur. *fr.* 222, τὴν τοι Δίκην λέγουσι παῖδ' εἶναι χρόνου: but Νύξ could hardly be her mother.

vii. 7 <ἀ>ρισταλκῆς

p. 71 ix. 6 μηλοδαῖκτᾶν: the other compounds are ψυχοδαῖκτην *A.P.* ix. 524. 24, ἀνδροδαῖκτων κοπάνων Aesch. *Cho.* 859, κόπων *fr.* 132, πυργοδαῖκτους πολέμους *Pers.* 106, λοντροδαῖκτος *Cho.* 1069, αὐτοδαῖκτοι *Theb.* 722. In *Anacreont.* 40. 10 φθόνον δαῖκτῆν (Pauw) is a necessary correction of δακτῶν, as δακτῆρ Alcaeus 28, Aesch. *Theb.* 900, δαῖκτωρ *Supp.* 806.

ix. 10 <εἰθι γὰρ> νικᾶσπιδες ἡμίθει
πρώτιστον Ἀργείων κριτοῖ

does not convince me. The epithet I should expect is λευκάσπιδες—the heraldic symbol of the Argives, which is applied to the army against Thebes by Aesch. *Theb.* 89, Soph. *Ant.* 106, Eur. *Phoen.* 1106.

ix. 12: schol. Pind. *Nem.* p. 424-5 Boeckh.

ix. 13 ἀωτεύοντα, Mr. Neil's conjecture, is established, in my judgment, by the variation in the story as told by Euripides and Statius. There were two interpretations of the word; that followed by Euripides (as by the critics now) was 'plucking flowers'; that followed by Statius was 'sleeping.' This I

³ [See *Classical Review*, Vol. xi. p. 452.]

⁴ [See also notes by Platt, Pearson, Richards and Sandys.]

believe myself to be the right one: ἀωτεύοντα = ἀωτεύντα = πνέοντα ἵπνω (Aesch. *Cho.* 619), ἵπνον βαρὺν ἐκφυσῶντα (Theocr. xxiv. 47).

ix. 38 read πελάσσας (Kenyon) and 46 καθ' (Jebb).

p. 79 ix. 55¹ <καὶ τὰν ἐρατῶν> μὸν Αἰγιναν;
μέγιστον
<ἂ Διὸς πλαθεῖσα λέ>χει τέκεν
ἦρω
<Λιακὸν . . . >οὐ

as Eur. *Tro.* 206 λέκτροις πλαθεῖσ' Ἑλλάνων, *Rhes.* 913 λέκτροις ἐπλάθην Στρώμονος: cf. xvii. 35, *Hec.* 874, *Andr.* 25, Aesch. *P.V.* 925. μιγθεῖσα is less likely; in xvii. 29 σε . . . τέκεν λέχει Διός, ὑπὸ κρόταφον Ἰδᾶς μιγεῖσα implies μιγεῖσα αὐτῷ.

ix. 61 ῥί<ψο>πλόν (ἄταν) as Aesch. *Theb.* 302 (corrected by Hermann)?

64 ἐ<ν ἄλ>λαι<ς.

66 <πέρσ>αν as xi. 122, or: εὐδμάταν.

p. 81 ix. 79–87: cf. xiii. 25–33, i. 40–46, x. 11.

81 <καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγ>νομένοις αἰεὶ πιφαύσκοι
<τὰν Νε>μέα νίκαν· το <δέ>τοι καλὸν
ἔργον

or τὸ γέ τοι.

86 κάλλιστον εἰ<ς αἰῶνα κῆδος>

λείπεται.

100 χρυσεοσκάπτρ<ου Διός>

p. 85 ix. 104 πεντ<ήκοντα>: cf. vii. 2, ii. 9.

x. 1 Φήμα, σὺ γ<ὰρ ἀθανάτων θνατῶν τ' ἐπ>οιχνεῖς
<φῦ>λα, κά<ρυνξον>

or πεδοιχνεῖς. Cf. Pind. *I.* iii. 40–43 = iv. 22–25.

x. 11 <'>χειρες is difficult. δίχειρες might mean 'uniting their request'; or δέχειρος (= δέχειρ, as θρασύχειρος ii. 4) might be 'with might and main,' ἀμφοτέραισι χερσίν v. 188. But the presumption is that the first syllable was long. Hesych. gives Ἀχειρές: ἀχρεῖον, an error for Ἀχρειές, which can have no fitness here. It suggests, however, the possibility that the truth may be ῥαχρειές, which is used adverbially by Nicand. *Ther.* 290, and is conjectured by Bergk iii. p. 709 in *Lyr. fr. adespr.* 78.

51 τί μακρὰν <πρ>ῶ<ρ>αν ἰθύσας ἑλαύνω
ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ;

¹ [See also notes by Housman and Sandys.]

Cf. Pind. *P.* x. 51–54, Eur. *Or.* 354 Μαλεὰ προσίσχων πῶραν, Hom. *h. Merc.* 148 ἰθύσας δ' ἀντροῦ ἐξέικετο. The MS. would have ΠΡΩΠΑΝ.

p. 105 xi. 104 breaks into a direct quotation as Sappho 1. 18.

xii. 1 κυβερνάτας σοφός is a constant epithet: Archil. 45, Aesch. *Supp.* 778, Niceph. Walz. *Rhet.* i. 488, 489, Phaedrus iv. 17. 8 (*gubernator sophus*).

xiii. 52 ταρφέ<ς>? cf. Hom. *θ* 379, X 142. 55: Eur. *Heracl.* 781.

58 <φονικ>έων.

64 ἂ τ<ὸν ἱππευτὰν> ἔτικτεν Πηλέα rather than αἰχματὰν (Jebb), since ἵπποτα, ἱππῆλατα are his usual Homeric epithets.

xiv. 1 παρὰ δαί<μονος>?

5 . . . ον <δὲ> καὶ ὑψιφανῇ.

10 <ῶ τὸ> παρ χειρὸς κυβερνᾶται

as τὸ παρ ποδός Pind. *P.* iii. 60, φροντίδα τὰν παρ ποδός *P.* x. 62.² κυβερνᾶ<ται> is confirmed by νωμᾶ—ται in v. 26, similarly at first miswritten.

xiv. 17 rightly Jebb: Pind. *O.* xiii. 48, Hes. *Op.* 694, Theognis 401.

xvi. 32: Tryphiodor. 310, Hom. *h. Dem.* 257, Orph. *fr.* xxxii. p. 491.

p. 159 xvii. 7 π<ε>λεμαίγιδος? πελέμαιγος (= αἰγίδα σείουσα, κραδαίνουσα, τινύσσουσα) would give a most natural sense (cf. Hom. *Δ* 167, Nonn. *D.* vi. 177; xxvii. 302); but the formation one would expect is πελεμιζ-, verbs being usually compounded from the aorist-root: cf. however *τερπικέρανος*. For the accent, see *Et. Mag.* 518. 54.

p. 163 note: ἰόπλοκε surely = ἰοπλόκαμε in Alcaeus 55. 1, and should be accented ἰόπλοκον in the same sense *A.P.* ix. 524. 10.

xvii. 90 ἀκύπορπον δόρυ: Simonid. 37. 7, Aesch. *Supp.* 141.

112 ἂ νιν ἀμφέβαλεν . . . πορφυρέα I suspect, with some feminine substantive meaning 'raiment,' formed like ἀμπεχόνη, and from the same root as εἶμα, ἱμάτιον: e.g. εἶμόνα, ἱμόνα, εἶόνα, εἶάνα.

xvii. 118: φρενοῦραι: cf. χαλκοῦραν Pind. *I.* 41, χαλκοαρᾶν iv. 63, χεριαρᾶν *P.* v. 35, Hesych. Νοαρέως: νουνεχόντως, Herodas vii. 2 νοῆρες.

p. 181 xviii. 39 ὃς τοιούτων (Kenyon) seems to me right.

51, as it stands, is impossible metre for a glyconic line. Possibly κρατὸς κάτω: cf. Hom. *θ* 85 φᾶρος καὶ κεφαλῆς εἵρυσσε: sch. ἡ κατὰ ἀντὶ τῆς περὶ: whence in Aesch. *Eum.* 637 I read φᾶρος κατεσκήνωσε for πέρεσ- κήνωσε, comparing *Cho.* 997.

² [See also note by Pearson.]

xix. 9 *καινὸν* I prefer.

xix. 15 *ἦεν Ἄργος ὄθ' ἢ ἦν ὄτε* is a common phrase: Pind. *fr.* 83 *A. P.* i. 92, viii. 178, xii. 44, xiv. 52, ὁπότε ix. 344, Naeke *Opusc.* i. 237.

xx. 1 *Σπάρτα ποτ' ἐν <εὐρυχόρῳ>*
ξανθαὶ Λακεδα<ιμόνιαι>
τοιόνδε μέλος κ<ατάρχον or κατάρξαν>
ὄτ' ἄγετο καλλίπα<χυν ἐς δόμους>
κόραν θρασυκάρ<διος Ἰδας>
 6 *Μάρπησσαν ἰο<στεφάνου>*
φυγῶν θανάτου <νέφος or τέλος>

v. 1: Pind. *N.* x. 52, Hom. v. 414, 1.—v. 2: *ξανθαὶ* is expressly indicated in the MS.—v. 3: Pind. *N.* iii. 10, Eur. *H. F.* 743, 881, *Hee.* 675, *Or.* 952.—v. 6, 7: cf. xiii. 30, 88, *Theognis* 707.

p. 199 *Fr.* 6. 1 <Πι>ερίδες followed in v. 2 by some form (perhaps the imperative) of *ὑφαίνειν or ἐνυφαίνειν*: cf. v. 9, xix. 8, Pind. *fr.* 179.—v. 3 <γάρ> vs.

p. 201 *Fr.* 7. 5 <πο>λυάμπελ... Cf. vi. 5 *ἀμπελοτρόφον Κέον.*

Fr. 9 <ἄρ>τιος κέαρ?

Fr. 12. 1 . . . ε *Χαιρόλαν*

<μεμελημ>ένον *Εὐσεβ<ια>*

cf. Pind. *fr.* 155. 3 *Εὐθυμία μέλων.* *O.* i. 89 *ἀρεταῖσι μεμαλότης.*

Fr. 13. 9 *αἰψηροῖς or <λ>αἰψηροῖς?* But one would expect *ἐν βένθεσσιν . . . ἁλός* (*Ar. Ran.* 667 *Blaydes*).

Fr. 15. 2 <πάντ>εσσιν *ἀν<θρώποις>*

Fr. 17. 1 <ἀργν>ροδίνα<ν> is possible.

Fr. 38. 2 <ἄκα>μάτῳ βορέ<α>: *Emped.* 426 *ἀκαμάτων ἀνέμων σθένος.*

Fr. 41 *ὄλβιος δ' οὐδέϊς βροτῶν <τὸν ᾗ>*
παντα χρόνον?

Fr. 45. 2: *ἄγρυκτα κἄλεκτα* *Pherecrat.* *Bekk. An.* 339. 33.

Fr. 49 *ἄπρακτα δυσρόμενον?* *ἄπρακτα* adverbially as *Alcman* 28.

Fr. 53: *Hesych.* *Ἀγκύλη.*

Fr. 72. 2 *πρηντάτῳ* is a right alteration, as *A. P.* vi. 349.

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Dec. 14, 1897.

i 4–9. Supply as follows:

Ἄργεῖο[ς, ὃν οὐδὲ] λέοντος
θῆνο[ς ἀδροῖ]ό ποτε
 <ζ>*αχρεῖ[ον ἂν θ]ολοῖ μάχας,*
ποσσι[ν τ' ἐλα]φρό[ς, π]ατρίων
τ' οὐκ [ἀκλάρωτος κ]αλῶν,
τόσα κτλ.

5

Verse 7 is so amended by Messrs Kenyon and Nairn, and the latter has seen that some case of *ζαχρεῖος* must be introduced in 6. *θῆνος* or *θυνός* is explained by *Hesychius* as *ὀρμή* and the verb *θύνω* is in *Pindar*. In 8 you may read *ἀπόκληρος*, but *καλῶν* is necessary, and so is the comma: *τόσα* in 9 is relative. See ii 6 and v 51. The gen. plur. of *πάλα* is *παλᾶν*, and will deprive *τόσα* of all meaning. *Simonides* frag. 8 praises *Glaucus* by saying *οὐδὲ Πολυδεύκεος βία χεῖρας ἀντείνειτ' ἂν ἐναντίον αὐτῷ*.

At 2 *βαθυδειλο* (so the first hand) can hardly be anything but *βαθυχάϊον* or *βαθυχάσιον*: *ΧΑΕΙ=ΛΔΕΙ=ΔΙΕΛΑ*. Then Mr. Nairn's supplement (*C.R.* xi. p. 450) may be adopted with one slight change: *πολ[ὺν] πρώτος, τῷ]ν βαθυχάϊο[ν ἔξισ]μεν γένος*.

It is not I, but the MS, that presents a ditrochaeus in lieu of an epitrite at 6. *Bacchylides* is quite content with this, and even with a trochee for a spondee in the dactylic cola. Antistrophic correspondence has nothing to do with the matter.

i 32. *νοῦσων* is unmetrical: write *νόσων* (so also *Platt*). Does the corruption seem strange? turn to v 78, 115, xi 28, xvi 11: in all these places a rarer form has wrongly supplanted a commoner. Equally unmetrical is frag. i 15, which belongs to this poem. If Mr. Kenyon's *Εὐρωπίδ[ος]* is right his *τῷ δ]εκάτῳ* is wrong and *τῷ* must be *ἐν*. But since there is no reason to believe in the existence of a substantive *Εὐρωπίς* I propose *Εὐρωπίδα* (so also *Platt*), and further [*σὺν δ]εκάτῳ*: see xi 23. I take *Εὐρωπίδα* to be not the feminine adjective but Aeolic for *Εὐρωπίδης*: see *Bergk.* at *Pind. Nem.* vi 60.

One does not like to look a gift horse in the mouth, and one cannot fairly expect a palaeographical expert to be a metrical expert as well: non omnia possumus omnes. But there must be quite half a dozen scholars in England who understand these matters, and it surprises me that Mr. Kenyon could get none of them to help him. The consequence is that his text contains at present a good many metrical solecisms: some of these are introduced by his own conjecture, and three or four supplementary violations of metre are proposed in

MOST of these conjectures have been printed without explanation in the *Athenaeum* for Dec. 25th 1897 and Jan. 15th 1898. Several of them, and in particular almost all the corrections of metre, were made independently and simultaneously by Professor *Platt*; and in these cases I add his name.

the notes by Professor Jebb. The schemes prefixed to the odes are often incorrect: the marks of quantity placed above lacunas are even worse, and have led Mr Nairn to make two unmetrical conjectures in the last number of this Review. Mr Kenyon says that ode iii is logaoedic: the strophe is, but the epode is dactylo-epitrite. He says that xi is logaoedic with dactylo-epitritic lines interspersed: it is purely dactylo-epitrite from beginning to end. He says that xiii is logaoedic: it is dactylo-epitrite with no logaoedic elements at all. He says that xvii is paeonian: it ought to be, but as Mr Kenyon prints it it is neither that metre nor any other. It is the more deplorable, because Mr Kenyon and Mr Palmer and Prof. Jebb have all three done a great deal to restore the text: some of Palmer's corrections in particular are admirable for their simplicity and certainty.

I wish to make an end of faultfinding, so let me say here that the discrepancies between the right and left-hand pages concerning the letters contained or omitted by the MS are numerous and sometimes grave.

i 34 ἴσον. Metre demands ἴσων.

i 42 χρόνον τόνδ' ἔλαχεν.

Restore the metre by writing λάχε τόνδε χρόνον. For the transposition see xv 47.¹

ii 4, 5. Supply thus:

ὅτι μέγας θρασύχειρ <ἄρ'> Ἄρ-
γείος ἄρατο νίκαν.

For the use of ἄρα see Hom. X (xxii) 439 ἡγγελ' ὅτι ῥά οἱ πόσις ἔκτοθι μῖμνε πυλάων, N 675, P 411, 655. Some will object to the sound of *arap*, but the Greeks did not mind it. The antistrophe simply means that Argius' victory at the Isthmus recalls the victories of other Cean there.

iii 21, 22 θεὸν, θεὸν τις | ἀγλαΐζέτω γὰρ, ἄριστον ὄλβον. Write παρ' ἄριστον ὄλβον, 'in the hour of his prime prosperity'.² This is just what Croesus did, and had his reward in the day of trouble.

iii 25-27 εἴτε τὰν πεπ[ρωμέναν] Ζηνὸς τελεῖ[ιούσαι κτί]σιν Σάρδιες Περσ[ῶν] ἐάλωσαν στρ[ατῶ]. Rather Σάρδιες Περσ[ῶν] ἐάλωσαν στρ[ατῶ]σιν. See xi 121 βουλαῖσι θεῶν μακάρων πέρσαν πόλιν and Herod. i 84 fin. οὕτω δὲ Σάρδιες τε ἡλώκεσαν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορθέετο. Pindar has the verb πορθεῖν at Nem. iv 26, and it is here better than ἐπέρθοντο.

iii 48, 49. τόσ' εἶπε καὶ ἀβ[ρο]βάωταν κ[έλε]ν-
σεν
ἄπτειν ξύλινον δόμον.

The ω is struck out. 'A soft stepper' is absurd enough, but to make 'Ἀβροβάταν a proper name, 'told Jeames to light the fire', is too absurd. The ω was meant to alter this unbearable ἀβροβάταν into the participle ἀβροβατῶν (it ought to be ἀβροβατέων); but Croesus began to ascend the pyre fourteen verses ago, and ought to have reached the top by this time. ἀβροβάτας would be better, but better still

τόθ' ἀβροβάταν <ἐπέταν> κέλευσεν

'a soft-stepping attendant'; the word is in Pind. Pyth. v 4. It was lost through homoeoteleuton, τόθ' was mistaken for τόσ', and εἶπε καὶ inserted. τότε is thus used at 58 and xvi 23.

iii 62 ἐς ἀγαθέαν <ἐπ>έπεμψε Πυθώ. To write <ἀν>έπεμψε is just as easy and more appropriate.

iii 63 ὅσ[οι] μὲν Ἑλλάδ' ἔχουσιν is unmetrical, and I proposed to read θέμιν for μὲν, making Ἑλλάδ' an adjective. But ὅσ[οι] <γε> μὲν (so also Platt) is simpler and better. Croesus, with his golden river, gave richer gifts than any man in the world; in Greece however none has given more than Hiero.

iii 64 ὦ μεγαίνητε Ἱέρων. The last syllable of μεγαίνητε, says Mr Kenyon, is lengthened in arsis. These things do not happen: I propose μέγ' <εῖ>αίνηθ'. Bacchylides sometimes rewards the monarch's munificence by investing him with a digamma, but compare for the elision iv 3.

iii 68 φθόνῳ λαίνεται. So the first hand, rightly: see xvii 131 φρένα ἰανθείς: the corrector who here wrote πιαίνεται forgot to write πιανθείς there. But what business has λαίνω with a digamma? As much as ἰός at v 75.

iii 87 εὐφροσύνα δ' ὁ χρυσός. Gold makes glad, but it is not gladness: write εὐφρό-
συνος.

iii 90 μινύθει. The sense and tense are right, but the scansion must be _ _ . The same scansion, the same meaning, and a past tense, are required at v 151 where the MS gives μίννθα. Here then we have two corrupted examples of the verb μινύνθω or μινυνθέω, already found in Hesychius μινυνθοῦσι δέ· φθείρουσι δέ· ἀφανίζονται δέ and μινυνθοῦσι· φθείρουσιν and μινυνθαδία, ἡ σελήνη· ἀπὸ τοῦ μινυνθεῖν. Write therefore at iii 90 μινύνθῃ or μινυνθεῖ and at v 151 μίνυνθεν or

¹ [See also note by Headlam.]

² [See also note by Richards.]

μυνύνθει: in the one place a more familiar verb has been substituted and in the other a more familiar adverb.

iii 96-98 σὺν δ' ἀλαθείᾳ καλῶν | καὶ μελιγλώσσου τις ὑμνήσει χάριν | Κηΐας ἀηδόνας. Mr Kenyon accentuates καλῶν and says it is the participle; but the participle is καλέων: see v 152 ὀλιγοσθενέων, viii 2 ὑμνέων, xiii 85 κλονέων. At v 107, as Mr Nairn has observed, the true reading is πλημύρων, at xiii 190 we shall find that it is ὕμνων, at ix 32 ῥιπτῶν must be either ῥίπτων or ῥιπτέων. But here καλέων will demand an accusative which is not forthcoming, so I would rather transpose the consonants and write λακῶν. For the tense of the participle compare Pind. Isth. vi (v) 51 εἰπὲν τε φωνήσας.

v 11-15. Mr R. J. Walker in the Athenaeum for Dec. 18 has corrected the metre of this passage by writing πλεῖ in 12 and expelling δέ from 14. But the connexion is abrupt, κλεινός is insufferable beside κλεινάν, and the first hand has κλινος. The corrector ought not to have inserted the ε but to have substituted it for the λ: write and punctuate

ξένος ὑμετέραν
πλεῖ κλεινάν ἐς πόλιν.
χρυσάμπυκος Οὐρανίας κεί-
νος θεράπων ἐθέλει
γάρῃν κτλ.

v 48, 49 ἔται νεόκροτον
νίκαν Ἰέρωνι φιλοξείνῳ τιτύσκων.

ἔται is the wrong tense and νεόκροτον has no apparent meaning: both faults will be cured by the change of one letter, ἔτ' ἀφνεόκροτον, a victory abounding in noise. I suppose the element -κροτον will signify rather the clattering of hoofs than the clapping of hands: Homer A 160 and O 453 has ἵπποι κείν' ὄχεα κροτάλιζον and κροτέοντες to express the rattling of cars, and Mr Platt adds Pind. Pyth. v 92 ἵππόκροτον ὁδόν. ἀφνεός, not ἀφνεύς, is the form Bacchylides employs.

v 104 εὐρυβίαν. Write εὐρυβία, for κούρα (after θεά) needs an epithet, and κάπρον has one to spare.

v 121, 122 [τοὺς δ' ὦ]λεσε μοῖρ' ὁλοὰ
[τλάμονα]s.

τλάμονας is the conjecture of Mr Kenyon, who calls it a cyclic dactyl. There are no such things as cyclic dactyls in this metre: write [πλεῖνα]s.¹ Meleager lost one of his brothers at the hunting of the boar; but others, more in number, perished in war.

¹ [See also note by Richards.]

πλέονας is also possible: see iii 83, viii 12, xiii 31.

v. 140-142.

καῖε τε δαιδαλέως
ἐκ λάρνακος ὠκύμορον
φίτρον ἐγκλαύσασα.

If Meleager meant to say that Althaea wept at burning the brand, he should have used -κλαίουσα and he should not have called her ἀτάρβακτος γυνά. The easiest change would be ἐγκλάσασα, but having regard to ἐκ λάρνακος I prefer ἐγκύσασα: as to the metre see what I said on i. 6.

v. 160. τόδ' ἔφα is unmetrical. The first hand has ΤΟΙΔ, which is merely ΤΟΙΑ written without elision: read therefore τοῦ ἔφα.

v. 182-184.

καὶ Πίσαν, ἔνθ' ὁ κλεινὸς
[πο]σσὶ νικάσας δρόμῳ
[αὐξ]εν Φερένικος εὐπύργους Συρακούσας.

The last line is unmetrical: write

[ῥηθ]εν Φερένικος <ἐς> εὐπύργους.

The adverb ἔνθα belongs only to νικάσας. ῥηθεν goes much better than αὐξεν with the following φέρων.

v. 189. ἀπωσάμενον. Metre requires ἀπω-
σαμένους (so also Platt): see 69.

v. 191-194.

Βοιωτὸς ἀνὴρ τὰδε φών[ασεν παλαιός],
Ἡσίοδος πρόπολος
Μουσᾶν, ὃν ἀθάνατοι τι[μαῖς ὀφελλον]
καὶ βροτῶν φήμαν ἔπ[λησαν].

In 191 Mr Kenyon's restoration gives the right sense, but τὰδε is unmetrical: write τᾶδε, or else τάνδε φών[ασέν ποτ' ὀμφάν].

193 is also unmetrical. Repeat the syllable να and write

Μουσᾶν, δὲ <ν> ἀθάνατοι τι[μῶσι, τούτῳ]
καὶ βροτῶν φήμαν ἔπ[εσθαι].

This is the maxim referred to at 191.

vi 1-4.

Λάχων Διὸς μεγίστου
λάχε φέρτατον πόδεσσι
κῦδος ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ προχοαῖς[ι σεμναῖς],
δὶ ὅσσα κτλ.

δὶ ὅσσα is senseless: write προχοαῖς[ἀέθλων]
to furnish ὅσσα with an antecedent: the

genitive depends on the superlative *φέρτατον*. The meaning of the whole strophe is simply that Lachon has won the most glorious victory ever won at Olympia by a man of Ceos.

vii 9 *ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισιν εὐδοξος κέκληται*. What can *ἐπὶ* mean? Write either *ἐν*, or *παρ'* (ar absorbed by *αν*), or *πεδ'* (Δ absorbed by A): I prefer the last. See on xiii 142.

ix 1-6 should be written thus:

δόξαν, ὃ χρυσάλακατοι Χάριτες,
πεισίμβροτον δοίητ' ἔπει,
Μουσᾶν τὸ ἰοβλεφάρων θεῖος προφάτας
εὐτυχος Φλιοῦντά τε καὶ Νεμειῶν
Ζηνὸς εὐθαλὲς πέδον
ὑμνείν.

I have amended the punctuation, written *τό* for *τε* in 3, and retained in 4 the *εὐτυχος* which Mr Kenyon alters to *εὐτυκον*. *Μουσᾶν προφάτας* is the poet, and cannot be anyone else. *τό* is relative with *ἔπει* for its antecedent, and is cognate accusative with *ὑμνείν*. *εὐτυχος* means *ετοῖμος* and, like *ετοῖμος*, takes an infinitive and dispenses with *ἔστι*: see Aesch. supp. 974 *πᾶς τις ἐπειπεῖν ψόγον ἀλλοθρόοις εὐτυχος*.

ix 10 *κέ[ῖθι γὰρ] νικάσπιδες ἡμίθεοι κτλ.* This adjective is incapable of meaning anything: write *[φοι]νικάσπιδες* (so also Platt). Aeschylus Sophocles and Euripides give white shields to the Argives, but Pindar Pyth. viii 46 sends Alcmaeon to Thebes *δράκοντα ποικίλον α ἰ θ ᾶ s ἐπ' ἀσπίδος νομῶντα*. ix 12-14.

ἄθλησαν ἐπ' Ἀρχεμόρφ, τὸν ξανθοδερκῆς
πέφν' ἀσαγέοντα δράκον ὑπέροπλος,
σᾶμα μέλλοντος φόνου.

Merely double the *γ* and write *ἀσαγέοντα*. Opheltēs by his death gave the Argives a foretaste of woe, wherefore they named him Ἀρχέμορος. I have corrected the accent of *ξανθοδερκῆς*.

ix 30-46¹ should be written and punctuated as follows:

τοῖος Ἑλλάνων δι' ἀπείρονα κύκλον 30
φαῖνε θαυμαστὸν δέμας
δίσκον τροχοειδέα ρίπτων
καὶ μελαμφύλλον κλάδον
ἀκτέας ἐς αἰπεινὰν προπέμπων
αἰθέρ' ἐκ χειρὸς, βοάν τ' ὤρινε λαῶν 35
οἱ τελευταίας ἀμάργυμα πύλας.
τοίφ δ' ὑπερθύμῳ σθένει
γυιαλκῆα σώματα πρὸς γαίᾳ πελάσσας

ἕκετ' [Ἀσωπὸ]ν πάρα πορφυροδίαν, 40
τοῦ κλέος πᾶσαν χθόνα
ἦλθεν καὶ ἐπ' ἔσχατα Νείλου·
ταί τ' ἐπ' εὐναεῖ πόρῳ
οἰκεῦσι Θερμώδοντος ἐχέων
ἵστορες κούραι διωξίπποι' Ἀρηος
σῶν, ὃ πολυζήλωτε ἀναξ, ποταμῶν 45
ἐγγόνου γέεσαντο καθ' ὑψιπύλου Τροίας ἔδος.

35 sq. *βοάν τ' ὤρινε...οἱ scripsi, βοὰν ὤτρυνε...η MS.* The verb is ridiculous and a copula is indispensable. *οἱ* is circumflex because it begins the line and the anti-strophe. Perhaps however *καί* should be read: see what I say on xi 24.

37 *τοίφ δ' Platt, τοιῷδ' Kenyon*: see 30.

39 Ἀσωπὸν scripsi. The subject of the sentence is of course Automedes. Whither did he go after his Nemean victory? Home to Phlius. On what river is Phlius built? Asopus. Who was the father of Thebe and Aegina (49-55)? Asopus again. Talk of chimaeras dire!²

40 *τοῦ* refers to Asopus.

45 *πολυζήλωτε scripsi* (so also Platt), *πολυζήλωτ' MS* unmetrically. *ἀναξ* here retains the digamma, as in Pindar.

46 *ἐγγόνου scripsi, ἔγγονοι MS.* καθ' Jebb, και MS. The Amazons, from the remote Thermodon, sampled the prowess of Asopus' descendant in the land of Troy. Since Achilles was not the grandson but the great-great-grandson of Asopus I should have expected *ἐκγόνου*.

ix 53-57³ may be supplied as follows:

τίς γαρ οὐκ οἶδεν κνανοπλοκάμουν
Οἴηβας ἐῶδατον πόλιν;
[τίς δ' οὐ χαριτών]μον Αἴγιναν; μέγιστον
[ἂ Διὸς πλαθεῖσα λέ]χει τέκεν ἥρω,
[καρτερὰν ἴν' Αἰακ]οῦ.

The mistake *[χαρίτων ὦ]μον* was very easy.

x 48 *ἔμειν* is good Doric, though perhaps too severe for Bacchylides.

x 50, 51.

τί μακρὰν . . ω . . αν ἰθύσας ἐλαίνω
ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ;

The first missing letter may be *γ*, the *as* of *ἰθύσας* is struck out and *υ* is written above the *ι*. The lost word is evidently *γλώσσαν*: then, since I do not see the appropriateness of *ἰθύσας*, I propose *ἰθείας*, which is very much like it. The word has puzzled the scribes again at xv 54, where the first hand

² [See also note by Richards.]

³ [Cf. note by Headlam.]

¹ [Cf. note by Sandys.]

or else *τεὸν γόνον* : see the following context. Prof. Jebb's *τεὸν κλέος* is too vague and will not fill the space.

xiii 67-70.

τῶν <θ'> νείας ἀερσιμάχ[ους]
 ταχύν τ' Ἀχλλέα
 εὐειδέος τ' Ἑριβοίας
 παῖδ' ὑπέρθυμον βοα[θόον].

At 67 the insertion of θ', says Mr Kenyon, 'is necessitated by there being no verb following which can govern νείας.' The verb is in 70: βοα[σῶ]. See Eur. Hel. 1108 sq. σὲ τὰν ἐναυλείους ὑπὸ δεινδροκόμοις | μυνσεία καὶ θάκουσ ἐνίζουσεν ἀναβοάσω.

xiii 117 πάρ[α]. Metre demands παρ[αί]: see 150. So also Platt.

xii 142-144.

οὐ γὰρ ἀλαεπι νυ[κτὸς]
 πασιφανῆς ἀρετ[ᾶ]
 κρυφθεῖσ' ἀμαυροῦ[νται σκότοισιν].

Write ἀλαμπεί in 142 and καλύπτρα in 144: see xvi 32 δνοφερὸν κάλυμμα, Aesch. cho. 811 δνοφερᾶς καλύπτρας. M was lost after ΔΑ here, as after ΑΔ at xix 48 καδὸς for Κάδμος, and πε was then reversed: so at vii 9 I suppose that Δ was lost before Α, and πε inverted in consequence.

xiii 149-153.

καὶ μὰν φερκενδέα νᾶσον
 Αἰακοῦ τιμᾶ . σὺν εὐ-
 κλείᾳ δὲ φιλοστεφάνῳ
 πόλιν κυβερνᾷ
 εἰνομία τε σάοφρων.

150

This is the punctuation of the MS: the government of ἀρετά ceases in the middle of 150. If with Mr Kenyon and Prof. Jebb you put a comma there and alter the εἰνομία of 153 into εἰνομία the position of σάοφρων becomes intolerable. Therefore the corruption resides in τε: write εἰνομία σαοσίφρων, which is as good a word as σωσίπολις: Hesychius has σαοσίμβροτος· ὁ σώζων ἀνθρώπους. τεΑεόφρων would even more easily give rise to τεΑόφρων, but the meaning would be hardly so apt.

xiii 166-168.

εἰ μή τιν' ἀθερσ . . πῆς
 φθόνος βιᾶται,
 αἰνείτω σοφὸν ἄνδρα.

Write ἀμερσ[ι]πής: Hesychius has ἀμερσίφρων and Nonnus ἀμερσίνοος and ἀμερσίγαμος

and Pindar εῤρησιπής. Let all praise Menander, save those whom envy has bereft of speech: 'some with envy dumb' says one of our own poets.

xiii 189-191. Supply as follows:

φοινικοκραδέμνοι[ο Μούσας]
 ὕμνων τινὰ, τάνδ' ἔ[καθεν νᾶσον μολῶν],
 φαίνω.

I said at iii 96 that ὕμνων and not ὕμνων must be read. Compare vi 10 ἀναξιμόλπου Οὐρανίας ὕμνος.

xiii 195-198.

τὰν εἴ κ' ἐτύμως ἄρα Κλει[ῶ]
 πανθαλῆς ἐμαῖς ἐνέστα[ξεν φρεσὶν],
 τερψιεπείς νιν [ᾄου]δαί
 παντὶ καρύξοντι λα[ῶ].

εἴ κ' ἐνέσταξε, καρύξοντι: such is the amazing solecism proffered by Messrs Jebb and Blass. I propose εἰ κλειτάν, and guess that ἐτύμως was written overhead to mark the paronomasia and then mistaken for a correction because ΚΛΕΙΤΑΝ looked like an unmetrical κ' αἰ τάν. φρεσὶν should probably be φρασίν. 193 sq. may be completed thus:

τὰν ἐμοὶ Λάμπων[πόρε, τηλόθεν οὐ]
 βληγρὰν ἐπαθρήσαις τ[έχνην].

The emendation of the last two words is Prof. Platt's. The insertion of οὐ seems necessary: Bacchylides may disparage himself (though he never does), but he must not disparage Clio.

xiv 3-6.

[σ]υμφορὰ δ' ἐσθλὸν ἀμαλδύ[
 . . . β]αρύτλ[ατ]ος μολοῦσα.
 [. . .]ονηδηνυψιφανητε[
 [. . . κ]ατορθωθείσα.

The third hand has struck out the ηδη of 5 and written καί above it: after this καί there is a lacuna which Mr Kenyon supposes without reason to have contained a second word. ἐσθλόν in 3 is of course unmetrical. I propose

συμφορὰ δ' ἐσθλὸν <κ'> ἀμαλδύ[ν-]
 [εἰν β]αρύτλατος μολοῦσα
 [θαητ]ὸν ἰδ' ὑψιφανῆ τε[ύ-]
 [χοι κ]ατορθωθείσα.

Sore disaster, arriving with intent to crush him, would mend her ways and bring glory and exaltation to the man of worth. This

will be the only example of ἰδέ in all Bacchylides and Pindar. The only example in all Aeschylus Sophocles and Euripides is at Soph. Ant. 969 in a dactylic colon like this; and there it is corrupted to ἦδε as here to ἦδη. Simonides has ἦδέ at frag. 53.

xiv 8-11

[μυρί]αι δ' ἀνδρῶν ἀρε[ταί]· μία δ' ἐ[ῦ-]
[δαίμω]ν πρόκειται,
[ὅς γε] πᾶρ χειρὸς κυβερνᾷ-
[ται δι]καίαισι φρένεσσιν.

In 10 the first hand has κυβερνᾷ, and πᾶρ χειρὸς does not seem to mean anything. Bacchylides is saying that the chief of virtues is good taste. Write

μία δ' ἐ[ξ]
[ἀλλᾶ]ν πρόκειται,
ὅς γε πᾶν χρεῖος κυβερνᾷ
[σὺν δι]καίαισι φρένεσσιν.

See viii 5 σὺν ἀλαθείᾳ· δὲ πᾶν λάμπει χρεός.

xv 13 σὺν θεοῖς is unmetrical: the true reading may be ἡθέοις, for the sons of Antenor are the subject of the ode.

xv 48, 49.

Πλεισθενίδας Μενέλαος γάρῃ θελξιεπῇ
φθέγγατ' εὐπέπλοισι κοινώσας Χάρισιν.

Where is the object to κοινώσας? Probably εὐπέπλοισι ἐ κοινώσας, i.e. γάρῃ. Professor Platt restores ἐ at xix 5 where the metre requires it; Pindar uses it once at Ol. ix. 14 of the town of Opus; Homer applies it to inanimate things, as σκῆπτρον at A 236.

xvii. On this ode and its metre I hope to write a special paper, so for the present I pass it by, and will only say that at 90 I should now write δόρυ, σὸ' οἷ νιν.

xviii 27-29 Πολυπήμονός τε καρτερὰν σφῦ-
ραν ἐξέβαλεν Προκόπτας. This passage explains and is explained by Ovid Ibis 407 'ut Sinis et Sciron et cum Polypemone natus.' Procopetes is Polypemon's son, and apprenticed to his father.¹

xviii 33-36.

πότερα σὺν πολεμήτοις ὁ-
πλοισι στρατιῶν ἄγοντα πολλὰν,
ἦ μόνον σὺν ὀπλοισιν
στείχειν, ἔμπορον οἷ' ἀλάταν.

35 is neither sense nor verse, so Mr Kenyon proposes ἦ μόνον τ' ἀνοπλὸν τέ νιν. Write

ἦ μόνον συνοπαίων

'without companions'. This was mistaken for σὺν ὀπαίων and altered to σὺν ὀπάοισιν; and ΟΠΑΟΙΝ hardly differs from ΟΠ-ΛΟΙΝ.² There is no metrical cause to alter μόνον here nor κηῦνυκτον at 50; and κνηνὴν εὐνυκτον is Homeric.

xviii 50-54.

κηῦνυκτον κνηνὴν Λάκαι-
ναν κρατὸς ὕπερ πυρσοχαίτου
χιτῶνα πορφύρεον
στέρνοισι τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ οὐλίον
Θεσσαλὴν χλαμῦδ'.

In 51 there is an anapaest in lieu of a dactyl; in 53 the position of τε is ridiculous, for the word is meant to join κνηνὴν with χιτῶνα. Write κρατὸς θ' ὕπο in 51 and delete τ' in 53. The θ' was absorbed by the σ; ὕπο, thus rendered meaningless, was altered to ὕπερ; and τε, which now became necessary, was inserted in the only place which would receive it.

xix 12-15 should be written thus:

πρέπει σὲ φερτάταν ἔμειν
ὀδδὸν, παρὰ Καλλιόπας λα-
χοῦσαν ἔξοχον γέρας,
εἰ τιν'. Ἄργος κτλ.

I have put an accent on σε in 12 and written εἰ τιν' for τιν in 15. εἰ and ἦ are sometimes much alike in this hand. At 19 τότ' should be read, as Mr Kenyon proposes.

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iii. 21, 22. If space will permit θέλων may be right in place of the second θεόν. The position of γάρ is intolerable, and the sense of ἄριστον ὄλβον unsatisfactory. Whatever are the exact words, there can be little doubt as to the general meaning, and that Bacchylides alludes to the poetic commonplace first found in Hesiod *Op.* 320 χρήματα δ' οὐχ ἀρπακτά, θεόσδοτα πολλὸν ἀμείνω· εἰ γάρ τις καὶ χερσὶ βίῃ μέγαν ὄλβον ἔλθῃται...παῖρον δέ τ' ἐπὶ χρόνον ὄλβος ὀνηδεῖ. Then in Solon 13, 9 πλοῦτον δ' ὃν μὲν δώσει θεοὶ παραγίγνεται ἀνδρὶ ἔμπεδος ἐκ νεάτου πυθμένος εἰς κορυφὴν and Theognis 197 f. χρήμα δ', ὃ μὲν Διόθεν καὶ σὺν δίκῃ ἀνδρὶ γίγνεται καὶ καθαρῶς, αἰεὶ παρμόνιμον τελέθει. This point is more than once emphasised by Pindar; as in Nem. viii. 17 σὺν θεῷ γάρ τοι φυτευθεὶς ὄλβος ἀνθρώποιον

[The suggestion of σὺν ὀπάοισιν has been sent to me simultaneously by Mr W. A. Golligher. G.E.M.]

¹ [See also note by Ellis.]

παρμονώτερος. Cf. *fr.* 99, *Isthm.* iii. 4 foll. A consideration of these passages will, I hope, recommend the conjecture: θεὸν θεόν (or θέλων) τις ἀγλαΐζε, σῶς γὰρ ἄριστον ἄλβος. The first C was confused with Θ, and the second fell out accidentally as in xiii. 98. The disturbance at the end of the line is subsequent to the displacement of σῶς. σῶς γὰρ ἄριστος ἄλβων is, of course, possible but less clear, and the plural of ἄλβος I can only find in *Soph. frag.* 298.

iii. 67. Perhaps [οὐ ψέ]γειν, assuming that the sentence ends with πέμψαι in 66.

v. 48. νεόκροτον. This difficult epithet should probably be brought into connection with *Soph. El.* 714 ἐν δὲ πᾶς ἐμεστώθη δρόμος κτύπου κροτητῶν ἀρμάτων where see Jebb. It means then either (1) 'the fresh victory of the rattling car'—a view favoured by the Homeric ὄχρα κροτέοντες—or (2) 'the victory of the newly welded car.' The fact that the horse is the subject of the sentence makes the omission of any reference to the chariot less harsh.

v. 62. ἀπλάτοι' Ἐχίδνας. This elision, for which see Mr. Platt in *C.R.* ii. 99, is freely admitted by Bacchylides: cf. ix. 44, xvii. 42.

v. 107. πλημύρων rather than πλημυρῶν has been anticipated by Mr. Nairn. L and S. are misleading as to these words.

v. 110. ἄν is ungrammatical, and is not to be defended by such doubtful passages as *Pind. Pyth.* 9, 129. The accent of the papyrus points rather to εἰσάνταν related to εἴσαντα as ἄντην to ἄντα.

ix. 55. The indications of the papyrus and the requirements of metre point to an adjective in -ωνυμος, such as μεγαλῶνυμος or πολυ-ώνυμος. Perhaps νᾶσον τ' ἐρατόνυμον Αἴγιναν cf. xvii. 32.

x. 10. Following up Mr. Nairn's suggestion that the name of the athlete is concealed here. I would propose Πασία, τὴν ἐκείνησεν κ.τ.λ.¹ Mr. Kenyon reports that the remains of the first letter suggest π. It is true that Bacchylides has τὴν in xviii. 14, but τὴν is accepted by Fennell and Bury in *Pind. Isthm.* v. 4 and is certain for Theocritus. The only objection is in the position of the accent which may, however, be misplaced, as seems to be sometimes the case, e.g. xi. 45.

xi. 110. For γᾶ δ', which is pointless, read ταῖ δέ, which supplies the following verbs with their natural subject, and marks the change of situation. Cf. xiii. 58.²

xiii. 62. The clue to the restoration of

this line seems to be given by Pindar's descriptions of Aeginetan hospitality: see *Nem.* iii. 2 τὰν πολυξέαν Δωρίδα νᾶσον Αἴγιναν *ib.* iv. 12, v. 8, *Ol.* viii. 26. Surely this is also the meaning of ὀλβίαν ξείνοισι in Bacchyl. xii. 5 where Mr. Kenyon interprets otherwise. Here, therefore, we might read τεὰν πόλιν in 61 and complete 62 with ξειναγέταν or ξείνοισ φάος.³

xiii. 67. ἀερσιμάχους is a strange word when compared with other compounds of ἀερσι-. Perhaps we should read ἀεξιμάχους.

xiii. 97. There is no reason why the deliberate οὐρία of the MS. should be altered to οὐρία. Βορέας is still the subject, and the phrasing is no less illogical than that of the well-known passages *Soph. Ai.* 674 δεινῶν τ' ἄημα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε στένοντα πόντον and Verg. *Aen.* 3, 69 placataque uenti dant maria. In what follows νότου ἐκόντος seems an impossible phrase, and the metre of the corresponding epodes points to _ _ _ in the lacuna. Moreover, if we observe that the τ in 98 is not erased, the almost invariable practice of the corrector (A³) will indicate that σ written over the line is an addition to the text, and not a substituted letter. Then, no emendation is necessary and we may write: νότου δ' ἐκόν[τεσσ' ἰς ἐπλησ'] ἰστίον ἀρπαλέως τ' ἄελπτον κ.τ.λ.

xiv. 10. Why not ὅς τὸ παρ χειρὸς making the phrase strictly parallel to τὸ παρ ποδός *Pind. Pyth.* 3, 60 i.e. *his nearest business*?⁴ κυβερνᾶται is not certain, and the active κυβερνᾶ σὺν δukaiaσιν φρένεσσιν is preferable, cf. xiii. 152, xvii. 22.

xvii. 62. σὺν is more likely to have been lost here than τό.

xvii. 86. Why not τάφεη? Amazement is as natural an emotion on Minos' part as joy, and the metre is no objection: cf. l. 43.

xvii. 90. I cannot help thinking that σόει is a genuine form belonging to the causative of the root σιευ. The existence of this word is established by Hesychius' ἐσσοσημένον: see Brugmann *Gr.* ii. § 794 (iv. p. 327 Eng. Tr.).⁵ The sense 'sped on' is exactly what is required. The asyndeton is impressive and natural, since the clause is merely an amplification of what precedes, and would be introduced in prose by οὕτω. The length of the final vowel of δόρυ is not surprising in view of δορυ-σσοός and the prevailing Epic scansion before words from this root e.g. Ψ 198 ἴλη τε σεύαίτο καίημεναι. Whether νῆν is used of ships floating like νήχουμαι and the Latin nare and natate, I cannot at present ascer-

¹ [See note by Platt.]

² [See also note by Platt.]

³ [Cf. note by Tyrrell.]

⁴ [See also note by Headlam.]

⁵ [See also notes by Ellis, Richards and Sandys.]

tain, but if this is objected to it would be easy to read *νιν* or perhaps *ναῖν*.

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24th Dec., 1897.

3. 16. φιλοξενίας? the three datives plural correspond. Cf. *πρῶτος* for *πρώτοις* in 1. 30. 21. γὰρ is for *παρ*. Read *θεόν τις ἀγλαΐζέτω παρ' ἄριστον ὄλβων*, either *at time of* or *on account of* (Pind. *Ol.* 2. 71).¹ The suggested *θεόν τις ἀγλαΐζει*, would be like *praise God somebody*: *ἀγλαΐζέτω τις* is quite different and unexceptionable. If we go by the MS. correction, we might read *πᾶρ* (= *πάρεστιν*) *ἄριστος ὄλβων*, but I prefer the other. 63. ὅσοι γε μὲν (cf. 90) Ἑλλάδ' ἔχουσιν, οὗτις ὃ μεγαίνητε Ἱέρων θελήσει αὐχεῖν σέο πλείονα χρυσὸν Λοξία πέμψαι βροτῶν εὖ λέγειν κ.τ.λ.² 88. παρέντα γῆρας would mean that a man cannot at the very end of old age recover youth, as though he could at the beginning. Take therefore *προέντα dismissing*: it can hardly be *postponing*.

4. 19. Can *παντοδαπῶν* mean *open to all comers*?

5. 8. ἐπάθρησον (13. 194)? 27. νωμᾶται governs *ἔθειραν*. 48. Perhaps *λαόκροτον*: cf. 9. 35: 3. 9 (?). *ἔται*, if right, must not be taken as historic present, which B. like Pindar does not use. 110. Read *εἰσάνταν* with the MS.³: *ἄν* here is a solecism. 121. *πρός δ' ὤλεσε μοῖρ' ὀλοὰ πλεῦνας*: something like this the context requires. 142. Althea's tears are also in Ovid. *Met.* 8. 470: cf. Swinburne's *Atalanta* p. 101. May not *ἐγ*-be right, *weeping over him*? 151. Certainly adopt Mr. Purser's *μινύνθη*. The aorist is right, for the weakness fell on Meleager quite suddenly: cf. Ovid and Swinburne. Read *μινύνθη* also in 3. 90 for *μινύθει*. 161. *μηδ'*? 195. *πείθομαι* means perhaps that he does what Hesiod says. Should we write *πέμπων*?

9. 10. *κινάσπιδες*? 40 foll. Well may Mr. Kenyon say that the sense 'as he gives it, is not satisfactory. The father of Thebe and Aegina, as of many other geographical nymphs (47-50), was the river-god Asopus (Pind. *I.* 8. 17: Herod. 5. 80: Diod. 4. 72: Pausan. 2. 5. 2): he therefore, not Ares, is the *πολυζήλωτος ἀναξ* of 45.⁴ Phlius and Nemea are not far from the Asopus. The general sense of 42-46 is that the Amazons and Troy felt the might of Heracles. I

cannot yet deal with *σῶν* (*σῶν τ'*?)...*ποταμῶν ἔγγονοι*; but I hope Mr. Housman (who in *Athenaeum* of Dec. 25, has anticipated me on three or four points) sees further. Remove the comma after *ἦλθεν* in 41.

10. 13 foll. *τεὺν ἀρετὰν μανῖον ἐπιχθονίου-σιν, ὅσσον αὖ Νίκας κ.τ.λ.* The genitive *ἀρετὰν* is awkward and *ὅσσα* hardly possible. I have also thought of *ὅστε σὺν Νίκας*. *αὖ* would be explained by 27. 28. Perhaps *βραβέων*. 37. Better not to insert anything confidently, where there are many other possibilities, e.g. *ἐμβαίνων*. 43. *ἐργοισιν* is husbandry.

11. 30. *εὐτυχεόνθ'* is infelicitous. Poets are flatterers and impute desert. Many things are possible, e.g. *ἐς πόλιν ὀλβιον χ' ἰκέσθαι*. 43. *ἐφόβησεν*. 120. *ἔσσαν* for *ἔσαντο* in this use is questionable. Keep therefore *ἔσσάμενοι* and look for a verb in *προγόνοι*, the more so as its second syllable should be long. Is *προάγον* possible?

13. 28. *χρυσέαν*? 38. *νοστήεις*? 46. *τοι* is pronoun, not particle (index). 119. Perhaps *ἐναριζομένων φωτῶν δ' ἐρεῦθέθ' αἵματι*. For the position of *δέ* compare *Frag.* 1. 7 *Διὸς εὐκλείου δέ* and *τε* in 18. 53 *χιτῶνα πορφύρεον στέρνοισ τ' ἄμφι*, if right. 125. *αὐχέοντες*? 195 foll. has some strange things. *τάν* is very awkward after *τάν* in 193, and B., though not a great poet, is a skilled workman. *εἰ κε* with indicative here is stranger than the examples in Monro's *Hom. Gram.* § 324, for they are past possibilities, this a supposed fact. In what sense can Clio be called *πανθαλής*, and is the second *a* long or short?

14. 8. *μία δ' ἐκ πασέων πρόκειται εἰ τὸ πᾶρ χειρὸς κυβερνᾶται*. Cf. Pindar's *γρόντα τὸ πᾶρ ποδὸς Pyth.* 3. 60 etc. 59. Read *ἄ*. I doubt if *ἄ* would be so used after the article: moreover 62-3 is the main predication, answering to 56.

17. Several difficulties in this ode can be removed by transposition of words. The method is no doubt dangerous, but the cases should all be considered together and in the light of the fact that the MS. gives us in this ode irregularities certainly transcending metrical license. 10. *κύνριδος αἰνὰ δῶρα* surely an unsuitable epithet: *αἰψα*? or *ἄβρά*? 38. I have thought of *ἰόπλοκοι κάλνυμα*, or *ἰόπλοκοι κάλνυμ'*... 42. Possibly *ἀμβρότοι* ἰδεῖν *ἐραννὸν ἀοὺς φάος*. 68. *Μίνω* with an iambus omitted before it, e.g. *ἐκόν*. 72. *πέτασε χεῖρας* or possibly *χέρα πέτασεν tenditque ad sidera dextram* (Virg. *Aen.* 12. 196). 74. *σύ* is unsuitable, especially in view of 76: read *Θησεῦ, τάδε μὲν ἔβλεπες*. 86. Perhaps *υἱὸς δὲ Διὸς*

¹ [See also note by Housman.]

² [See also notes by Platt, Sandys and Tyrrell.]

³ [See also notes by Platt, Sandys and Headlam.]

⁴ [See also note by Housman.]

ἐνδοθεν κῆαρ τάφε. τάφε (e.g. in ταφῶν ἀνόρουσε) does not connote immobility. 90. σόει should not be dismissed too confidently. Some such word seems presupposed by the middle forms σοῦσθε, σοῦνται, etc. (Veitch s.v. σόομαι). σόει (or σόεν) γάρ | νιν may be suggested. If νιν = νιν, compare the MS. mistakes in 67 and 107.¹ 93. Insert μέν, and not πάν, comparing 13. 169-70. 94. Perhaps πόντονδε θόρεν ἥρωσ κατά | τε λειρίων ὀμμάτων δα|κρύχων. 101. Putting μέγαρον in 100 with Mr. Housman, write here μόλεν. 102. ἔδισ' ὀλβίοιο Νη|ρέος κόρας? But 103 seems metrically doubtful. 108. ποσσί. 109. Mr. Housman and Mr. Platt agree in suggesting σεμνὰν τε πατρός ἄλοχον φίλαν ἴδε, an improvement, but incomplete, because we want a long syllable in the sixth place. Read something like σεμνὰν τότ' ἄλοχον πατρός φίλαν. 118. There seems no evidence that λῶ *I wish* was suited to lyric or epic. θέλωσιν may stand for another word much used of the gods, θῶσιν. Cf. τεύχει in the parallel 3. 57 ἄπιστον οὐδὲν ὅ τι θεῶν μέριμνα τεύχει.

In the passage of Apollodorus quoted to illustrate 20 read δείσασα ὡς ἂν <γυνή> μὴ γηρῶσαν αὐτήν 'Α. καταλίπη: in that given on p. 101 for καὶ κατὰ γαστρός μὲν ἔτι ὄντες καὶ κατὰ γαστρός μητρί (or μητρί ἔτι) ὄντες, for καὶ...μὲν is hardly possible and μὴ often gets confused with μέν.

All the above to be regarded as suggestions merely.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

THE following is a conspectus of the readings proposed by Prof. BLASS in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* for Dec. 25. It is interesting to notice that in several instances Prof. Housman and Prof. Platt in the *Athenaeum* of the same date, and Mr. Nairn in the *Classical Review* for December, have lighted on the same suggestions. I may add that Prof. Blass examined the *paragrus* in August last.

i 2-6, ἐκ τοῦ μὲν γένος ἔπλετο κρατερόχειρ 'Αργείος, — — — — — λέοντος θυμὸν ἔχων, ὁπότε ζαχρεῖος ἀντιβολοῖ μάχας (sc. ὁ λέων). Cf. *Iliad* 4, 342 μάχης ἀντιβολῆσαι. 8, καλῶν, τόσσα κ.τ.λ.

ii 4, ὅτι μέγας θρασύχειρ 'Αργεῖος ἄρατο νίκαν.

iii 22, θεόν, θεόν τις ἀγλαΐζεται, ὁ (by *crasis* ἀγλαΐξέθω) γὰρ ἄριστος ὀλβων. 33, (πυρὰν) ναῖσατ'. 44, φοινίσσεται αἵματι χρυσοδίνας

Πακτωλός, cf. xiii 131. 63, ὅσοι <γε> μὲν 'Ελλάδ' ἔχουσιν, οὗτις...θέλησεν — — — — — σέο πλείονα χρυσὸν Δοξία πέμψαι βροτόν. 67, εὐ λέγειν. 69, εὐθαλῆ...ἄνδρ' ἀρήϊον. 78, Φερη-τιάδα.

iv 4, παρ' ὀμφαλόν. 14, πάρεστίν νιν (cf. iii 67) and γαίης. 6, ὠκυπόδων ἀρεταῖς σὺν ἱππων.

v 110, εἰσάνταν.² 191, ὃν <ἂν> ἀθάνατοι τιμῶσιν αὐτοί (?) καὶ βροτῶν φήμαν ἔπεσθαι, cf. Theognis 169 ὃν δὲ θεοὶ τιμῶσ', ὃν καὶ μωμείμενος αἰνῇ (Prof. Housman's proposal is nearly identical, differing only in τούτῳ, which is better than αὐτοί).

vii 7, ἀρισταλκὲς (Mr. Nairn proposes the same).

viii 6, οὕτως ἀνθρώπων καθ' Ἑλλανας ἐν ἄλικι χρόνῳ παῖς ἐὼν ἀνὴρ τέ πω πλεῖνας ἐδέξατο νίκας.

ix 2-3, ἐπεί Μουσᾶν γε. 4, Φλειοῦντα and εὐτυκος should be retained, the latter referring with Μουσᾶν προφάτας, who is the poet. 10, κέθι φοινικιάσπιδες ἡμίθειοι (so also Prof. Housman). 18, ὑφαιρείται νόημα?, cf. xi 54. 21-23, πλαθέντ'. ἀλλ' ἔτι κείνων. 23, remove full-stop after Νεμέα. 28, in *paragrus* φάει? 38, πελάσσαις or (with Kenyon) πελάσσας. 39, 'Ασσωπὸν παρὰ πορφυροδίναν (so also Prof. Housman). 55, ἥ τὰν μεγαλῶνυμον Αἰγίναν, μεγίστον ἂ Διὸς πλαθεῖσα (similarly Housman) τέκεν ἥρω.³ 72, χρυσέαν...θεντα ἰσπλόκον εὐ εἰπεῖν Κύπριν. ὦ μάτερ ἀγνάμπτων ἐρώτων. 88, εἰσὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων.

x 10, νασιῶνιν. 37, κέλευθον, ἄντινα στείχω ν. 46, διακρίτους. 47, πα (so also Mr. Nairn). 51, γλῶσσαν, cf. v 196 (so also Housman).

xi 9, κοῦρα Στυγὸς ὀρθοδίκον (i.e. Νίκη). 30, πορτιτρόφον ἂν πεδίον πάτραν θ' ἰκέσθαι. 110, ταῖ (Housman and Platt).

xiii 61, παρθένοι μέλπουσι τεὸν κράτος, ὦ δέσποινα παῖ Ζηνός, sc. Artemis. 77, εἰσότε Πηλεΐδας θρασείαν αἰχμὰν — — — ὠρίνατο, Δαρδανιδᾶν τ' ἔλυσεν ἄλκάν. 83, οὐ λείπον. 84, πτάσσον (v 22).⁴ 91, perhaps ὥστ' ἐν κυνανθεῖ ὠνὺν ναυτίλους πόντῳ Βορέας ὑπὸ κύμασιν δαΐζει. 97, νότον δ' ἐκόλπωσαν σὺν (v 28) αὔραις ἰστίον ἀρπαλέως τ' ἄελπον ἐξέκοντο χέρσον. 100, ἐπεὶ κλύον (as once proposed by Mr. Kenyon). 105, θεοῖσι. 125, πνέοντες ὑπερφίλον. 134, ἐρεψιλάοις. 175, δυσμενέων δὲ ματαίας λαιδορίας μινύθει.

xiv 22, Πυρρίχου τ' εὐδοξον ἱππόνικον υἱόν.

xv 2, δάμαρ κυανῶπις, 'Αθάνας πρόσπολος (sc. Theano).

xvi 3, Πιερίαν ἐπὶ φρένας (?) Οὐρανία.

² [See also notes by Headlam, Platt and Richards.]

³ [See also notes by Headlam and Richards.]

⁴ [See also notes by Platt and Thomas.]

¹ [See also notes by Sandys and Pearson.]

xvii 10, ἀβρά (Mr. Kenyon's first reading). 67, ἄμεπτον? 86, τᾶκεν. 90, σόει νιν.¹

xix 43, λυνοστόλων. 46, ὅθεν καὶ Ἀγανόρι δα σ ἐν ἐπατύλοις Οἰθῆβαις Κάδμος Σεμέλαν ἔφυσεν. 50, δῖον υἱόν.

xx 2, the mark of a short syllable over the second α in ξανθαί points to ξανθαί (not ξανθά). If so, I may suggest, instead of my proposal in the *Athenaeum* for Dec. 25, the following restoration of the eleven remaining lines of the ode (the additions are denoted by spaced type):—

Σπάρτα ποτ' ἐν [ῆρι γυναιῖκες
ξανθαὶ Λακεδαίμονίσι νιν
τοιόνδε μέλος κ[ατ' ἤρ]χον θ'.
ὄτ' ἄγετο καλλιπα[χυν
κόραν θρασυκάρ[διος Ἰδας
Μάρπησαν ἰό[πλο]κοι, αἴσαν
φυγὸν θανάτον [μέ]λαιαν,
ἵππους τέ οἱ ἴσαν[έ]μους θεί[ς] [?],
Πλευρῶν' ἐς εὐκτ[ι]πον ὄρσεν
χρυσάσπιδος υἱό[ν] Ἀρηος...

ξανθά is an epithet of γυνά in Bacchylides xiii 103, of Hera and Athene in xi 57 and v 92, and of Athene and the Graces in Pindar, who also has γυναιξὶ καλλικόμοισιν of the women of Argos.

J. E. SANDYS.

iii. 21–2.

I propose to read

θεόν, θεόν τις
ἀγλαΐζεθ'. ὅς γὰρ ἄριστος ὄλβων.

The corrector, who in the great majority of cases is right, gives ἄριστος ὄλβων. For the plural with τις cf. Terence *Ad.* iv. 4. 27 *aperite aliquis actutum ostium*, Plaut. *Ps.* vi. 1. 37, *nunciate quis*, Thuc. ii. 53 ἐτόλμα τις . . . ὁρῶντες.

iii. 63–68.

ὅσοι μιν Ἑλλάδ' ἔχουσιν, οὗτις
δ[μ[ε]γαλύν]ητε ἱέρων, θελήσει
[. . .]ν [σ]έο πλείονα χρυσόν
[. . .]α πέμψαι βροτῶ
[. . .]εν πάρεστιν ὅς-
[τις μ]ὴ φθόνῳ παίνετα[ι].

The word required in l. 66 is, I think, Λοξία, while for l. 65 I suggest φαμὲν or φάσκειν 'No one will care to claim to have sent more gold to Loxias than you.' The verb

¹ [See also notes by Ellis, Pearson and Richards.]

depending upon πάρεστιν will be some equivalent of κρίνειν.

iii. 87.

εὐφροσύνα δ' ὁ χρυσός.

εὐφροσύνα plainly refers back to the εὐφραίνε θυμόν of l. 83 and is therefore the subject. The question therefore arises whether ὁ χρυσός could mean 'as good as gold.' But ὁ χρυσός may stand.

iii. 96–8.

σὺν δ' ἀλαθ[εῖα] καλῶν
καὶ μελιγλώσσου τις ὑμνήσει χάριν
κητίας ἀηδόνος.

Kenyon translates "'naming him with truth,' i.e. in praising Bacchylides he may truthfully be called 'the honey-tongued nightingale of Ceos'". But the sense seems to me to be this 'Over a prosperous man silence is not creditable, and with truth shall he be sung by grace of (χάριν) the Cean nightingale.' For καλῶν I suggest βαλῶν 'conjecturing', cf. οὐ ψεύδει βαλῶν Pind. N. i. 28, &c. χάριν may either be taken as above, or in the sense of 'meed of praise,' for which cf. Bacch. xiv. 19–21 Κλεοπτολέμῳ δὲ χάριν—νῦν χρῆ—κελαδῆσαι, Pind. I. iv. 123–4 σὺν Ὀρσείᾳ δέ νιν κομάζομαι, *τερπνὰν ἀποστάζων χάριν* Ol. x. 115 and commonly. The former sense is, of course, also common, e.g. Διὸς χάριν Pind. P. iii. 168, ἀλαθείας χάριν 'by way of truth' Bacch. v. 187. The two senses run together perhaps here, as in Pind. Ol. x. 95.

v. 16. δυσπαίπαλα κύματα. δυσπαίπαλα is almost certainly right in the sense of 'restless' (connected with πάλλω, cf. παιφάσσω δαιδάλλω *Φαιφίσσω* δαίδαλος etc.) and corresponds to the ἀμαιμάκετον in the parallel passage concerning the eagle Pind. P. i. 28.

v. 150.

The proposal to take μίνυνθα as a verb = ἐμινύνθη requires a final -η, which would not become α in any ordinary Doric dialect. I may add two similar minutiae, *προφάτας* ix. 3 should, according to the rule given *Introd.* p. xlvii., be *προφήτας*: we have *προφᾶται* x. 28, but cf. *κυβερνήτας* xii. 1 and *κυβερνᾶται* xiv. 10. Again ὑψανχης xiii. 4 7 (corrector) would only in Elean become ὑψανχας (original hand and ed.).

ix. 1–6.

δόξαν, ὃ χρυσάλακοι χάριτες,
πεισίμβροτον δούητ' ἔπει
Μουσᾷ τε ἰοβλεφάρων θεῖος *προφήτας*,
εὐτυκον Φλοιούντᾳ τε καὶ Νεμειῶν
Ζηνὸς εὐθαλὲς πέδον
ὑμνεῖν. ὅθι κ.τ.λ.

In addition to the other difficulties here noted by the editor we must call attention to the fact that the left-hand column gives *εὔτυκος*, and this, if really the reading of the papyrus, is certainly right.¹ For it goes easily with *ὑμνεῖν* in the sense of 'ready (in trim) to praise,' cf. L. and S., while it is extremely questionable whether *εὔτυκος πόλις*, to say nothing of *εὔτυκος Φλοιῶς*, would be Greek. Again, *ἔπει* is very curiously used for *ἔπεσσι* or *μέλει*. Now the sense will be free from all difficulty if we read, *δοίητ'*, *ἔπει Μουσᾶν τε ἰοβλεφάρων θ' ὑμῶν* (*ὑμός*) *προφήτας εὔτυκος κ.τ.λ.*, where *ὑμῶν* = *χαρίτων*, and this is supported by xix. 4-5.

ὅς ἂν παρὰ Πιερίδων λά-
χρησι δῶρα Μουσᾶν
ἰοβλέφαροι τε καὶ
φερεστέφανοι χάριτες
βάλωσιν ἄμφω τιμὰν
ὑμνοῖσιν.

where we have the Muses and Graces again together with *ἰοβλέφαροι* applying to the latter. The source of the corruption may be readily explained if we suppose *θεῖος* a correction for *θ' ὑμός* misread as *θυμός*. For *ὑμός* and the construction cf. Pind. P. vii. 14-16 *δύο δ' ἀπὸ Κίρρας, ὦ Μεγάκλεες, ὑμαί τε καὶ προγόνων*.
ix. 27-9.

ὥς ἄστρον διακρίνει φάη -σελάνα

Has not *διακρίνει* here a simple local sense 'parts' sc. 'moves among'?

ix. 55. The adjective with *Ἀιγιναν* might be *δολιχέρετον* (Pind. O. viii. 27) or *εὐνομον* (Pind. I. v. 28).

ix. 83. *τὸ[δε] τοι καλὸν ἔργον*. Read *τὸ δέ τοι, κ.τ.λ.*

x. 46. *ἀκρίτους* (*τελευταίς*) 'indiscriminate' Kenyon: but? 'uncertain' 'unknown,' cf. L. and S.

xi. 118-120.

ἄλσος τέ τοι ἱμερόεν
Κάσαν παρ' εὐνδρον πρόγο-
νοι ἐσσάμενοι, Πριάμοι' ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ.

May not the right reading be *κτίσαν*? *εὐνδρον*, which will then go with *ἄλσος*, is generally used of *land*. *πρόγονοι* = *their* ancestors.

xii. 4-6.

ἐς γὰρ ὀλβίαν
ξείνοισί με πότνια Νίκα
νάσων Ἀιγίνας ἀπαρχεῖ.

¹ [See also note by Housman.]

For *ἀπαρχεῖ*, *ἀπαιτεῖ* and *ἐπαίρει* are proposed. But *ἀπαιρεῖ* would better maintain the nautical metaphor in *κυβερνήτας—εὐθυνε*, and I suggest the perfect *ἀπαρκεν*.

xiii. 6. *παρθένου μέλπονσι τ[εὶ]ν γόνον* ὦ . *τεὶν γόνον* = *Deacus*. In the next line read *δέσποινα παγξείνου δίκας*, comparing Pind. N. iv. 18-19, *Ol.* viii. 28, N. xi. 9, where this combination of justice and hospitality is ascribed to Aegina.

xiii. 84.

ἀτυζόμενοι δὲ
[πτ]ᾶσσαν ὀξείαν μάχαν.

πτᾶσσαν is suggested by Mr. W. B. Thomas: *ὀξείαν μάχαν* is governed by *ἀτυζόμενοι*. The form *πτᾶσσω* occurs above V. 20 and also in Pindar: cf. the use of *πτῶσσω* in Homer of shirking battle.²

xiii. 97-9. Read *νότου δ' ἐκόν[τος] ἔξεσαν* *ιστίον ἀρπαλέως τ' ἄελπτον ἐξέκοντο χέρσον*. For *ἔξεσαν* *ιστίον* cf. Pind. P. i. 176-7 *ἐξίει... ιστίον*. But *εἴλκυσαν* would do.

xiii. 100-105.

ὥς Τρῶες ἐπ[έ]κλυον . . . θεοῖσι δ' ἄντειναν
χέρας.

A better sense will be given by

ὥς Τρῶες, ἐπεὶ κλύν . . . θεοῖσιν ἄντειναν
χέραν.

xiii. 124. *ἡ μεγάλαισιν κ.τ.λ.* Read *ῆ*.

xiii. 193, 4. Perhaps read

τὰν ἐμοὶ Λάμπων [πόρεν ἀλικίας]
βληχρὰν ἐπαθρήσας [τέχναν].

ἐπαθρήσας = *ἐπαθρήσας*, and *βληχρὰν* refers to *childish* skill, as xi. 65 to *childish strife*: cf. *βληχή*, *βληχάομαι*.

xvi. 22. *ὑψικέραν*. Kenyon can scarcely be right in saying that this is for *ὑψικέρων* 'like *Ποσειδᾶν* for *Ποσειδῶν*'. The latter is a case of Doric contraction of *-ᾶων*. If the *α* is really long, we must compare Pindar's *ὑψικέρατα*.

F. W. THOMAS.

THE Editor and the scholars who have so brilliantly assisted him have rightly resolved to adhere as closely as possible to the MS. in the *editio princeps* of Bacchylides. Accordingly, they have rarely admitted a conjecture, except when the claims of metre were inexorable. In some cases the editor has

² [See also note by Sandys and Platt.]

admitted into the text a reading with which he owns himself to be dissatisfied. These are cases in which it is a question whether the text can be defended, or whether we must not have recourse to emendation. The following short notes refer chiefly to cases of this kind and to passages in which the reading of the MS. must admittedly be abandoned.

It seems to me that the editor, in drawing up his metrical schemes, might well have assumed that the last syllable of the verse is always common. I know such is not the custom of metricists. Bergk, for instance, in the second Olympic ode marks every line of the five strophes and antistrophes and every line but one of the five epodes as having the last syllable common. Would it not be more scientific to say that the last syllable of every line is common, and that when five epodes agree in one verse only in having a long syllable at the end this phenomenon is due to chance? In the Bacchylides where a common syllable is found I should be disposed to regard it (if possible) as marking the end of a line.

If the last syllable of each verse is not common, then *synapheia* exists, as in the tragic anapaestic dimeter. In that case the verse may end with an elided syllable, if the next begins with a vowel. But in this MS. *no such license is permitted*. The verse often ends in the middle of a word, but the elision is always brought over to the beginning of the next verse. Thus ἡμνοῖανσ' xii. 1, 2, φῶθ' xvi. 15, 16, θέλομ' xvii. 41, 42. Is not this an express statement that there is no *synapheia*, and consequently that the last syllable of every verse is common?

iii. 21, 22. In the reading given in the *editio princeps* γὰρ is not only out of its place, but it is hard to see what it could mean. I would suggest

θεὸν θέλοντες
ἀγλαΐεθ' ᾧ πάρ' ἄριστος ἄλβων.¹

For θέλοντες cp. ἐθέλων v. 169, θελήσας φρονήσας τ' Soph. O.T. 649, and the common epic usage whereby θέλων means 'zealously' 'gladly.' In the MS. ε is often confounded with ι and ει. For παρά signifying 'in the gift of' cp. xiv. 1.

εὖ μὲν εἰμάρθαι παρὰ δαίμοσιν ἀν-
θρώποις ἄριστον,

and παρὰ δαίμοσι κείται ix. 84. Πάρα in anastrophe is found in xvi. 35.

¹ [See also note by Platt.]

As to ἄριστος ἄλβων, there is nothing really objectionable in the plural, which is actually found in a fragment of Sophocles, and Bacchylides has a stronger anomaly in the plural in παμμαχιᾶν xiii. 43, εὐφροσύναι xi. 12. The three passages fortify each other. The plural is the correction of A³, and it will be observed that in nearly every other case the editor has acquiesced in the view of the corrector.

In ode v., line 11 and the corresponding antistrophic line 26 have a syllable more than in the other strophes. The same is the case with ll. 14 and 29. Mr. R. J. Walker in the *Athenaeum*, December 18, brings ll. 14 and 29 into conformity by easy changes which I accept. In 14 he omits δέ. This asyndeton is characteristic; cp. xvii. 119 and (probably) 90. In 29 he reads ἀρίγνωτος, omitting μερ' in the next verse to the great improvement of the sense. But when we come to l. 11 and the corresponding antistrophic verses, the case is different. It is impossible to bring them into conformity by omitting a syllable. It will not do to read πλεῖ for such a characteristic word as πέμπει in

νάσον ξένος ὑμετέραν πέμ-
-πει κλευνᾶν ἐς πόλιν.

We must therefore see if there are not signs of a syllable having dropped out in the corresponding ll. 51, 66, 91, 106, 131, 146, 171, 186. In all these places the added syllable is natural, in some there is a very good reason why it should have fallen out, and in some it renders change of another kind unnecessary. The ll. as emended will run thus (I add the following verse when necessary):

- 51. μοῖράν τε καλῶν ἔπορ' <ἐργων>
- 66. Ἰδας ἀνὰ μηλοβότοιο.
- 91. πέμψει κεφαλᾶ· τὰ δέ δήπου
- 106. ὃς καλλιχόρου Καλυδῶνος
ἄντα πλημυρῶν σθένει.
- 131. κρίνει φίλον ἐν πολέμοισιν.
- 146. παῖδ' ἄλκιμον ἐξεναρίζων,
ζών, ἀμώμητον δέμας,
πύργων προπάροιθε κινήσας.
- 171. ψυχὰ προσέφα Μελεάγρον,
κάλλιπον χλωραύχενα.
- 185. Ἰέρωνι φέρων
εὐδαιμονίας πέταλον <ὄν>

In 51 some such word as ἐργων is almost necessary. 66. the adjective goes better with Ἰδας, as πρῶνας has another epithet. 91. δήπου is much more suitable than πον, and the δη- would have fallen out after δέ. 106.

The change preserves $\delta\varsigma$ of the MS. as well as the uniformity of metre, though it introduces other alterations. 146. The $\zeta\omega\acute{\nu}$ in 147 would certainly have been omitted as a dittography of $\xi\zeta\epsilon\nu\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\text{-}\zeta\omega\acute{\nu}$. The word is suitable: Meleager came on Clymenus 'still surviving,' 'not yet slain' like the rest. Cp. *P.* 445

$\alpha\lambda\kappa\epsilon\ \zeta\omega\acute{\nu}\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\psi\eta\varsigma\ \Sigma\alpha\rho\pi\eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\ \delta\acute{\nu}\delta\epsilon\ \delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\nu\delta\epsilon$

185. The word $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$ is strange. It cannot mean that the Olympian victory was the 'bud, source' of the prosperity of Hiero, because this victory was certainly preceded by a famous one at Delphi. It must mean 'a vote' as in *I.* viii. (vii.) 46, and the contribution which the victorious Pherenicus made to the prosperity of Hiero is called *his* vote for his happiness. Cp. an equally strange use of $\psi\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\nu$ in *P.* iv. 265. The addition of $\delta\acute{\nu}\ \sigma\upsilon\upsilon\mu\iota$ is all but essential, and would very easily have fallen out.

v. 129. We should read $\text{'}\text{Α}\phi\alpha\rho\eta\alpha$ for $\text{'}\text{Α}\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\eta\tau\alpha$. The gen. of $\text{'}\text{Α}\phi\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ is $\text{'}\text{Α}\phi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, and the τ seems to have got into the MS. here and in Pind. *N.* x. 111 through a confusion with $\Phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\varsigma\text{-}\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$. Here the MS. gives $\text{Α}\Phi\text{Α}\rho\eta\alpha\tau\alpha$ with the α struck out. The corrector seems to have intended to strike out the τ , but to have deleted the Α by mistake. Ovid *M.* viii. 304 has the right form in *Arphareia proles*.

v. 142. The change of $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\lambda\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha$ to $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\lambda\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha$ is bolder than it looks, because the poet would have made more of the thought if he had wished to describe Althaea as weeping at her own act in bringing about the death of Meleager by burning the magic log. By reading $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha$ or $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\sigma\alpha$ we should have a common idiom, whereby $\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon\ \phi\iota\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha = \kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon\ \phi\iota\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \delta\acute{\nu}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon$. Cp. Soph. *Ag.* 676 $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\ \pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma = \lambda\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\eta\sigma\epsilon$.

vi. 4. The words $\delta\iota'\ \omicron\sigma\sigma\alpha\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\iota\theta\epsilon\nu\ldots\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\nu$ could only mean 'on account of all the songs they sang of yore' and this gives no sense. A slight change would be $\Delta\iota\omega\delta\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\iota\theta\epsilon\nu$ 'before the face of Zeus,' and this would suit the context well: Lacon had formerly won at Olympia and then his victory was sung there 'in the presence of' Zeus of Olympia; now another Olympian victory is being celebrated, but now it is at his own home in Ceos. Zeus is called $\text{'}\text{Ο}\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\mu\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma = \text{'of Olympia'}$ in *I.* v. 8.

ix. 28. The meaning ascribed to $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$ seems hardly possible. Qu. $\delta\iota\alpha\chi\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$, 'blurs them,' 'pales their ineffectual fires.' Cp. $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\alpha\nu\epsilon\nu$ v. 44 used in a similar sense.

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Perhaps also $\delta\iota'\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$ is possible. The word is intrans. according to the ancient lexicographers.

ix. 45, 46.

$\sigma\acute{\omega}\nu$, $\delta\acute{\iota}\ \mu\omicron\lambda\upsilon\zeta\eta\lambda\omega\tau'\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\zeta$, $\mu\omicron\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$
 $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\iota\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\upsilon}\phi\iota\pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \text{Τροίας}\ \acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$.

It is hard to see how $\sigma\acute{\omega}\nu$ can be explained. I would read $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$, taking $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ as the antecedent, governed by $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$. The 'sons of River-Gods' before Troy on both sides 'had proof of' the spears (for and against them) of the Amazons. Achilles and Ajax on the Greek side were descended from the River-God Asopus; Nestor was son of Neleus son of Enipeus; Asteropaeus on the Trojan side was the grandson of Axius, and the speech of Achilles to him, Φ 184 ff., shows in what esteem River-Gods were held as progenitors. In *O.* xiii. 55 ff. Pindar expressly speaks of the glory of being connected with heroes of the Trojan war on both sides. The expl. given in the note seems hardly possible. Jebb's $\kappa\alpha\theta'$ for $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is surely right.

ix. 82. Perhaps we might supply $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$. The meaning seems to be that the song preserves the victory as a *secure* heirloom.

x. 11. The corrupt word probably conceals the name of the brother-in-law who 'stirred up the islanders' ($\nu\alpha\sigma\iota\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$) singing bee' to compose the ode of victory.

x. 15. For $\omicron\sigma\sigma\alpha <\nu\acute{\iota}\nu>$ read $\omicron\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota$ which simplifies the constr., and $-\kappa\iota\varsigma$ would more easily fall out before $\nu\iota\kappa$.

x. 37. Perhaps $\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\iota[\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu]\omega\acute{\nu}$ would be a more natural expression. Pindar uses $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ in this sense with the dative; the accus. however is quite right, as in Eur. *Suppl.* 989.

xi. 32, 33. $\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta'\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \chi\theta\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\chi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\gamma$
 $\mu\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$

Translate 'he brought the boy who opposed him to the ground by his cunning.' It is the verb $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ in *tnesis*. So in *N.* viii. 38 Bergk rightly reads $\kappa\alpha\gamma\ \chi\theta\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\ \gamma\upsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\psi\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}$.

xi. 65. Would not $\beta\lambda\eta\chi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi'\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\alpha\varsigma = \alpha\ \mu\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\ \nu\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon$, be a natural expression for 'from their infancy?' Cf. *Pyth.* v. 7, $\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\omicron\nu\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \beta\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\acute{\nu}\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$.

xii. 6. For $\text{'}\text{Α}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\iota$ we might perhaps read $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\epsilon\iota = \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\eta}\rho\kappa\epsilon\iota$ the pluperf. of $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$. The sense 'had urged, impelled' seems to be required. Bergk in *N.* iv. 46 reads $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\epsilon\iota\ \sigma\epsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau$ for $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\iota$, quoting from Hesychius $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\eta}\rho\kappa\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\mu\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$.

xiii. 19, 20. The words $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\theta\eta$

would seem to be more suitably supplied than *πείρειν* and *ἐστρέφθῃ*, regard being had to epic usage.

xiii. 39, 40. The words *βαστάσας* and *καυχήμασιν* would suit the metre and have Pindaric usage in their favour.

xiii. 49. *πυρσὸν ὡς Ἑλλ[ασιν ἀλκὰν]`
φαίνων.*

It would be better to supply *ἕμνον* instead of *ἀλκὰν*. Pindar often compares his song to a flame or light, and likens it to a torch in *I.* iii. (iv.) 61 *ἄψαι πυρσὸν ἕμνον*. The verb *φαίνειν* often means 'to bring to light' in the sense of 'to be the occasion of' e.g. in *I.* 3, 20, *εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφανας...ἕμνω*.

xiii. 62. Probably the word to be supplied is *ξευναγέτι*. Pindar in apostrophising Aegina constantly dwells on her hospitality, e.g. *N.* iii. 2, iv. 12.¹

xiii. 122, 123. Perhaps we might read

*ἄγχι μέγ' ἡμιθέοις
ἐόντος (or πρέποντος) ἰσόθεον δι' ὁρμάν.*

Pindar uses *ἄγχι* = 'like,' *ἀγχοῦ* = 'near.' The word *ἡμιθέοις* seems to suggest that Hector is likened to the demigods. The use of *διά* is characteristic of Pindar.

xiii. 127-130. The passage seems to describe the hopes entertained by the Trojans and might have run somewhat thus:—

*ἦ μεγάλασιν ἐλπίσιν
κλάζοντες ὑπερφύλον
ἔθρεψαν εὐχὰν
Τρῶες ἱππευταὶ κυανώπιδας ἐκ-
-φλέξαντας (or ἐκφλέξαντας) Ἑλλάνων νέας
λοιπαῖς χάριν εἰλαπίνας τ' ἐν
ἀμέραις ἔξειν θεόδρατον πόλιν.*

Pindar often uses *λοιπὸς* for 'future.'

xiii. 144. Read *δνόφοισιν*. The plur. of *δνόφος* is found Aesch. *Cho.* 52. I do not think any plur. of *σκοτός* occurs.

xiii. 193, 4. The passage probably ran

*τὰν ἐμοὶ Λάμπων παρέχων ξενίως
βληχρὰν ἐπαθρήσαι στάγα
τὰν κ.τ.λ.*

'and may Lampon extending this friendship to me look in friendly wise on that little drop (of inspiration) with which if Clio has really inspired me (τὰν εἶγ' ἐτύμως ἄρα Κλειῷ ἐμαῖς ἐνέσταξεν φρεσίν) lovely lays will herald him to all the host.' Ap. Rh. iv. 624 has

στάγες, and Weil's *στάγας* for *αὐγάς* is now generally accepted in Eur. *Hipp.* 741.

xiv. 10. The interpretation given to *παρ χειρὸς* seems hardly possible. I would suggest, comparing *N.* xi. 32, *χειρὸς ἔλκων ὀπίσσω θυμὸς ἀτολμος ἐών* ('a faint heart dragging him back by the hand'),

*ὅς γ' ἄφαρ χειρὸς κυβερνᾷ-
ταὶ δικαίαισιν φρένεσσιν,*

'who straightway (whenever need of action arises) by a righteous spirit is guided by the hand.'

xvii. 90, 91. I would propose

*σθένειν
νιν Βορέας ὀπιθεν ἐμπνέουσ' ἀήτα.*

This, a slight modification of Jebb's conjecture, is nearer to the MS., *COENENNIN* being very like *COEINEIN*, and it escapes the difficulty of taking *σθένει* to mean 'mightily.' The *νιν* is governed by *ἐμπνέουσα*, the *ἐμ-* of which fell out after *-εν* in *ὀπιθεν*. For *σθένειν* 'was mighty,' 'blew strongly,' cp. *σθένουσα λαμπάς* 'burning brightly,' Aesch. *Ag.* 296. The resolution of the long syllable is frequent in this ode, occurring also in lines 5, 12, 14, 17, 20, 21. In defence of the adverbial use of *σθένει* might be urged verse 62 where the editor gives

δικὸν θράσει <τὸ> σῶμα πατρὸς [ἐς] δόμους,

and takes *θράσει* adverbially 'boldly.' I should much prefer to supply *σὺν* instead of *τὸ*. For the position of *σὺν* cp. Hom. *οἱ σὺν K.* 19, *ἐμοὶ σὺν ι.* 332, *Ἀρτέμιδι ξὺν ο.* 410, and iv. 18 where *σὺν* certainly follows its case, and where we should perhaps read

ὠκυπόδεσσι δρόμοις σὺν ἵππων

or,

ὠκυπόδων στεφάνοις σὺν ἵππων

comparing for the latter Pind. *fr.* 221 (Bgg.)

*ἀλλοπόδων μὲν τιν' εὐφραίνουσιν ἵππων
ἄνθεα καὶ στέφανοι.*

The prep. *σὺν* would have fallen out more easily than *τὸ* between *θράσει* and *σῶμα*, and its anomalous position would have contributed to that accident. A long syllable corresponds with a short several times in this ode, in which, as regards resolution too, the metre is laxer than usual.

xvii. 112. Why may not the corrupt

¹ [Cf. note by Pearson.]

word represent an epithet, such as αἰόλαν? We might regard πορφύρεαν as a substantive, whether so written or changed to πορφύραν. It is to be scanned as a cretic however we write it.

xix. 7. For the metaphor in βάλωσιν ἄμφι τιμάν ep. περιστέλλον αἰοδάν I. i. 33.

xx. 8. After this line must have fallen out a verse such as

ἐπότερον ἄρμ' ὀπάσσας

In l. 11 perhaps we should read νι' Ἀφαρῆος.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

DISCOVERIES OF ROMAN REMAINS IN BRITAIN.—IV.

THE present article continues the series which I long ago began in this review, and contains the principal discoveries made since my last article (February, 1896). That article covered 1894 and 1895; I now approach 1896 and 1897.

Hadrian's Wall, between Newcastle and Carlisle, has witnessed much activity. The Newcastle Society of Antiquaries has continued its work at the fort of Aesica, a spot almost equidistant from Newcastle and Carlisle. Several probably second century inscriptions have been found and, in particular, two tombstones which the Romans appear to have brought in from the cemetery south of the fort and to have used in the construction or reconstruction of a building close to the centre of the fort. Several other cases are known of Roman tombstones being converted by the Romans into building material, although the act was illegal (*e.g.* *Digest* xlvii. 12, 4). In particular the North City Wall of Chester, which is Roman work, is full of tombstones dating probably from about A.D. 60 to 160. A building outside the fort at Aesica was also uncovered; it resembles in ground plan the buildings found outside almost every Roman fort and best explained as baths. A hoard of third century coins was found in this building, but very few smaller objects of importance were met with.

Simultaneously with the examination of Aesica, excavations were made by Prof. Pelham, myself, and others, principally in connection with the Cumberland Archaeological Society, with the object of elucidating the Vallum, that is, the two ramparts with a ditch between, which run side by side with the wall, about 30–1,300 yards south of it. The results were important. In the first place, it was found that in four cases the Vallum deviated or stopped to avoid the

site of a fort, and, as there is no discoverable contrary instance, it may be assumed that the Vallum and the forts are contemporary, or, at least, that the Vallum is not older than the forts. Evidence of various sorts seems to show that forts and wall are coeval, and the work of Hadrian, and we might, therefore, conclude that wall, forts and Vallum were all built by one Emperor, Hadrian.

Unfortunately, however, for this apparently satisfactory result, an element of uncertainty of a quite new kind has been introduced by another of our discoveries. At the fort of Amboglanna, near Gilsland, we found, in 1894, some traces of a turf-wall built with regularly laid sods. Further search in the last two years proves that this wall once ran right across the area of the fort, that is, that it represents an earlier frontier line than the existing wall and forts of stone. We were unable to ascertain whether an earlier earthen fort stood on the site of the fort now visible, nor could we trace the turf-wall—or rather its ditch, which was alone discoverable in many places,—for more than two miles, at each end of which distance it merged in the stone wall. We cannot, therefore, either assert or deny a theory which has been put forward, that the earliest frontier wall was of turf, and that later a stone wall was built upon the top of it and exactly along its line, except near Amboglanna. Should this theory be established it will become a question with which of the two walls we should connect the Vallum. As it is, we can only say that the two years' excavations have wholly altered the Mural Problems, as they were understood by Dr. Bruce.

North of the wall the Scotch Society of Antiquaries has been busy on two Roman forts, Birrens, near Ecclefechan, and Ardoch, a little north of Dunblane. Almost the whole of Birrens has been uncovered, the ground plan (of the normal type) ascertained, and several inscriptions found. Datable

objects seem to show that the fort was constructed about the middle of the second century and soon abandoned, probably in one of the numerous border wars which vexed second century Britain. Some sort of reoccupation in the fourth century is possible. At Ardoch the results have been less striking but no less interesting. The fort has always been famous for the imposing character of the deep concentric ditches which encircle it, and the Roman character of it had been known from a tombstone (*C.I.L.* vii. 1146), as well as from chance finds of coins (Trajan, Domitian, Pius), etc. The discoveries made by the Scotch excavators in 1896 were unexpected and perhaps unique. The whole interior of the fort was proved to be full of holes, generally just large enough to admit one's arm, and arranged in rows. Probably the buildings of the fort were principally of wood, and the holes represent the sockets of the most important uprights. The smaller objects found were of little importance. The general conclusion of the excavators was that the fort had only been occupied for a brief space or for two brief spaces, I suppose in the middle of the second century.

There is less to report from the south. At Chester a couple of dedications to the *genius* of (respectively) the Twentieth Legion and one of its centuries have been found accidentally, as well as a row or part of a row of columns which once fronted (it may be) some important part of the Praetorium. It is pleasant to be able to add that the owner of the property, Mr. Charles Brown, has taken excellent care of these discoveries.

At Silchester, the London Society of Antiquaries has continued its patient and admirable work of uncovering the whole of the ancient site. The task is not yet done; it is hardly half done, but every one must hope that it will be carried to its conclusion. The results, year by year, are not very sensational—ground plans of houses, systems of drains, gate-ways in the walls, and a great variety of smaller objects seldom possessing special importance. For example, the chief feature in the last season's work has been the examination of several wells constructed by sinking tubs. Some of these tubs (one or two with small inscriptions) have been rescued from below ground for preservation in the rapidly-growing Museum at Reading. The true importance of the work does not lie in these finds, interesting as they may sometimes be; it lies in the complete uncovering of the provincial town of Calleva, and the light thrown thereby on

the general condition of similar towns in southern Britain. In this connection it is almost as important to ascertain that a large area inside the walls is waste ground as to trace buildings. Not much light, I regret to say, has been thrown on the history of the place. The coins and pottery (I think) go to confirm my suggestion that it may have been founded, as a Romano-British town, by Agricola, but they do not exclude an earlier date.

Of accidental discoveries and smaller excavations there has been no lack in the last two years, but none of them can claim sufficient importance to be mentioned here. They confirm our knowledge of Roman Britain, but do not, as a rule, carry our horizon further, as the excavations which I have sketched may fairly be said to do. I may, however, just allude to the excavation of a small 'villa' at Appleshaw near Andover, where an inscription to Carinus has been found. In plan the 'villa' is said to resemble that at Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight, and both belong probably to the end of the third century. The third and fourth centuries are, indeed, the period to which most Roman British 'villas' should be ascribed.

F. HAVERFIELD.

BACCHYLIDES AND THE FATE OF CROESUS.

THE version of the story of Croesus given by Bacchylides in Ode iii. is described by Mr. Kenyon as the earliest form of the legend, and the statement is correct in respect to literary tradition. It may be worth while, however, to recall the fact that a famous work of art, the red-figured amphora, No. 194 in the Louvre, published in the first volume of the *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, has been rightly held (by F. Koepp in von Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift* for 1894, p. 442) to imply a version of the legend differing from that found in Herodotus. Here Croesus (ΚΡΟΕΣΟΣ), attired in royal robes, holding a sceptre in one hand, and pouring a libation from a *phiale* with the other, is seen seated upon a throne which is placed on an elaborately constructed pyre of logs (the *ξύλωνος δόμος* of Bacchylides). A servant (Greek, not Persian in attire) is apparently kindling the pyre with two torches, though it must be admitted that the implements which he

applies to the logs are unlike the conventional torch. The name ΕΥΘΥΜΟΣ is attached to him. Koeppe pointed out that the vase-painter clearly intended to convey the impression that Croesus, like Sardapalus, sought a voluntary death on the pyre constructed by his own order. Whether the sequel of the story as Bacchylides relates it was also part of his belief must remain doubtful. The amphora is one of that class in which a small number of figures are represented on a large scale, and the artist in selecting a single moment from the story which he depicts is not tied to any special version of the dénouement. In the light of the ode of Bacchylides, however, it is hardly too bold a conjecture that the deliverance of Croesus would have formed the next scene in the story. The amphora is of the 'severe' style; after reading the ode of Bacchylides, I examined it, and found that the ends of the logs in the alternate layers of the pyre were painted in a purple 'engobe' over white, a survival of black-figured technique pointing to a relatively early date. It is therefore anterior by some decades at least to the poem of Bacchylides.

H. STUART JONES.

NOTES ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL ON BACCHYLIDES.

ODE III. *The Croesus myth*.—It may be worth noting that light is thrown by the version of Bacchylides on the fine early R F vase published *Mon. dell. Inst.*, Pl. liv. In this beautiful design Croesus (inscribed) is enthroned on a pyre with more of the air of a triumphant king than a condemned prisoner; he pours libation from a phiale, and incidentally, or intentionally, his libation falls on the pyre at the moment of kindling; the fire is applied¹ to the pyre by a man (inscribed Εὐθυμο[ς]) dressed not as a Persian but as an ordinary Greek slave. Croesus, too, wears Greek dress and is crowned—the Greek dress of the attendant is the more noticeable as on the reverse of the vase the capture of Antiope is represented and she is

in complete Oriental dress. The first commentator on the vase, the Duc de Luynes (*Annali*, 1833, p. 237), noted of course the discrepancies with the narrative of Herodotus, and in the manner of his time is driven to much needless symbolism in his attempt to account for it. But he hits the mark when he points out that about the historical facts of the life of Croesus had grown up a religious myth—'le mythe religieuse est bien différent' (p. 244, op. cit.). To be depicted on a vase at all is in itself tantamount to canonization; historical events are not made the subject-matter of vase paintings save in those rare instances where history is glorified by a halo of mythology, e.g. in the figures of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. It is not necessary, though possible, to suppose the vase painter directly inspired by Bacchylides, but he *is* inspired by the same religious and historical impulse—Croesus mounted the pyre of his own free will, his slave fired or sprinkled it and—Κροίσον ὁ χρυ[δάρος] φύλαξ Ἀπόλλων.

Ode XVII. *Theseus Minos and the ring*.—As regards the interesting relation between Ode xvii. and the François vase, Mr. Kenyon perhaps goes a little far when he says (p. 157) 'it is difficult not to trace a direct indebtedness of the poet to the artist.' *νῆα παρὰ λεπτόμενον φάνη* is certainly tempting—the motive is obviously pictorial, but in the face of the subordinate position in Greek art occupied by ceramography direct indebtedness seems little likely. May not the pictorial touch be due to some more important work of art non-extant, from which the vase painter himself borrowed, possibly even the fresco of Mikon, so vaguely described by Pausanias? If Bacchylides borrowed direct from the vase painter such borrowing is a unicum.

Mythologically the version of this rare Theseus myth is of the first importance. Hitherto the Euphronios vase has been our earliest source for an important factor in the myth, i.e. the reception and recognition of Theseus by Amphitrite. How Mikon depicted the myth it is idle to conjecture, though Pausanias vaguely notes that the golden crown was Ἀμφιτρίτης δῶρον. Hyginus is more explicit. According to him Theseus is carried by dolphins to the Nereids and receives a crown from Thetis; he adds 'alii autem a Neptuni uxore accepisse dicunt coronam,' and Mr. Kenyon notes that 'the mention of "alii" shows that he derived the story from various authorities, but among them, directly or indirectly, must have been Bacchylides.' The fact is now

¹ Baumeister (*Denkmäler*, p. 797) thinks that the objects held by Euthymos are not torches but περιφαντήρια; he is not lighting the pyre but consecrating it with holy water. From the peculiar form of the supposed torches and the fact that the pyre is already burning freely in all directions the explanation seems probable and of course helps out the festal solemnity of the scene.

beyond doubt that the introduction of Amphitrite was not a mere whim of the artist but an integral part of the myth.

The importance of this factor can only be indicated here; even without the evidence of Bacchylides, it is one of those traits the authenticity of which is self-evident, because they serve no purpose in the story. It would have been much simpler for Poseidon to recognize his own son, and he certainly would have done it had he been on the spot. In a word the myth belongs to that early stratum of mythology when Poseidon was not yet god of the sea, or, at least, no-wise supreme there—Amphitrite and the Nereids ruled with their servants the Tritons. Even so late as the *Iliad* Amphitrite is not yet 'Neptuni uxor;' possibly the marriage was the work of the genealogy-maker, Hesiod. Later, anyhow,—as the Olympian system with its patriarchal tendencies came in,—she had to marry Poseidon as Hera had to marry Zeus—but there is always a sort of separateness about her kingdom. It is a matriarchal touch that sonship had to be acknowledged by the mother, though orthodox theology has made nonsense of it by turning her into a quasi-stepmother. The token of the ring is another matriarchal touch; it was originally, it appears, fastened on the breast of the child and would naturally be recognized by the mother. This has been pointed out by Bachofen in *Eustath. Hom.* p. 850. Needless to say Bacchylides is probably as unconscious of the import of his version as even the impartial Hyginus.

Two of the other vases cited by Mr. Kenyon adopt the orthodox patriarchal version—Poseidon replaces Amphitrite. In a third, the Bologna crater, the vase-painter halts, a Triton brings Theseus in his arms to Amphitrite, but Poseidon is present on a splendid couch, as spectator; in the background is the λεπτόπρυμνος ναῦς. It may be worth noting that in this late vase the scene is Apollonized by the orthodox addition of tripods and the chariot of the sun and sprays of laurel.

JANE E. HARRISON.

THE ARGIVE EXCLUSION OF ATTIC POTTERY.

HERODOTUS v. 88 :

Καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔτι τότε ποιῆσαι νόμον εἶναι παρὰ σφίσι ἐκατέροισι (the Argives and the Aeginetans). . . . Ἀττικὸν δὲ μήτε τι ἄλλο

προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἰρὸν μήτε κέραμον, ἀλλ' ἐκ χυτρίδων ἐπιχωρίων νόμον τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτόθι εἶναι πίνειν. The last part of the passage is repeated in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 502, c.

The tale of which this passage forms a part, is one of the best known in Herodotus, from the archaeological standpoint. Through it we are enabled to establish a certain date for the change, at Athens, from the old Doric style of female dress to the Ionic, which dispensed with the *περόνη* or shoulder pin. It has also been frequently used to prove that the exportation of Attic vases to different parts of Greece was a great feature of Athenian commerce.

Since the completion of the excavation of the American School at the Argive Heraeum, under Professor Charles Waldstein, I have been engaged on the preparation of the vase fragments for the final publication. As they afford a striking proof of the correctness of Herodotus' story, as well as an accurate date for the passage of this embargo by Argos, it has seemed best not to delay the publication of this important fact.

Studniczka,¹ in his essay on the early Greek dress, has declared that the Athenian expedition against Aegina, which caused both the Aeginetans and the Argives to pass this act, must have fallen between the years 570–549. That Studniczka is absolutely correct in his statement the Argos vase fragments show. In the first place, it was noticed from the very beginning of the excavation that fragments representing the black- and red-figure styles were extremely scarce, in contrast to the elder varieties such as Mycenaean, Geometric, and Proto-Corinthian. The further classification of the fragments in the Museum at Athens made this all the more apparent. I should estimate that the total number of black-figure fragments hardly filled two baskets,² while the number of red-figure fragments *did not exceed fifty* specimens. No single vase could be reconstructed from the fragments of either style, although several fragments clearly belonged to the same vase. In the red-figure style we may say roughly that between two and three dozen vases were represented.

A study of Attic vase painting during the middle of the sixth century shows us that the black-figure style was in full swing, but that the great masters of the technique, Exekias, Taleides, Andokides, etc., were not yet in their prime. It was the period of

¹ *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Altgriechischen Tracht*, p. 7.

² The baskets used throughout the excavations were about 30 cm. high.

Nikosthenes and the 'Little Masters' group, and before 550 none of the real *chef-d'œuvres* of the black-figure style had made their appearance. The red-figure style is not introduced until some twenty years later, and all its finest work falls in the period between the end of the century and the beginning of the Persian wars. Now an examination of the fragments representing the two styles at the Heraeum reveals the following facts: first, that of the scanty number of black-figure fragments, barely half a dozen belong to the best period (*i.e.* after the middle of the sixth century); secondly, we have about the same amount of the red-figure fragments prior to the Persian wars. Thus we have a period of seventy years, from 550-480, represented by about twelve fragments or so of what was then the most important ware in all Greece.

That the cause of this lack of Attic ware was the embargo of the Argives, is too plain to be doubted; and the further conclusion is forced upon us that the period of seventy years referred to was the duration of this measure, since almost all the black-figure fragments are prior to 550 and almost all the red-figure later than 480. That any fragments should be found at all within this period is no proof against the existence of the embargo. No such measure can be absolute, and it would be too much to expect that, no matter how rigorous the customs were, they should have succeeded during a period of seventy years in preventing the importation of a single Attic vase into Argos. It cannot be said with certainty that this embargo was removed after 480, but such is probably the case; Argos, though remaining neutral during the Persian wars, would hardly have enforced a discriminatory measure against the chief Greek state at the time of her sorest need. Moreover, though the number of fragments of the red-figure style later than the Persian wars is scanty, still enough are preserved to show that if the measure existed, it was not so rigorous as in the earlier days.

Thus the fragments found at Argos appear to confirm the statement of Herodotus that the Argives forbade the importation of Attic vases, and that such a law must have been passed about 560-550 B.C.

JOSEPH CLARK HOPPIN.

MONTHLY RECORD.

BRITAIN.

Appleshaw, near Andover.—Between thirty and forty Romano-British pewter vessels (large circular dishes, bowls, cups, jugs, platters, etc.) have been

found on the supposed site of a Roman villa. Most of the dishes have incised central ornaments resembling the designs of late mosaic pavements.¹

ITALY.

Palestrina.—Two fresh fragments of the Praenestine Calendar of M. Verrius Flaccus have come to light. The better preserved contains the religious observances for August 1, viz., a sacrifice in the Forum Olitorium, and another (hitherto unknown) to Victoria Virgo on the Palatine Hill.²

Boscotrecase.—Not far from the villa where the great hoard of plate was recently found, the remains of another villa have been excavated. It is divided into two parts, one for the proprietor, the other for the farmer. There are a number of wall-paintings, chiefly landscapes and sea-pieces. One represents a country house near a river with an angler fishing from a bridge. In another is a small village on the sea-shore; near the houses rises a pyramid, which is thought to indicate Graeco-Egyptian influence. There are also a number of groups of plants, flowers, animals, birds and fishes, and in the *torcularium* (where the wine was prepared) an appropriate representation of Silenus and Bacchus with a panther. The *cella vinaria* contained four large *dolia*. Another room seems from its graffiti, in which corn and beans are mentioned, to have been used as a granary. Seven skeletons were found.³

SICILY.

Buscemi (Eastern Sicily).—Three grottoes have been discovered with Greek graffiti relating to *ephebi*. The grottoes were presumably connected with a gymnasium or college of *ephebi*, like a similar cave on Santorin, formerly supposed to be a sanctuary of Poseidon.⁴

GREECE.

Thermon (Aetolia).—The ruins south of Kephallouryso have been excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society, with the result of confirming Lolling's suggestion that they represent the ancient Thermon. There exists a quadrangular Altis (346 m. by 200 m.) with a wall 2·60 m. thick, built of large stones. Of the inscriptions proving the identification of the site, one records a treaty with Philip V., with the proviso that a stelé should be set up at both Thermon and Delphi; another mentions Ἀγέλαος ὁ Ναυπάκτιος, strategos of the Aetolian League. Within the Altis is the Assembly-hall of the League, with a frontage of 130 m., and 30 monuments with inscriptions. In the neighbourhood a great number of objects were found, including some bases of statues, one of which mentions an artist Herakleides. The site has remained undisturbed since the destruction of the place by Philip in 218 B.C.⁵

Thermopylae.—The ancient remains discovered during the late war have been examined by the French School. They comprise a watch-tower 8 m. square, of the time of the Persian wars, commanding one of the mountain-paths which turned the pass in the rear; and a necropolis, probably of Hellenistic origin, but proved by the discovery of a Delphian coin of Imperial date to have been used in the Roman age. The tombs were cut in the soft rock about a mile from the warm springs, and contained common unpainted pottery and iron arms.¹

¹ *Athen.* 27 Nov. 1897.

² *Athen.* 8 Jan.

³ *Athen.* 13 Nov. 1897.

⁴ *Athen.* 18 Dec. 1897.

⁵ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 11 Dec. 1897.

ISLANDS.

Paros, Antiparos, Despotiko.—Tsundas has excavated about 180 prehistoric graves on these islands, as well as some houses, also prehistoric, and said to be earlier than any others yet discovered. The finds include terracotta and marble vases, marble statuettes, and necklaces of stone pearls and obsidian chips.¹

G. F. HILL.

Revue Numismatique. Part iii. 1897.

Th. Reinach. 'Un nouveau roi de Bithynie.' Reinach shows that the 'King Nicomedes, son of King Nicomedes' mentioned in a Delphic inscription, published in *Revue des ét. grecques* viii. 451, is a new king of Bithynia, Nicomedes Euergetes, son of Nicomedes II. Epiphanes and father of Nicomedes Philopator, hitherto called Nicomedes III. The place of this new Nicomedes, as king of Bithynia, is between Nicomedes II. and 'III.' He probably died *circ.* B.C. 94, and some years of the long reign hitherto assigned to Nicomedes II. really belong to Nicomedes Euergetes. A passage in Licinianus and various inscriptions throw light on the new king who was celebrated for his liberality and made gifts to Delphi, Delos, etc. Pliny, *H.N.* vii. 127; xxxvi. 21 refers to this Nicomedes rather than to Nicomedes Philopator 'III.' A list of the kings of Pontus on

p. 258 of this paper deserves notice.—E. Babelon. 'La Collection Waddington au Cabinet des Médailles: Inventaire sommaire' (with three plates). The first instalment of a useful inventory of the Waddington collection which is now finally deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The inventory gives the inscriptions and brief descriptions of the types, but further details are reserved for publication in Waddington's *Recueil général des Monnaies grecques de l'Asie Mineure* which will be printed by the Academy of Inscriptions.—J. Rouvier. 'Note sur un poids antique de Béryste.' A leaden weight with type, trident and the inscription, ΛΔΠΡ (year 184 of Seleucid Era=128 B.C.) ΝΙΚΩΝΟΣ ΑΓΟ-ΠΑΝΟ(MOY).

Numismatic Chronicle. Part iii. 1897.

E. J. Seltman. 'The type known as "the Demos" on coins of Rhegium.' The 'Demos' explanation is, no doubt, as Mr. Seltman argues, by no means free from objection. Mr. Seltman would explain the figure as Aristaeus, but the weak point in his paper is that he brings forward no corroborative evidence whatever to prove that Aristaeus was worshipped at Rhegium: such evidence is the more desirable because this alleged representation of Aristaeus is not one of the known representations of the god, and the symbols which Mr. Seltman would identify as his attributes are susceptible of other explanations.—J. P. Six. 'Monnaies grecques, inédites et incertaines' (continued). Sardis, Side, Golgoi, Cyrene, etc.

WARWICK WROTH.

¹ *Athen.* 1 Jan.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 52, 3. 1897.

Latinoische Übersetzungen aus der Aratusliteratur. M. Manitius. These translations are given from Cod. Dresdensis Dc. 183 with various readings from the other MSS. in which the same are found. *Die Erostra des griechischen Theaters.* A. Körte. Though the precise nature of this contrivance is disputed, yet its existence cannot be doubted. *Antiker Volksglaube.* W. Kroll. (1) On the souls of the dead passing into the bodies of the new-born. (2) On cynanthropy and lycanthropy. (3) On the names of the dead being changed to avoid evil spirits. *Lucubrationum Posidonianarum Specimen* ii, E. Martini. Part of this is a reply to Maass' criticism of the writer's dissertation *Quaestiones Posidonianae. Lebbe Erasistratos in Alexandria?* R. Fuchs. Maintains against Susemihl (Gesch. Griech. Lit. i. d. Alexandrinerzeit) that Er. lived at Alexandria the latter part of his life, which is also the received opinion. *Altes Latein.* F. Buecheler. On *favere* and *favere*; marks on *tesserae*: *aplopodite* the name of a drinking-vessel: the meaning of *praestare*. *Euphonia.* P. Stengel. On von Prot's article in the last number [Cl. Rev. xi. 323]. *Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen Rhetorik* i. and ii., L. Rademacher. (1) On Timaeus and the tradition of the origin of Rhetorik. (2) Plutarch's work *De se ipso citra invidiam laudando.* Zur lateinischen Wortbildungslehre, M. Pokrowskij. (1) *Serenus, crudelis.* (2) *Defraudat.* (3) Verbs compounded

with the negative *in.* Zu Pseudo-Kallisthenes und Julius Valerius, A. Ausfeld.

MISCELLAN. *Zwei Vermuthungen zu der Schrift περί ὕψους.* W. Schmid. Zu dem *Lexicon Messanense de iota adscripto*, R. Schneider. Some corrections to Rabe's article in vol. 47. Zu Cicero ad. fam. viii. 17, 2, J. Ziehen. For *†Arruntianus Cato* proposes *astutia!* num. *ne Catonem?* Zu Horat. Carm. ii. 6, A. Frederking. Dates this B.C. 27. *Eine Zeitbeziehung in der ersten Mäcnascelegie.* J. Ziehen. *Nemesians Leutica.* M. Ihm. Ueber Entstehung von neuen Verwandtschaftsnamen aus alten im Latein, A. Zimmermann. *Mars Mullo, Mars Vicinivus und drei pagi der Redones.* M. Ihm. On three inser. discovered at Rennes. *Ein inschriftliches Beispiel von Kolometrie.* C. Wachsmuth. *Eigennamen in griechischen Inschriften.* W. Schwarz.

Vol. 52, 4. 1897.

Kritische und exegetische Bemerkungen zu Philo. P. Wendland. Zur lateinischen und griechischen Etymologie, M. Niedermann. (1) On *-per* in the adverbs *aliquantisper, nuper, parumper*, etc. (2) On Βελλεροφόντης. Die Composition der Chorlieder Senecas, F. Leo. These give a proof of the continued connexion of the chorus with the tragedy up to late times. *Der Korinthische Bund.* J. Kaerst. An account of the federation founded by Philip after Chaeronea. Zu Pseudokallisthenes und Julius Valerius, ii., A. Ausfeld. Critical notes continued from last no. *Das afrikanische Latein.* W. Kroll.

Archaisms, vulgarisms, Graecisms and syntactical peculiarities from Apuleius, Tertullian, etc. *Ueber die Schriftstellerei des Klaudius Galenos*, iv., J. Ilberg. On the non-medical works of Galen, chiefly philosophical [see Cl. Rev. x. 223].

MISCELLAN. *Variar.* L. Radermacher. On Plaut. Stich. 270, 271: Varr. Sat. Menipp. fr. 384: Prop. iv. 1, 7 in l. 12 reads *meat* for *meas*: resemblances between *Actna* and the Greek writer Conon of the first cent. B.C.: the *Cyanegetica* of Gratius. *Ueber Beziehungen zwischen Isocrates, Lobrede auf Helena und Platons Symposion*, K. Lüddecke. *Ein neues Aviochoscital*, A. Brinkmann. Two references to this dialogue given from a Byzantine writer [see Cl. Rev. x. 361]. *εἶσω vorn, ἔξω hinten*, R. Fuchs. This sense of the words is common in medical writers. *ἀπρίστα, ὀπίσθεν*, L. Radermacher.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik. Vol. 155. Part 3. 1897.

Das Schlachtfeld im Teutoburger walde ii., A. Wilms. Concluded from the last no. [Cl. Rev. sup. p. 369]. The town of Detmold is built on the site of the battle. *Τερράμνον*, F. Hultsch. *Die entstehung des Thukydideischen geschichtswerkes*, G. Friedrich. An attempt to date the composition of various books. *Etymologie und begriffs-bestimmung einzelner Homerischer wörter*, J. Oertner. On ἀμφιέλισσα, ἄλικω, εἰλίποδες ἔλικες, ἀπρύγετος, ταηλεγής, δυσληγής, ἀπηλεγής, ταναύπους, τανύγλωσσος, τανύπερος, τανύσφυρος, τανύφλοιος, τανύφυλλος, and νάρωφ. *Textkritisches zur consolatio ad Liviam*, J. Ziehen. *Zu Platons Sophistes*, K. J. Liebhöhd, Critical notes. *Zu Platons Hippias dem grössern*, K. J. Liebhöhd. Critical notes. *Zu Caesar de bello Gallico*, J. H. Schmalz. Defends the text in various places against R. Schneider and Meusel. *Die erzählung von dem orakel der Celaeno in Vergils Aeneis*, K. Fulda. *Zur lateinischen grammatik und stilistik*, P. Stamm. On *cum quidem*: on the doctrine of the ablative: the attraction of a pronoun to the gender of the predicate: *scimus* = 'we know' in historical narrative: the position of *et* expegetie: primary sequence after historic tenses: the form *-urum fuisse* in the apodosis of unreal conditions in *orat. obl.* *Zu Ovidius Metamorphosen*, L. Polster. In xiii. 294 reads *diversosque urbes* and in ib. 794 *farno* for *forma*.

Parts 4, 5. *Der bogenwettkampf in der Odyssee*, A. Ruppertsberg. In φ 421, 422 takes *στειλεῖς* as object of *ἡμρωρε* and *πρώτης* as partitive gen. *Zu Appianus*, E. Schwabe. In Syr. 55 proposes 'Απεῖων for 'Αραβῶν. *Die entstehung des Thukydideischen geschichtswerkes*, G. Friedrich. Concluded from last no. Thuc. wrote the Archidamian war first, and published it about 418, then the Sicilian war, then

supplemented his account by the years 421-415, and finally the eighth book. He died soon after 404 without revising his work. *Zu Sophokles Aias*, F. Polle. On various passages [Cl. Rev. xi. 175]. *Die schuld der Sophokleischen Antigone*, E. R. Gast. *Kallimachos und die nomosfrage*, C. Steinweg. An arrangement of the hymns to bring them within the rules of the nome. *Zu Aischylos Choëphoren*, K. Frey. On Cho. 917 with reference to Dr. Verrall's note. *Zu den κερτολ des Julius Africanus*, F. Rühl. A critical note. *Zur topographie des punischen Karthago*, O. Meltzer. *De Donati commento in Terentium specimen observationum primum*, P. Rabow. *Lateinische etymologien*, O. Keller. On *Palatium*, *Inchoare*, *Multa* and *Multus*, *Provincia*. *Zum edictum Diocletiani*, W. Heraeus. An examination of the Latin and Greek glosses. *Quellen-kritisches zu Vitruvius*, M. Thiel. Posidonius is the source of the astronomical details of the ninth book.

Part 6. *Zu Euripides Hippolytos*, J. Oeri. Chiefly on the responson-system in this play. *Zu Ciceros briefen an Atticus*, W. Sternkopf. On ii. 1, 5. *Das geburtsjahr Theokrits*, R. Helm. Puts it B.C. 305-300. Susemihl says 315-312. *Zur textkritik des Lukianos*, P. R. Müller. *Zu den ps.-Platonischen dialogen Alkibiades I. und II.*, K. J. Liebhöhd. Critical notes. *Zu Plantus Miles gloriosus*, A. Fleckeisen. On ll. 771 foll. *Zum Strategikos der Onesandros*, R. Vári. On i. 13. *Macer und Tubero*, i.-iv., W. Soltau. It is more and more seen that out of the great number of annalists Livy only used a few. In the first decade Macer and Tubero are his chief authorities for the constitutional struggles. *Zu Cornelius Nepos*, L. Polster. In Dion i. 4 proposes *tenuabat* for *tenebat* of MSS. [see Cl. Rev. x. 77].

Part 7. *Aristotelis ethicorum Nicomacheorum libri iv. capita i., ii., iii., quae sunt de liberalitate enarrantur*, R. Noetel. *Der begriff des wissen vom wissen in Platons Charmides und sein bedeutung für das ergebnis des dialogs*, C. Schirlitz. *Zu Sophokles Antigone und Platons Protagoras*, F. Blass. Defends the MSS. *νόμους παρῆλπον χθονός* in Antig. 368 by a comparison with Pl. Prot. 322c, etc. *Sokrates und Xenophon*, iii., K. Lincke. On Book IV. of the Memorabilia [see Cl. Rev. xi. 84]. *Zu Ovidius metamorphosen*, Ph. Loewe. In iii. 29 reads a *culmine* and in 33 *quo conditus antro*. *Zu Platons Symposion*, K. J. Liebhöhd. Critical notes. *Zu Platons Gorgias*, K. J. Liebhöhd. Critical notes. *Das schema Pindaricum bei Platon*, O. Wilpert. Maintains that there are no real exx. of this figure in Plato. *Emendationen zu Domninos*, F. Hultsch. *Zu Plinius naturalis historia*, K. Mayhoff. Defends his reading in xviii. 146 in his edition of 1892.

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MARCH 1898.

KING JAMES I. ON THE REASONING FACULTY IN DOGS.

IN March 1614-5, King James, accompanied by Charles Prince of Wales, visited Cambridge University. In the philosophy act Dr. Matthew Wren, afterwards Bishop of Ely, was Respondent, and John Preston of Queens', afterwards Master of Emanuel, first Opponent (W. G. Searle, *History of Queens' College*, I 2, Cambr. 1871, pp. 429-431). The story is told in John Ball's *Life of Preston*, one of the most interesting biographies of the seventeenth century, printed again and again in the *Lives of thirty-two English Divines*, by Samuel Clarke, 3rd. ed., Lond. 1677 fol. 79-81. Strange to say the late Mr. E. W. Harcourt, M.P., of Nuneham Park, had never heard of the early editions, when in 1885, he issued (Parker, Oxford and London, 8vo), as 'now first published and edited,' *The life of the Renowned Doctor Preston, writ by his Pupil, Master Thomas Ball, D.D., Minister of Northampton, in the year 1628* (pp. 19-27), from a MS. at Nuneham :

A rumour came into the University that the King would shortly come to visit them. King James was happier in his education than his Mother would have had him. It pleased God to breede a Buchanan on purpose for to guide his younger years ; and, by that tyme he was ripe, Scotland was growne acquainted with Geneva, and the King no stranger unto Mr. Calvin's way. The newes awakened all the University, and there were few but promised to themselves some good from this faire gale ; that seeing *Promotion came neither from the East, nor West, nor from the South*, *Psalm*. 75 6, it must and would come from the North ; and the proverb be inverted, and be, *Omne bonum ab Aquilone*.

Doctor Harsnet, master of Pembroke Hall, was then Vice-Chancellor, a prudent well-advised governour, who, knowing well the critical and able apprehension of the King, was very carefull and sollicitous to pitch upon the ablest in every faculty for actors in that

solemne enterteynment, and himself made choyce of Mr. Preston to answer the Philosophy Act, and sent unto him to provide himself. He was ambitious enough by nature, and had this newes come a little sooner, nothing had bin more suitable to his inclynation and designe, but now the gentleman was planet-struck, growne dull and phlegmaticke. Mr. Cotton's sermon had so invaded him, that Kings and Courts were no such great things to him, especially when he understood that another was resolved on for Answerer.

Dr. Wren was then a very pregnant scholar in Pembroke Hall, and also chaplain to Bishop Andrews, and thought fit to be employed in this Commencement service, yet was not willing to have any other place but Answerer. The Vice-Chancellor urged his promise and engagement to Mr. Preston, and his opinion of his great ability ; but nothing would serve, the Vice-Chancellor's College and the Bishop's Chaplain must have precedence ; which he most seriously excused to Mr. Preston, and endeavoured to reconcile him to the first Opponent's place, which he declined, as being too obnoxious to the Answerer, who is indeed the lord and ruler of the Act ; but there was no removing now, and so he goes about it with much unwillingness, being rather driven than drawne unto it.

His great and first care was to bring his argument to a head, without affronte or interruptions from the Answerer ; and so made all his major propositions plausible and firme, that his adversary might neither be willing nor able to enter there, and the minor still backt by other syllogismes ; and so the argument went on unto issue ; which fell out well for Mr. Preston ; for, in disputations of consequence, the Answerers are many times so fearfull of the event, that they slur and trouble the Opponents all they can, and deny things evident ; which had bin the case in all former Acts. There was such wrangling about their Syllogismes, that sullyed and clouded the debates extremely, and put the King's acumen into streights. But when Mr. Preston still cleared his way, and nothing was denied but what was ready to be proved, the King was greatly satisfied and gave good heed, which he might well doe, because the question was tempered and fitted to his content ; namely, *Whether dogs could make syllogismes*.

The Opponent urged that they could ; an

Enthymeme (said he) is a lawfull and real Syllogisme, but dogs can make them. He instanced in a hound, who hath the major proposition in his mind, namely, *The hare is gone either this way or that way*; smells out the minor with his nose, namely, *She is not gone that way*; and follows the conclusion, *Ergo this way*, with open mouth.

The instance suited with the auditory, and was applauded, and put the Answerer to his distinctions, that dogs might have sagacity, but not sapience, in things especially of prey, and that did¹ concerne their belly; might be *nasutuli*, but not *logici*; had much in their mouths, little in their myndes, unless it had relation to their monthes; that their lips were larger than their understandings; which the Opponent still endeavoured to evade with another syllogisme, and put the dogs upon a fresh scent. The Moderator, Dr. Reade,² began to be afraid and to think how troublesome a pack of hounds, well followed and applauded, at last might prove; and so came in unto the Answerer's ayd, and told the Opponent that his dogs, he beleevd, were very weary, and desired him to take them off [and start some other argument].³ And when the Opponent would not yield, but hallooed still and put them on, he interposed his authority and silenced him.

The King, in his conceit, was all this while upon New-Market Heath and liked the sport, and therefore stands up and tells the Moderator plainly, he was not satisfied in all that had bin answered, but did beleve a hound had more in him than was imagined. I had myself (said he) a dog that, stragling far from all his fellows, had light upon a very fresh scent, but considering he was all alone, and had none to second and assist him in it, observes the place and goes away to his fellows, and by such yelling arguments as they best understand, prevayled, with a party of them to goe along with him, and, bringing them to the place, pursued it to an open view. Now the King desired for to know how this could be contrived and carried on without [the use and]⁴ exercise of understanding, or what the Moderator could have done in that case better, and desired him that either he would thinke better of his dogs or not so highly of himselfe.

The Opponent also desired leave to pursue the King's game, which he had started, to an issue. But the Answerer protested that His Majesties dogs were always to be excepted, who hunted not by common law, but by prerogative. And⁵ the Moderator, fearing the King might let loose another of his hounds, and make more worke, applies himself with all submissive devotion to the King; acknowledged his dogs were able to outdoe him, besought His Majesty to believe they⁶ had the better; that he would consider how his illustrious influence had already ripened and concocted all their arguments and understandings; that, whereas in the morning the reverend and grave divines could not make syllogismes, the lawyers could not, nor the physicians, now every dog could, especially His Majesties.

All men acknowledged it was a good bit to stop with. It was growne late, and so the Congregation was removed unto the Regent House, and the King went off well pleased with the business. The other acts

were easily forgotten, but the discourse and logicke of the dogs was fresh in mouth and memory, and the philosophy Act applauded universally. The King applauded all the actors, but above all, the Opponent. It was easy to discern that the King's hound had opened the way for Mr. Preston at the Court, if he were willing; yet many of the great ones put him in mynde, and promised all assistance and encouragement. Sir Fulke Grevil, afterwards Lord Brooke, was greatly taken with him, and, after many demonstrations of his reall love, settled at last a stypend upon him of fifty pounds *per annum*, and was his friend until his last hour.

Both the King and the disputants had probably met with the question in various authors. Thus Montaigne (II 12, p. 257 of Florio's version 1613, fol.):

Chrysippus, albeit in other things as disdainful a judge of the condition of beasts, as any other philosopher, considering the earnest movings of the dog, who, comming into a path, that led three severall wayes, in search or quest of his master, whom he had lost, or in pursuite of some prey, that hath escaped him, goeth senting first one way, and then another, and having assured himself of two, because he findeth not the tracke of what he hunteth-for, without more adoe, furiously takes himselfe to the third; he is enforced to confesse, that such a dogge must necessarily discourse thus with himselfe. *I have followed my master's footing hitherto, hee must of necessity passe by one of these three wayes; it is neither this nor that, then consequently hee is gone this other.* And by this conclusion or discourse assuring himselfe, comming to the third path, hee useth his sense no more, nor soundes-it any longer, but by the power of reason suffers himselfe violently to be caried through-it. This meere logicallic tricke, and this use of divided and conjoynd propositions, and of the sufficient numbring of parts: Is it not as good, that the dog know it by himselfe, as by *Trapezuntius* his logicke?

Philo de animal. 45 46 (VIII 122, ed. Lips. 1830, = p. 147 Aucher; from the Armenian:)

Canis cum persequeretur feram, perveniens ad fossam profundam, iuxta quam duae erant semitae, una ad dexteram, altera in sinistram; paullulum se sistens, quo ire oporteret, meditabatur. currens autem ad dexteram et nullum inveniens vestigium, reversus per alteram ibat. quando vero neque in ista aperte appareret aliquod signum, transiliens fossam, curiose indagat, praeter odoratum cursum accelerans; satis declarans non obiter haec facere, sed potius vera inquisitione consilii.

Consilium autem talis cogitationis dialectici appellant demonstrativum evidens quinti modi. quoniam vel ad dexteram fera fugit vel ad sinistram aut demum transiliit: et quidem haec et similes formae verborum explicantur ab hominibus; verum intellegitur non obscure et apud ceteros sine mendacitate.

¹ Harcourt has "did not," by mistake.

² Simon R., of Christ's, B.A. 1604, M.A. 1604, D.D. 1611.

³ "And . . . argument," not in Harcourt.

⁴ 'without an exercise' Harcourt.

⁵ 'But' Harcourt.

⁶ 'he' Harcourt.

Ibid. 84 (VIII 138, = p. 166 Aucher) :

Proscribenda etiam eorum opinio, qui canem venaticum bestias persequentem autumarunt quinto argumenti modo uti.

Plut. de sollertia animalium 13 §§ 4 5 (II 969) :

Οἱ δὲ διαλεκτικοὶ φασί, τὸν κύνα τῷ διὰ πλείονων διεzeugμένῳ χρώμενον ἐν ταῖς πολλοῖς σχιδέσιν ἀτραποῖς, συλλογίζεσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν 'ἦτοι τήνδε τὸ θηρίον ὥρμηκεν, ἢ τήνδε, [ἢ τήνδε]· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὔτε τήνδε, οὔτε τήνδε· τήνδε λοιπὸν ἄρα·' τῆς μὲν αἰσθήσεως οὐδὲν ἢ τὴν πρόσληψιν διδούσης, τοῦ δὲ λόγου τὰ λήμματα καὶ τὸ συμπέρασμα τοῖς λήμμασιν ἐπιφέροντος. οὐ μὴν δείται γε τοιαύτης μαρτυρίας ὁ κύων· ψευδὴς γάρ ἐστι καὶ κίβδηλος· ἢ γὰρ αἰσθησις αὐτῇ τοῖς ἴχνεσι καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῦ θηρίου τὴν φωνὴν ἐπιδείκνυσι, χαίρειν λέγουσα διεzeugμένοις ἀξιώμασι καὶ συμπεπλεγμένοις.

Ael. n. a. vi 59 :

τὸ δὲ ἐνθυμηματικὸν καὶ διαλεκτικὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦδε μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦδε αἰρετικὸν εἰ καὶ τὰ ζῷα οἶδεν, εἰκότως ἂν εἴποιεν διδάσκαλον τῶν ὄλων τὴν φύσιν ἄμαχον. ἐμοὶ γοῦν τις γενεσάμενος διαλεκτικῆς καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ ἁμωσγέπως ἐχόμενος τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν. ἦν θηρατικὴ κύων, ἢ δ' ὅς. οὐκοῦν λαγὺ καὶ ἴχνη ἤξει. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐχ ἑωρᾶτό ποω, μεταθέουσα δὲ ἡ κύων ἐντυγχάνει πον τάφρῳ, καὶ διαπορεῖ ἄρα γε ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ἄμεινον ἢ ἐπὶ θάτερα διώκειν· ὡς ἀποχρώντως ἐδόκει σταθμίσασθαι, εἶτα εὐθύρῳ ἐπερεπύδησεν. ὁ φάσκων οὖν διαλεκτικὸς τε εἶναι καὶ θηρατικὸς ταύτῃ πη συνάγειν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν λεχθέντων ἐπειράτο ἀποδείξιν. ἐπιστάσα ἡ κύων σκοπεῖτο καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἔλεγεν 'ἦτοι τῇδε ἢ τῇδε ἢ ἐκείνῃ ὁ λαγὺς ἐτράπετο. οὔτε μὴν τῇδε οὔτε τῇδε· ἐκείνῃ ἄρα.' καὶ οὐ μοι ἐδόκει σοφίζεσθαι· τῶν γὰρ ἰχνῶν μὴ ὀρωμένων ἐπὶ τάδε τῆς τάφρου, κατελείπετο ὑπερπηδήσαι τὸν λαγὼν αὐτήν. εἰκότως οὖν ἐπήδησε καὶ αὐτὴ κατ' αὐτόν· ἰχνευτικὴ γὰρ καὶ εὐρινος ἐκείνῃ γε ἡ κύων ἦν.

Sext. Empir. Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. I 14 § 69 (the passage which Montaigne had in view) :

κατὰ δὲ τὸν Χρυσίππον, τὸν μάλιστα πολεμοῦντα τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις, καὶ τῆς αἰοιδίμου διαλεκτικῆς μετέχει· φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ προειρημένος ἀνὴρ ἐπιβάλλειν τῷ πέμπτῳ διὰ πλείονων ἀναποδείκτων, ὅταν ἐπὶ τριόδον ἔλθῃ· καὶ τὰς δύο ὁδοὺς ἰχνεύσας δι' ὧν οὐ διήλθε τὸ θηρίον, τὴν τρίτην μὴδ' ἰχνεύσας, εὐθὺς ὀρμήσει δι' αὐτῆς. δυνάμει γὰρ τοῦτο αὐτὸν λογίζεσθαι φησιν ὁ ἀρχαῖος. 'ἦτοι τῇδε ἢ τῇδε ἢ τῇδε διήλθε τὸ θηρίον· οὔτε δὲ τῇδε, ἢ τῇδε, τῇδε ἄρα.'

Porphyr. de abstin. III 6 :

διαλεκτικῆς μὲν αὐτοὶ φασιν οἱ τὸ ἄλογον αὐτῶν καταψηφίζόμενοι ἐπαίειν τοὺς κύνας, κεχρησθῆναι τε τῷ διὰ πλείονων διεzeugμένῳ ἰχνεύοντας, ὅταν εἰς τριόδους ἀφίκωνται. ἦτοι γὰρ ταύτην ἢ ἐκείνην ἢ τὴν ἑτέραν ἀπεληλυθέναι τὸ θηρίον· οὔτε δὲ ταύτην οὔτε ταύτην· ταύτην ἄρα, καθ' ἣν λοιπὸν καὶ διώκειν. ἀλλ' ἔτοιμον λέγειν φύσει ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ὅτι μηδεὶς αὐτὰ ἐξεδίδασκεν.

Basil. in hexaëm. hom. ix 4 (I 84^a) :

ἂ γὰρ οἱ κατὰ πολλὴν σχολὴν τοῦ βίου καθεζόμενοι μόλις ἐξεύρουν, τὰς τῶν συλλογισμῶν λέγων πλοκάς, ταῦτα δαίονται παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ὁ κύων πεπαιδευμένος. τὸ γὰρ ἴχνος τοῦ θηρίου διερευνώμενος, ἐπειδὰν εἴρῃ αὐτὸ πολυτρόπως σχιζόμενος, τὰς ἑκασταχοῦ φερούσας ἑκτροπὰς ἐπελθὼν, μονονοχὴ τὴν συλλογιστικὴν φωνὴν ἀφίησι δι' ὧν πράσσει· 'ἢ τήνδε,' φησὶν, 'ἐτράπη τὸ θηρίον ἢ τήνδε ἢ ἐπὶ τῷδε τὸ μέρος· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὔτε τήνδε οὔτε τήνδε, λειπομένον ἐστι τῇδε ὥρμησθαι αὐτό·' καὶ οὕτως τῇ ἀναίρεσει τῶν ψευδῶν εὐρίσκει τὸ ἀληθές. τί περισσότερον ποιοῦσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν διαγραμμάτων σεμνῶς καθεζόμενοι καὶ τὴν κόνιν καταράσσοντες, τριῶν προτάσεων ἀναιροῦντες τὰς δύο, καὶ ἐν τῇ λειπομένῃ τὸ ἀληθές ἐξευρίσκοντες ;

Ambr. hexaëm. vi 4 § 23 (I 219 Schenkl) :

Exsortem rationis canem esse nemo dubitaverit ; tamen si sensus eius vigorem consideres, censes eum sentiendi sagacitate vim sibi rationis asciscere. denique quod pauci in gymnasiis constituti, qui totam in discendo vitae longinquitatem contriverint, vix potuerunt cognoscere, ut syllogismorum coniunctiones contexerent, hoc naturali canis eruditione comprehendere facile poterit aestimari. nam ubi vestigium leporis cervive reppererit atque ad diverticulum semitae venerit et quoddam viarum compitum, quod partes in plurimas scinditur, obiens singularum semitarum exordia tacitus secum ipse pertractat, velut syllogisticam vocem sagacitate colligendi erroris emittens. 'aut in hanc partem' inquit 'deflexit aut in illam, aut certe in hunc se anfractum contulit, sed nec in istam nec in illam ingressus est viam. superest igitur, ut in istam se partem sine dubitatione contulerit.' quod homines vix proluxa compositae artis meditatione componunt, hoc canibus ex natura subpetit, ut ante mendacium deprehendant et postea falsitate repudiata inveniant veritatem. nonne totos dies conterunt philosophi propositiones sibi in pulvere dividendes, qui radio sibi describunt

singulas et ex tribus, cum unam earum veram esse necesse sit, duas primo interficiunt tamquam mendacio congruentes et

sic in ea quae relictæ est vim veritatis haerere definiunt.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

GREEK METRICAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PHRYGIA.

(Continued from Vol. XI. p. 138.)

V.

THIS inscription has since been published by A. Körte in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, vol. 159 [1897], p. 407, with an additional line between lines 1 and 2

///|||οκομητῶν

This we regard as a mere scratching made by an ignorant person, and having nothing to do with the inscription proper.

IX.

Found at Dorla: built into the wall of the mosque.

ἀνθρώπων π[ά]ντων Ὑλας προφερέστατος
ἦει,
ὡς καθαρὰ πηγῇ, θέσκελος ἀθανάτοισ,
ἀνθρώπων, οἷ γῆν . εὐτειχέα ναῖον
Ἰσα[υ]ρα,
σὺμπάντων πρόφερειν, εἰκελος Ἀελίω.
5 ὃν πάντ[ε]ς φίλεον μέροπες, ἀστοί τε
ξέ[ι]ο[ι] [τε,
ἡδὲ νέαι τρο]μεραὶ, κάλλος ἀγασσά-
μεναι.
δαιμό[ν]ι[ος] κακός ἐστιν ὃς ἔκπαγλον
γεγαῶτα
ἕπιτιον ἐξ[ε]τάνυσ(σ) ἔ[ρ]νος [ἔ]τ' ἡέκο-
μον.
κλαῖσε δὲ καὶ φιλέουσα τὸν νεία πότνια
μήτηρ
10 σ]ὺν παισὶ(ν) τεύξειο ἀγλαῖην
ΩΝΑΔΙΚΕΙΘΟΝΕΩC ὀφελόν σε
]ον ἀθάνατοι ὀλέσαι

The left part of the stone is wanting. Most of the restorations are due to Prof. Ramsay. ἔρνος is a suggestion of Mr. W. R. Paton.

1. Ὑλας: the normal quantity is Ὑλας, as the verses of Virgil show (*Ecl.* vi. 44 cet.). 2. θέσκελος is cited from Nonnus and Coluthus in this sense of 'like unto the gods.' 3. Ἰσαυρα is acc. plur., and is here used uniquely for the country. Its ordinary meaning is the town, while the country is

called by Strabo Ἰσαυρικά. The form *Isauria* is not used until late times (De-Vit's *Onomasticon*). 5. The final ε of μέροπες is lengthened. 6. τρομεραὶ is proposed with diffidence.

X.

Found at Dedeli Yaila, in Lycaonia, and copied by Rev. A. C. Headlam, who travelled with Prof. Ramsay in 1890.

ἀν[ε]ρ[α] κυδάλιμον ἀγανόφρονος ἡδ'
ἀγαθοῖο
νεία το]ῦ πατέρος γαίης τ' ἐριβόλου
ἀρούρης,
μνήμα] τόδε κεύθι φιλήη ἐνὶ πατρίδι γαίῃ,
Δ]ελιανόν, κλ[υ]τὸν ἄνδρα βροτῶν ἀγαθῶν
τε τοκήων,
5 ἀνθρώπων ὅχ' ἄριστον ἐῖ ἐνὶ πατρίδι
γαίῃ.
ὦν ἔν]εκά οἱ τόδε σῆμα ἐῖ θυγάτηρ καὶ
ἄκοιτις
ἔστη]σαν μνήμης ἐπιτύμβιον ἐκτελέσαντες.
δῆμ]ος δ' ἦτοι πάντα τελέσσατο, ἡ τάχ'
ἄπαντες.

1. The ο of κυδάλιμον is lengthened like the ε in ix. l. 5. 3. The ε of τόδε is notably lengthened. φιλήη is an error of the engraver for the φιλήη proper to this Homeric phrase. 4. Δελιανόν = Δάλιανον. This is the Latin name *Laelianus* (D. Cass. 61, 6; *C.I.L.* ii. 419 (Teos); 5973 cet.). For the shortening of the α cf. Τατιάνας. Translate: 'a famous man among mortals, and (born of) good parents.' Such brevity of expression would not be found in a literary composition. 5. ἐῖ: the stone has ΕΗC. 7. ἐπιτύμβιον σῆμα is found also in *C.I.G.* 3685 (Liddell and Scott): note ἐκτελέσαντες masc., though the nouns in agreement are fem. 8. δῆμος is doubtful. Translate: 'The people or, perchance, everybody.' If this be right, the reference is to a public funeral. My friend, Mr. W. B. Anderson, however, would read αὐτ]ὸς δὲ ἡ τοι πάντα τελέσσατο, ἡ τάχ' ἄπαντες, and translates: 'Verily he hath fulfilled the whole span of life, as all men must quickly do.' In

support of this view it may be mentioned that τάχα always has the temporal force in Homer, and that this epigram is full of Homeric recollections.

XI.

Found at Kutaya (ancient *Kotiaion*).

θνη	τό(ς)
ἦχ	ῖσ-
αρ	ις
αὖ	τή.

ἸΟΝΉΣΙΜΟΣ ΛΑΤΥΠΟΣ

Εὐγλυφίς

Female.

Male.

ἐποίησε

5

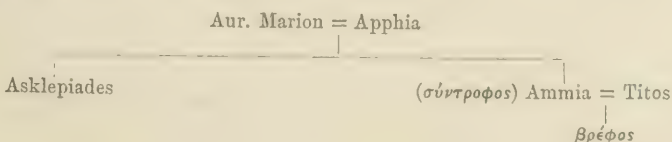
No infant.

Αὐρ. Μαρίων τῇ ἰδίᾳ συνβίῳ Ἀφφία καὶ Ἀσκληπια-
 δη νύφῃ καὶ Ἀμμία τεθρεμμένη κ[ε] Τ[ί]τος ζῶν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ Ἀμ-
 μία συνβίῳ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ ἀδελφῷ καὶ βρεφίῳ προσ[γ]
 ημε ἐνομένῳ ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων ἀνέστησεν μνήμης χάριν.
 10 εἰ δὲ θέλεις σὺ μαθῖν, παροδεῖτα, ὧδε κόρη κατακείμε μετὰ . 10 γων
 εἰ δέ
 15 τις πό-
 σοῖσι
 χίρα τὴν
 βαρύ-
 φθόνον,
 20 τοιῆς πε-
 रिπέσοι-
 το συν-
 φορῆς.
 30 ὃν ὁ πατὴρ τὰ ποσόν-
 τα καθίδεν
 καλὸν τότε ἐποίει
 οὐδὲ γίτων γίτωνι
 ὄψιν ἔδει[ξε], [ἡμέ]ν
 οὕτω τότε ἡ νέμεσις
 περιέστη.

Plough and yoke of oxen.

5. The name of the stone-cutter is often added in inscriptions of this district: see Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics*, vol. i. p. 558. The name Εὐγλυφίς is not recorded in

Pape-Benseler. 6. Αὐρ(ῆ)λιος is perhaps the commonest *praenomen* in Phrygia. The genealogy here is:—



7. *τεθρεμμένη*: Veitch gives only the form *τέθραμμαι* as *perf. pass.* of *τρέφω*. *θρεμμένος* is given from modern Greek by Jannaris, p. 278. *ε* for *αι* in inscriptions is very frequent as *κὲ, κατακείμε* (10) etc. Examples from MSS. are given in Starkie's excellent edition of the *Vespaë*, p. liii., see also Jannaris' *Historical Greek Grammar*, § 49. The stone reads here *ΚΕΤΙΤΟC*: the engraver has by mistake put the small horizontal stroke after the *Τ* instead of after the *Κ*. 8. *βρεφίω προσγ. ἡμ. ὀλ.* 'the little babe added (to the family) for a few days.' *βρέφιον* is cited by Liddell and Scott only from 'Byz.' 10. *θέλεις* for *θέλεις*: cf. *μαθίν, χίρα* (16), *γίτων* (31) etc., cf. Jannaris, § 34. After line 10 the inscription proceeds down the right side, the left side being disconnected. The latter consists of a formula very

frequent in this district: cf. Kaibel *Epigrammata Graeca* 376 (examples from Aizanoi, Kotiaion, etc.) and Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics* inscr. 238 (= *C.I.G.* 3893, from Eumeneia). 14-15. *ποσοῖσι = προσοῖσι* cf. *ποσόντα* (30-1). 'The form *πος* for *προς* is often found in this district' (W. M. R.). 19. We must write *τοιῆς συνφορῆς* (*dat. plur.*) on the analogy of the other inscr. The engraver has accidentally omitted some word which should come after *τοιῆς*, to make the line metrically complete, perhaps *ἀώρης*. 19 ff. (right) 'The father, mourning much for his own handiwork, buried him.' For *στενάχειν* with the genitive, cf. Prof. Jebb's note on Soph. *El.* 1075-6. *παλάμη* used = 'child' appears to be unique. For *κατέθετο* cf. *Od.* 24, 190 *οἳ κ' ἀπονύσαντες μέλανα βρότον ἐξ ὠτειλέων κατθέμενοι γοοῖεν*.

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(To be concluded.)

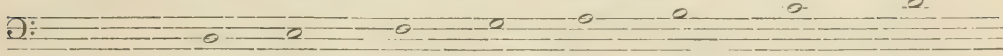
THE NOTES MESE AND HYPATE IN GREEK MUSIC.

IN Aristotle's nineteenth problem there are references to mese, the middle note of the ancient heptachord, which lead to the inference that this note played a very important part in musical compositions; and modern writers have usually followed Helmholtz in assuming that it was somewhat analogous to the tonic or keynote in modern music. This view finds some support in the eleventh chapter of Claudius Ptolemy's second book, where the positions of the various scales are deduced from their meses. But had the Greeks any feeling for key and keynote in the modern sense? It must be remembered that modern tonality grows out of our elaborate system of harmony, of which the Greeks knew nothing; and a comparison of the recently discovered specimens of ancient Greek music with the words of Aristotle seems to suggest another view of the matter.

The passages in Aristotle inform us that in all well composed melodies the mese is frequently employed, and all good composers have constant recourse to it; while, if they leave it, they hasten to return to it, just as

in good Greek the conjunctions *τε* and *καί* are constantly used. Again, if, after a lyre has been properly tuned, the mese is altered (or put out of tune), all the strings will sound wrong; whereas, if any other string is put out of tune, and the mese left intact, only that one string sounds wrong, because all the intervals are determined by their relation to mese. In another passage mese is spoken of as the *ἡγεμὼν* of the tetrachord, and the reference to the descent of the melody by a fourth has led Westphal to the conclusion that compositions usually ended on the note hypate, a conclusion which recent discoveries have shown to be well founded. Ptolemy, in the chapter alluded to above, shows very clearly that the names of the notes, *hypate, parhypate, lichanos, mese*, etc., were used in a twofold sense; first as referring to their position in a particular key, secondly as referring to their place in the complete schemes of sound called the greater and lesser perfect systems. The first nomenclature was called *thetic*, the second *dynamic*. An example in one octave-species will make this clear.

PHRYGIAN OCTAVE.

Thetic names {	Hypate	Parhypate	Lichanos	Mese	Paramese	Trite	Paranete	Nete
	Meson	Meson	Meson			Diez.	Diez.	Diez.
								
Dynamic names {	Lichanos	Hypate	Parhyp.	Lichanos	Mese	Paramese	Trite	Paranete
	Hypaton	Meson	Meson	Meson			Diezeugmenon	Diezeugmenon

It will be seen that in all keys (except the Dorian) there are two meses as there are two of all other names. Which mese Aristotle referred to is a matter of doubt, and will perhaps be so until more examples of ancient music are discovered. With the Dorian key, as the names coincide throughout, there can be no doubt; and fortunately we have more than one example in the Dorian mode by which I can illustrate the view I propose to explain.

There seems little doubt that the inflections still in use in the Roman liturgy are merely a musical setting of the natural rise and fall of the voice in speaking; and the so-called 'neumatic' notation (out of which our notation has developed) was an attempt to represent the rise and fall of the voice graphically. Dom Pothier refers to this in *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes* (p. 34), where he says, 'Les neumes les plus ordinaires, et probablement les plus anciens, ont pour élément constitutif le signe même de l'accent dans le discours: c'est-à-dire le trait dont le sommet est incliné tantôt à gauche tantôt à droit, employé par les grammairiens pour exprimer que le son de la voix sur telle ou telle syllabe est relativement grave ou aigu.' 'Celui qui parle élève naturellement la voix sur certaines syllabes et la fléchit sur d'autres; ce sont ces divers mouvements de voix que les anciens ont appelés accents.' Of the importance attached to the rise and fall of the voice in ancient days there is an example in the fourth century Virgil in the Laurentian Library at Florence, which was provided at a later date with a large number of 'neumes'; and still more striking evidence is the 'rule of the accent,' discovered by Crusius and Monro, showing how intimately Greek music was connected with the natural inflections of the voice. In fact, such Greek music as we have, seems to be more or less a regulation of the natural rise and fall of the speaking voice by musical intervals, larger or smaller

according to the will of the composer,¹ and this simple form of music still exists in the priest's part in our liturgy.

When the music of the early church had been systematised and regulated, the note corresponding to the normal pitch of the speaking voice was called the 'dominant,' and the melody worked round the dominant, often returning to it, though it did not necessarily begin and end on it: while the dominant varied according to the different modes. It must be borne in mind that the Gregorian dominant was essentially different from the modern harmonic dominant. The melody ended on the 'final,' which was a third, fourth, fifth, or a sixth below the dominant, according to the mode. I wish to suggest that by substituting the word 'dominant' in the Gregorian sense for 'mese,' and the word 'final' for hypate, we shall probably get nearer to the meaning of Aristotle's remarks and Ptolemy's description, than by calling the mese 'tonic,' and hypate 'dominant' (in the modern sense), as has hitherto been done: and I think this view is more or less borne out by the few fragments of Greek music that we have. We read in Greek theoretical works of metabole of system,² which produces a change of mese. Thus, Bacchius senior, p. 13, speaking of metabole says, *Συστηματική ποία ἐστίν; ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου συστήματος εἰς ἕτερον σύστημα ἀναχωρήσῃ ἡ μελωδία ἐτέραν μέσῃν κατασκευάζουσα*. It seems almost certain that the thetic mese is here referred to, for the dynamic mese is the same in all the seven principal keys, and a change of system would not alter it: whereas a change from the Dorian to the Phrygian or Lydian mode would produce a corresponding change of thetic mese, and a

¹ Modern vocal music, being influenced by harmonic and many other considerations, is far more artificial than this, and stands on a different basis.

² I have suggested a possible use of the 'system' in Greek musical composition in Vol. ix. No. 8 of this Review.

change of the scale intervals. It would be equivalent to changing from the first church mode (dominant A, final D) to the third (dominant C, final E) or fifth (dominant C, final F), the distribution of tones and semitones differing in each.

Of the fragments of Greek music that have come down to us, the most important is undoubtedly the Delphic Hymn to Apollo, discovered in 1893. It is in the Phrygian notation, and according to M. Reinach and all other authorities, in the Dorian mode or octave. This example offers no difficulty, for, as I have mentioned above, mese by position and mese by power are the same note in the Dorian mode. M. Reinach points out (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1893, p. 597) that the note which is by far the most frequently used is C, that is to say, the Dorian mese at the Phrygian pitch: while the one place where a full close has been preserved on the stone shows a descent from C to G, *i.e.* from mese to hypate, or, according to my suggestion, from the dominant to the final. The Tralles hymn is in the Iastian notation, and M. Gevaert shows (*La Mélodie Antique*, p. 386) that the mode is Iastian. Here D represents thetic mese, and the melody appears to revolve round this note, as round a Gregorian dominant. Hypate meson is A, and the melody does not end on this note, but on E, the fourth below, that is, hypate hypaton, thus maintaining the principle of ending on the lowest note of a tetrachord. Is it possible that we have here a metabole of system producing the *ἐρέπα μέση* alluded to by Bacchius senior?

The second Delphic hymn is attributed by M. Gevaert (*La Mél. Ant.*, p. 451) to the Dorian mode, its notation being Lydian and Hypolydian. This hymn is in a far more fragmentary condition than the last two examples, and therefore much stress cannot

be laid on any deductions from it. It is divided by M. Gevaert into ten sections for convenience of reference. The melody of the first section appears to revolve on D, the mese, and to end on A, the hypate. In the second, third, fifth, and sixth sections E appears to play the part of a dominant, and all these sections end on this note or its octave below. Perhaps here we have again a *ἐρέπα μέση*? Of the last section Van Jan says that it ends on mese, but Gevaert contests this, and supposes that 'le docte professeur de Strasbourg aura, par distraction, écrit mèse voulant écrire hypate.'

With regard to the well-known Graeco-Roman hymns, M. Gevaert shows (*La Mél. Ant.*, p. 40), that in the 'Hymn to Helios' hypate is the principal 'note de repos,' *i.e.* the final of the various phrases, while 'La mèse (A) remplit bien ici sa fonction médiatrice.' The 'Hymn to the Muse' ends on the Dorian hypate, but mese is not so prominent as in the other examples. The hymn to Nemesis is, according to M. Gevaert, 'in the 'relaxed Iastian' mode, equivalent to the Phrygian octave D to D, but with G as its final. If the hymn be transposed from its original pitch to the octave D to D, it will be found that G is the note most frequently used; and it seems to play the part of a dominant here, in that the melodic design 'circule autour de cette corde centrale.' It is, moreover, the thetic mese in the Phrygian octave, a point in favour of the view that the thetic, and not the dynamic mese is the one to which composers had 'constant recourse.'

But whether thetic or dynamic, does not affect the contention that a note used in the way described must have been analogous to a Gregorian dominant, rather than to a harmonic keynote.

C. ABDY WILLIAMS.

THE AORIST INJUNCTIVE IN LATIN.

IN his *Vergleichende Syntax* (Zweiter Theil, pp. 376-383), Delbrück does me the honour of taking my articles on The Latin Prohibitive as the basis of his discussion of 'Der alte Injunctiv Aoristi im Lateinischen.' While I am highly gratified to find that in his own words 'Unsere Ansichten gehen eine gute Strecke mit einander,' I am nevertheless not quite

satisfied with the treatment he accords to certain features of my discussion, and feel that at one point he has quite misinterpreted my meaning. It is with the hope of making my own position clearer, that I venture to offer the following remarks upon Delbrück's treatment.

In the first place, it seems to me that the words he sometimes uses in describing the

force of the aorist are open to criticism. He describes this force as invariably 'punktuell'—a term by which he says (p. 14) he means 'dass die Handlung mit ihrem Eintritt zugleich vollendet ist.' I cannot believe that Delbrück really means by these words what he seems to say. If taken literally, the words would make him express the belief that the aorist tense in *bellum gestum est*, or in *πολλὰ γὰρ ἔτλην*, for instance, means that the *act itself* was finished as soon as begun. Anyone who holds the view which the words quoted from Delbrück literally express would have to claim that the aorist could be used *only* of so-called instantaneous acts. I suspect therefore that the particular wording of this definition is due to a lack of care and precision, of which Delbrück is very rarely guilty. I feel sure that Delbrück would at once agree that the aorist tense implies absolutely nothing with reference to the length of duration of an act or a state. The act or state may have lasted for years or only for an instant. The length of duration is something with which the aorist tense is not in the least concerned. What Delbrück evidently means is that, when a person, in referring to any act, uses the aorist tense, he disregards for the moment the progress of the act and *conceives* of it as an entirety. The aorist makes quick work of the *thought* about the act; when used of a past act, it does not necessarily imply anything whatever about the nature of the *act itself*, though of course it is frequently and naturally used of so-called instantaneous acts. If this is what Delbrück means, then our views are identical as regards the fundamental meaning of the aorist tense. In one or two features of its application, we are apparently somewhat at variance, but not so much at variance as Delbrück seems to suppose. On page 381 he says: 'Elmer ist offenbar der Meinung, in *ne feceris* müsse eigentlich der Sinn der Vergangenheit stecken, während thatsächlich der Sinn der Vergangenheit nicht darin liegt, sondern nur gelegentlich als Wirkung des Sinnes der Periode hineinkommen kann.' I confess I do not quite see how my articles, as a whole, could give the impression that I hold the view here ascribed to me. Indeed I distinctly say on p. 6 (138) that *ne feceris* does not contain any notion of 'Vergangenheit.' My words are: '*Ne feceris* cannot mean literally "Do not, prior to a certain point in the future, have done it."¹ In one respect, however, the distinction, it seems to me, still holds. In *ne feceris* there is at least no

thought of the progress of the act. The expression deals with an act in its entirety. The beginning, the progress and the end of the act are brought together and focussed in a single conception. The idea of the act is not dwelt upon, but merely touched, for an instant, and then dismissed. The speaker as it were, makes short work of the thought.' I certainly meant by these words exactly what I understand Delbrück to have intended, when he describes the force of the aorist as 'punktuell.' Our views are then still identical. If I understand Delbrück aright, we start from exactly the same point of view.

We now come, however, to a point of real difference of opinion. At the bottom of p. 383 Delbrück has the following words: 'Es lag gewiss nahe, das Perf. und Präs. gelegentlich in der von Elmer beobachteten Weise zu gebrauchen, denn es ist zuzugeben, dass das Präsens sich für einen auf rapide Ausführung berechneten Befehl nicht eignet, aber das ist nur eine gelegentlich auftretende Folgeerscheinung.' It is clear then that, as far as the distinction between *ne feceris* and *ne facias* is concerned, Delbrück regards the speaker's earnest or impassioned mood, which I claimed was a characteristic accompaniment of the perfect tense, as something that always remains wholly incidental, *i.e.* something that is not at all suggested by the tense itself. My claim, on the other hand, is that the fundamental meaning of the perfect (aorist) subjunctive is such that it is not natural to use it of the future except when one is (or is pretending to be) thoroughly aroused, or wishes to speak with unusual energy; that this feeling was therefore, at least until comparatively late times, regularly associated with such uses of the perfect tense; and that, in this sense, such a feeling on the part of the speaker may be regarded as an essential characteristic of the perfect tense and the one by which it came to be chiefly distinguished from the present tense in the minds of the Romans. At this point I wish to call attention to what seems to me to be a serious error that is wont to be made in discussing questions of this character. Perhaps I cannot better serve my purpose than by quoting here the following extracts from my *Studies in Latin Moods and Tenses* that is now in press for the *Cornell Studies of Classical Philology*:

'It seems to me that a serious mistake has been made, on the part of grammarians, in making no distinction between the perfect, or aoristic, conception as applied to the future and the same conception as applied to the

past. Undoubtedly the original fundamental idea is the same in both cases, but I contend that the perfect (aorist), when used of the future, came to be associated and identified with ideas that were wholly foreign to past uses of the same tense.

The perfect (aorist) indicative deals with an act that is finished. In presenting a past event, it merely touches the idea of the act and then leaves it. It differs from the imperfect much as "glance at" differs from "gaze at." But this "glance" at the act has nothing to do with the real character of the act itself. This act may have been performed quickly or slowly, energetically or deliberately; it may have lasted for years or only for an instant. With all of these particulars the perfect (aorist) indicative is not in the least concerned. It merely presents the act as one that took place; such an act is now beyond the sphere of anybody's influence—it is no longer a subject of suspense. But with the future use of the perfect subjunctive, circumstances are quite different. The act is now one which *is* in suspense. Instead of taking a calm view of past events, the speaker is now referring to events whose character, in the case of expressions of the will, he himself is endeavouring to shape and determine, or, in the case of the contingent future subjunctive, would under certain conditions shape and determine. Under such circumstances, the manner of looking at the act came, naturally enough, to be very closely associated with, and dependent upon, the manner in which the act was to be performed. My meaning will be made clearer by the use of English illustrations. Let us take the expression "you went", corresponding to the ordinary aorist of past events, and "be gone!", representing fairly well¹ the use of the aorist of

future acts. In the expression "you went," the speaker is merely stating that, as a matter of fact, the act of going took place in the past. The length of its duration is a matter about which the speaker is not concerned. He merely dismisses the act with a single glance. It is clear that this quick glance at the act of going is not determined, or even influenced in the slightest degree, by the character, or manner, or duration of that act itself. But in the case of the future use of the aorist, illustrated in "be gone!", a moment's thought will show that the manner of looking at the act depends largely on the manner in which the speaker expects or wishes the act to be performed. "Be gone!" represents, to be sure, a quick glance at a future act of going, but this form of expression is chosen only because the speaker wants the act itself to be promptly and quickly accomplished. So, in such uses of the perfect (aorist) subjunctive as in *di faxint*, etc., while the tense primarily indicates the manner in which the act is looked at, it also indicates, with equal clearness, the character which the act itself is thought of as assuming. Every such perfect (aorist) tense hurries the thought and fixes the attention at once upon the accomplishment and completion of the act. And just as the use of "be gone!" instead of "go" shows with absolute certainty that the speaker is thoroughly aroused, so do similar uses of the perfect subjunctive in Latin betray a similar state of mind.

It only remains now to decide whether this theory that the perfect subjunctive in prohibitions indicates an aroused state of mind harmonizes with actual usage. I cannot feel that Delbrück does full justice to the state of things shown to exist by my collection of instances. Especially unfair, it seems to me, is the manner in which, in testing my theory, he passes by Plautus and Terence, the only authors who freely use both the present and the perfect tenses, and who form therefore the only field where the phenomenon can be satisfactorily studied. I cannot conceive how anyone, who compares all the instances of the perfect and present tenses from the earliest times down to the time of Livy (for which see my articles), can hesitate to admit that, with rare exceptions (comparatively speaking), it is very clear that speakers who use the perfect tense are (or for evident reasons are pretending to be) thoroughly aroused, and that those who use the present tense are perfectly calm and in commonplace situations. I feel all the more justified in insisting upon this as a fact that

¹ I say only 'fairly well' for the reason that some might insist on regarding 'be gone!' as a perfect instead of an aorist. But in either case the expression serves the purpose for which I have used it, as all idea of progress is eliminated from the thought. As applied to the future, the perfect and the aorist resemble each other in that they both alike include the end of the act; they differ in that the perfect represents it as one to be performed *prior* to a future time, the aorist represents it as one to be performed in its entirety (the end of the act being therefore included) at a future time with no idea of priority. But as the idea of completion, or accomplishment, is common to the two tenses, the expression 'be gone,' however it is explained, is sufficiently apropos. That the perfect and the aorist conceptions approach each other under certain circumstances, is shown by the facts that a Greek aorist seems often best translated by an English perfect and that both tenses are in Latin represented by the same form. In *si uenerit*, *uideat*, the *uenerit* is a perfect subjunctive; in *ne ueneris*, the *ueneris* is an aorist.

must be recognized, for the reason that this distinction between the tenses has, during the three years since the publication of my articles, been publicly recognized by no less than six authors of Latin grammars.¹ Indeed Delbrück himself does not explicitly deny that my distinction will hold for Plautus and Terence. But he claims that it breaks down when tested by certain passages in Cato and Cicero's Letters, and cites, in support of this claim, especially Cato 4 *vicinis bonus esto : familiam ne sineris peccare*.

Let us consider for a moment what attitude it is proper for us to assume towards such a sentence as this. After a careful and exhaustive study of all the instances of the perfect tense from the earliest period down to the time of Livy, we have discovered that, with rare exceptions, it is beyond all dispute that the perfect is associated with emotion and energy of expression, the present with a calm mood and commonplace situations. But there are a few instances of the perfect, namely, the exceptions above referred to, where the tone in which the writer wishes his utterance to be understood is not made clear by the context. If the writer himself could read the passage to us, his voice would, of course, betray the tone. But with only the written page before us, we are left to our own resources to detect that tone. Now when we have found, in all those passages where the tone is beyond all dispute, that the perfect is used only when the speaker is aroused or unusually energetic, is it not allowable to conclude, or, rather, are we not forced to conclude, that, in passages where there is no other indication of the tone intended, the perfect tense still continues to represent the same idea and to betray the same feeling? Now Cato, in the passage above quoted, says *ne sineris* where he might have used any one of the several other forms of prohibition. I presume it will be admitted by everybody that the expression 'Do not

allow it' is one that admits of being uttered in a very commonplace manner, or with great energy. If there are, outside of the expression itself, no certain means of finding out just how much or how little importance Cato attached to this particular prohibition, is it not, nevertheless, natural, under the condition of things which we have found to exist elsewhere, to suppose that the tense of *ne sineris* in itself indicates that Cato wishes to lay great stress upon it, and accordingly chooses the most energetic form of expression? Indeed, the context itself in this instance shows that Cato did attach the utmost importance to this particular prohibition, for he goes on to say that a farmer's success depends upon a compliance with it (*si te libenter uicinitas uidebit, facilius tua uendes, operas facilius locabis, etc.*). When Delbrück says of this passage, 'Es heisst einfach so viel als "verhindere dass sie das thun"' he is indulging in mere assertion and seems to me to be begging the whole question. He adds further 'man soll sich nicht vorstellen, dass die Leute allerhand Böses thun, und der Gutsbesitzer beschäftigt ist, sie daran zu verhindern,' etc. Why then did Cato consider it necessary to give this prohibition at all? The fact that Cato uses the prohibition and makes so much depend upon it, shows very clearly that such a caution was needed. The only question is then : In what tone did he intend it? And the answer to this question must be sought by making a study of all those passages in which this particular form of prohibition is used. I have tried to answer it in the light of such a study. And the few passages like the one cited from Cato must, it seems to me, be studied in a similar manner and interpreted in the light of similar evidence.

One other passage, cited against me by Delbrück, I cannot pass by unnoticed, viz. Cic. *ad Att.* x. 13, 1 *scribes igitur ac, si quid ad spem poteris, ne dimiseris. Tu Antoni leones pertimescas caue : nihil est illo homine incundius*. On this passage, Delbrück writes : 'ist darin etwa *dimiseris* mit grossem Ernst, *pertimescas* aber in anderer Stimmung geschrieben? Gewiss nicht, sondern *ne dimiseris* heisst "lass nicht fahren"' und ist punktuell, *cave pertimescas* aber "sei nicht (beständig) in Angst" und ist durativ.' If Delbrück, at this point in his discussion, had had clearly in mind certain other parts of my article, he would not have written these words under the impression that the change of tense seen in this passage is opposed to the distinction that I make between the

¹ Bennett, *Latin Grammar* § 276, and *Appendix* § 358 d.; Gildersleeve-Lodge, *Latin Grammar* § 272, 2, Remark, and Gildersleeve, in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xviii. 1, p. 123; Schmalz, in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for June 20, 1896, column 794; Sonnenschein, in his review of Gildersleeve's grammar, *Classical Review*, vol. x., No. 1, p. 64; Ziemer, in the *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie* for April 22, 1896, column 459; and apparently Golling in the *Zeitschrift für die oester. Gymnasien* for 1895, column 1074. The correctness of my conclusions is further acknowledged by Hey in the *Archiv für Lat. Lexikographie u. Grammatik* for 1895, by Giles in *A Short Manual of Comparative Philology*, p. 439, note, and by Buck in *The Oscan-Umbrian Verb System* (University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology, vol. i. p. 140).

tenses. So far is this change of tense from being opposed to my theory, that it is exactly what that theory would demand and is in strong confirmation of it. Compare, for instance, my words on p. 14 (146): 'If my distinction between the two tenses is correct, we should expect that a prohibition dealing with mere mental action e.g. "Do not suppose," "Do not be surprised," "*Do not be afraid*" would commonly take the present tense, because such prohibitions would not commonly be accompanied by strong emotion, and, *as far as the interests of the speaker are concerned, it matters little whether the prohibition be complied with or not. Such a condition of things is exactly what we find,*' etc., etc. It will be clear from this quotation that *caue pertimescas* is in exact accord with my theory. The act referred to in *ne dimiseris* is something that concerns the happiness and welfare of Cicero and his friends. Cicero, as is shown by the letters written by him at this period, is in terrible anxiety and suspense—he does not know whether his cause is, or is not, past all hope. The failure to comply with the prohibition '*ne dimiseris*' might mean utter despair, and, naturally enough, he throws his whole heart into the prohibition. But there is nothing about the idea of *pertimescas caue* to call for emotional expression; the mention of the *leones* is a playful allusion to a mere myth that Antonius was wont to ride in a carriage drawn by lions, and how lightly these words are uttered is shown by the sentence that immediately follows them, viz. *nihil est illo homine iucundius*. As regards the meaning of the present tense here and elsewhere, I am in complete accord with Delbrück as will appear more clearly in my *Studies*, above mentioned.

Finally, I come to a state of things which Delbrück's theory, as it seems to me, utterly fails to account for. He claims that, as far as the character itself of the perfect tense is concerned, it is merely '*punktuell*,' and that, if the speaker who uses it is frequently aroused with emotion and is speaking with unceremoniousness or with unusual earnest-

ness, this is merely incidental and this tone is not conveyed or suggested by the tense itself. How then will Delbrück account for the fact, brought out in my Latin Prohibitive that there is (at least prior to Livy) not a single instance in Latin literature (whether in prose or poetry) of *ne* with the perfect subjunctive used in a dignified, ceremonious, deferential style. Why does not Cicero, for instance, occasionally use it in addressing the judges? He addresses prohibitions to them with great frequency. Why does he always adopt some other form of prohibition? It cannot be because he has any particular prejudice against *ne* with the perfect subjunctive, for he uses this form of prohibition very frequently in his colloquial styles. In his letters there are fourteen instances of this use and these, almost without exception, are addressed to bosom friends with whom he was wont to throw off all ceremony, often indulging in good-natured raillery and abuse and unrestrained passionate outbursts. If, as I contend, the perfect tense came to be associated and identified with an unceremonious, energetic tone, the absence of this mode of expression from ceremonious styles is fully accounted for. But if the force of the aorist is purely and simply '*punktuell*,' then I fail to see why Cicero, for instance, did not occasionally use it in addressing a judge as well as in writing to his legal friend Trebatius, whom he was so fond of hauling over the coals.

It will also be noticed that Delbrück himself admits (e.g. pp. 377, 380) that there are passages which his own theory fails to explain.

While I have felt inclined to question the justness of these few details of his treatment of the Latin perfect subjunctive, I cannot, in closing, refrain from expressing my profound admiration of, and my gratitude for, the monumental services which Delbrück has, by his latest volume, as by his preceding volumes, rendered to all students of language.

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DE VITA CONTEMPLATIVA, 483, 46 f.

Ὅν ἐν ἡρώεσσι διαφερόντως ἡ οἰκία θεωρεῖν.

A STUDY of the form in which this passage occurs in Eusebius, *H.E.* ii. 17, has led me in view of the variants in the MSS. to a

result differing from that reached by Mr. Conybeare, the most recent editor of the treatise. Philo is describing the allegorical exegesis of the Therapeutae, which, says he, rests upon the idea that the Jewish Law is

like a living being, its body answering to the literal precepts, its soul to the unseen thought enshrined in the words—*ψυχὴν δὲ τὸν ἐναποκείμενον ταῖς λέξεσιν ἀόρατον νοῦν*. Then Mr. Conybeare's text continues, *ἐν ᾧ ἤρξατο ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ διαφερόντως τὰ οἰκία θεωρεῖν ὥσπερ διὰ κατόπτρον τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐξάίσια κάλλη νοημάτων ἐμφερόμενα κατιδούσα, κ.τ.λ.* Taking this as it stands, as representing some stage of the text, he looks about for the subject to *ἤρξατο...κατιδούσα*, and can only find it by going back four lines, changing the text on the sole authority of the Armenian version from *αἱ δὲ ἐξηγήσεις...γίνονται* to *ἡ δὲ ἐξήγησις...γίνεται*, and throwing the three lines which follow, as far as *νοῦν*, into a parenthesis. Even so, as he feels in his note, *ἐξήγησις* is no fit subject to *ἤρξατο θεωρεῖν*. And his real mind is given in the remark (to which he has not adjusted the text, however) that 'no change is necessary; for it must be the logical soul, and not the explanation, which beholds through the names its kindred truths.' The fact is that there is a corruption of text in *ἐν ᾧ...θεωρεῖν*. 'The lacuna of the (Armenian) version must have also been in Eusebius' text of Philo, and the confusion of that text is the result of efforts made by scribes to replace the words omitted. Eusebius' text and the Greek text of the Armenian must have flowed from a common archetype.'

Now what is the MSS. evidence for the whole matter, whether in Philo or in Eusebius? It may be set forth as follows:—

ἐν ᾧ ἤρξατο ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ διαφερόντως τὰ οἰκία θεωρεῖν AβγP

ὃν ἐνῆρξατο ἡ ψυχὴ διαφ. ἡ οἰκία θεωρεῖν OQ
ὃν ἤρξατο διαφ. ἡ θρησκεία αὐτῆς θεωρεῖν
 Euseb. (B)C(D)F^{ab}R^a

ὃν.....ἡ οἰκία αὐτῆς Euseb. GHOS¹ Arm.

ὃν.....ἡ οἰκία Euseb. AE.

Rufinus' version of Eusebius is rather obscure, reading *quem illi ab auctoribus suis edocti sublimius et nobilius (velut inspicientes per speculum) contemplantur*—a paraphrase which we hope to clear up in the sequel. The Armenian was less courageous and left the difficulty severely alone.

Here AβγP really represent only four MSS. on Mr. Conybeare's own principles: for β and γ, though symbols for groups of MSS., go back to two archetypes parallel to those of AOPQ. Hence there is no decisive

Greek MS. evidence for preferring *ἐν ᾧ* ('the force' of which Mr. C. admits 'is not clear') to *ὃν*, read by MSS. which each preserve some very good readings, and in combination are of high worth. We take, then, the reading of OQ to be the best direct Philonian reading, which has also the support so far of the Eusebian MSS. But which of the Eusebian readings is best? And can one of them even preserve Philo's actual words?

My own view is that the reading of AE meets all the requirements of the Philonian autograph, and also of the Eusebian variants. It has the great merit of being at once good sense and yet not being too easily seen to be such. The soul (*ψυχὴ*) of the Mosaic Legislation consisted in the mind (*νοῦς*) latent in its words, *ὃν ἤρξατο διαφερόντως ἡ οἰκία* (sc. *ψυχὴ*) *θεωρεῖν*, 'which the kindred soul *par excellence* begins to contemplate.' This terse clause might soon become a hard saying to copyists; with the results shown in the *apparatus criticus* above. First we get *ἡ ψυχὴ* added in the thoughtful archetype of OQ: and along the line of transmission known to Eusebius we have sheer paraphrase represented by *ἡ θρησκεία αὐτῆς* (in the most faithful or conservative group of Eusebian MSS., and probably also in Rufinus' *illi ab auctoribus suis edocti*). Next the connection of *ἡ οἰκία* with the added *ἡ ψυχὴ* is missed, through the intervening *διαφερόντως* (now less needful); *ἡ οἰκία* becomes *τὰ οἰκία*, which in turn necessitates the substitution of *ἐν ᾧ* for *ὃν*; and the whole is rounded off by the addition of *λογικὴ* to define the special sense in which *ψυχὴ*, now bereft of *ἡ οἰκία*, is to be understood. This gives us the reading of AβγP. On the other hand, the tendency to assimilate the Eusebian extracts to the text of Philo himself is operating on the Eusebian MSS.: and we get the mixed *ἡ οἰκία* (= *οἰκία*) *αὐτῆς* substituted for *ἡ θρησκεία αὐτῆς* in GHOS Arm. Finally in the direct Philonian tradition, the Armenian version (though possibly at a date even prior to the ancestor of AβγP) gave up the clause as hopeless, and so perfected its destruction. While on the contrary the development in the Eusebian line of transmission perfected itself in returning back, by complete assimilation, to the pure text of Philo, in the highly assimilative MSS. AE.²

² I hold it probable that the assimilative zeal of the archetype of these codices did not quite extend to the restoration of *ἐνῆρξατο* (as in OQ of Philo) for the tamer *ἤρξατο*. Hence the autograph of Philo most likely had *ὃν ἐνῆρξατο διαφερόντως ἡ οἰκία θεωρεῖν*.

¹ A Sinaitic MS. of the eleventh century, the reading of which I owe to the kindness of Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson of Cambridge.

If this be the true story of the fortunes of this poor reading, it is a very pretty one, and deserves to be told not only for the sake of a Philo pure and undefiled, but also for its own sake and possibly also for the

light it would shed on the MSS. of Eusebius.

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HOMERICA.

E. 723. *χάλκεα δκτάκνημα σιδηρέψ ἄξονι ἄμφίς.*

Here we have a line with two metrical defects, the hiatus after the first and after the fifth foot—both dactyls. The first is defended as legitimate, though Bentley's *χάλκει'* would be an easy remedy. For the second, two defences are conceivable, neither of them very strong or convincing (1) that hiatus licitus might graciously extend the shelter of his shield even here, as a few examples may certainly be found of an open vowel in this position, (2) that the *ι* of the dative may in very remote times have been long, like the bows which our forefathers drew, though modern philologists sometimes take shots quite as long as they did.

Then there is *δκτάκνημα*, about which a battle has raged. Cobet and Nauck would write *δκτώκνημα* with considerable force of analogy on their side *v.* Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* p. 413. It is impossible to avoid remarking on this adjective that *κνήμαι* does not seem to occur with the meaning of 'spokes' in any author. Probably, however, the coinor of *δκτάκνημα* or *δκτώκνημα* felt that as *κνήμη* denoted the 'leg below the knee' in speaking of a human being, it might safely be relied upon to denote the spoke and only the spoke in connection with a wheel, there being no other part of a wheel that bears even the remotest likeness to a man's leg.

The passage in which this line occurs runs thus :—

*"Ἡβη δ' ἄμφ' ὀχέεσσι θοῶς βάλε καμπύλα κύκλα,
χάλκεα δκτάκνημα, σιδηρέψ ἄξονι ἄμφίς.
τῶν ἧ τοι χρυσέη ἵπυς ἄφθιτος, ἀντὰρ ὕπερθεν
χάλκε' ἐπίσωτρα προσαρηρότα, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι.
πλήμναι δ' ἀργύρου εἰσι περίδρομοι ἄμφοτέρωθεν.*

In these lines the wheels, it is to be observed, are described in considerable detail. The felloes are made of gold. The tires are of copper. The naves are of silver. Now is it conceivable that any poet, let alone Homer, or any prose author for that matter, could begin by describing wheels with such component parts—only the spokes

have been omitted—as 'bronze,' 'copper,' *χάλκεα*? Assuredly not. Clearly, the inferior but stronger metal, *χαλκός*, is only placed on the external surface of the wheel that would touch the ground, to sustain the wear and tear and protect the more precious and softer metal, *χρυσός*. I do not believe for a moment that Homer meant that the spokes should be of copper; but let them be thrown in with the tire, still the whole wheel could not rationally or naturally be called a copper or a bronze one.

The fact is, the whole line (723) is a transparent interpolation. The concocter of it was not satisfied with Homer's

ἄμφ' ὀχέεσσι θοῶς βάλε καμπύλα κύκλα

'She quickly put the round wheels on the chariot.' He wished to define more specifically and accurately where the wheels were attached, and so he devised the luminous, if unmetrical,

σιδηρέψ ἄξονι ἄμφίς.

He doubtless thought this might pass muster even after *ἄμφ' ὀχέεσσι*, especially if he made the delicate variation of *ἄμφίς* for *ἄμφί*, though it is obvious enough that the passage requires the preposition in both places. Then he had to fill up the line, the precise point at which an interpolation usually comes to grief. He evolved *δκτάκνημα* or *δκτώκνημα* not flawless, as we have seen, though the idea of doubling or increasing the number of spokes used for chariots on earth is not without merit. So far his work was tolerably successful, but the final touch *χάλκεα* or *χάλκει'*, which, no doubt, he fondly hoped would be taken to refer to the spokes alone, has proved fatal to the imposture. Alas! it too incontestably betrays the quality of the beast (*pace tanti viri*) masquerading in the lion's skin. This one absurdity enables us to see at once why and wherefore the line is so fruitful in metrical and linguistic anomalies.

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NOTE ON HORACE, *OD.* II. 17, 29.

HORACE, *Odes* II. xvii. 29. Faunus...*Mercurialium* Custos virorum.

This expression has much perplexed the commentators. Page says: 'In no case can the phrase *virī Mercuriales* be called a happy one, as a periphrasis for "poets."' And the last editor, Dr. Gow, writes: 'This allusion is obscure.' It is only obscure because the study of astrology has died out. This Ode teems with astrological allusions, of which I may say more presently. For the moment let me quote only

Corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum,
Irasci celerem, tamen ut placibilis essem.
Epistles I. xx. 24.

Ego...*lippus*.—*Sat.* I. v. 30.

Cui concedere nugas...

rimosa in aure...

scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti.

Sat. II. vi. 43, 46, 57.

Cena ministratur pueris tribus.

Sat. I. vi. 116.

Add that Horace was a poet, and compare the following passage from *The Secrets of Albertus Magnus*, etc., London, 1632. 'Mercurius governeth in mannes body the tung, memory, cogitation, handes, and thighs. He hath dominion over the phrensy, madnesse, melancholy, Falling sicknesse, Cough, *Rheume*, and the abundance of distilling spittle. If hee be Lord of the nativity, hee maketh the children stoute, wise, and apt to learne, *modest, secret*, and eloquent. *Of person small, leane, pale of visage*: smoothe heard: faire eyed: hard and bony handed.' Thus *Mercurialium* here will be comparable to the original use of *jovial, saturnine*.

If Horace imagined that *Mercury* was the Lord of his nativity, we shall see a particular reason for his address to that god in *Odes* I. 10.

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MURRAY'S ANCIENT GREEK LITERATURE.

A History of Ancient Greek Literature. By GILBERT MURRAY, M.A., Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow, etc. London: William Heinemann, 1897.

It would be easy to find in this book, and in any book of equal scope, abundant materials either for favourable or unfavourable judgment, for assent or dissent, if either of these, merely as such, could be supposed interesting to serious students. The author's tendency, his method and habit, is described by himself candidly and correctly in the preface (p. xiii.) :

I have tried—at first unconsciously, afterwards of set purpose—to realise, as well as I could, what sort of men the various Greek authors were, what they liked and disliked, how they earned their living and spent their time. Of course it is only in the Attic period, and perhaps in the exceptional case of Pindar, that such a result can be even distantly approached, unless history is to degenerate into fiction. But the attempt is helpful, even where it leads to no definite result.

The book is just what, upon these lines, an able writer might be expected to make

it, good or defective, that is to say, just in proportion as the subject in question lends or does not lend itself to this individual and, as it were, familiar manner of treatment. We shall expect to find a stimulating presentment of Pindar, Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristophanes, Isocrates. We shall be less hopeful about Sophocles or Demosthenes. We see that the writer is determined to be vivid, perhaps at some risk, and we shall not be surprised if occasionally he seems rather to ask whether a phrase or an illustration is striking, than whether it is exactly appropriate.¹ The reader who turns to Pindar or Thucydides can scarcely fail to find Professor Murray suggestive, and it is possible (as I can warrant) that he will feel warm gratitude. The reader who turns to Sophocles will not, unless he is exceptional in his tastes, allow Professor Murray for an absolute guide, and it is not impossible that he will be angry. In general the poets seem to attract the author more than the prose-

¹ See, for example, pp. 60, 156, 171.

writers, and with the orators in particular he does not profess a keen sympathy. For my own broad judgment it is enough to say that I have read the book four or five times, and each time, as I thought, with much profit.

I mention summarily a few of the points which should be considered or reconsidered. The effect of the Ionian dispersion upon Athens (p. 18), though justly emphasized, seems to be post-dated. It must have begun at all events from 540 B.C. 'Theognis of Megara.' Which Theognis? And of which Megara? But perhaps Professor Murray does not think that this recent doubt has substance in it. The development and especially the beginnings of rhetoric need to be more fully and precisely treated, and the same perhaps may be said of 'sophistic.' It is a curious illustration of this point that the name of Gorgias (pp. 160, 163) apparently steals into the narrative without any special and distinctive notice at all. Is it known that the odes of the great melic poets were given by 'professional performers' (p. 95)? How does this appear? Of Stesimbrotus even one page seems too much, and that page (if I may say so) too 'vivid'. And something somewhere should if possible be curtailed to make more room for Plato, for Aristotle perhaps, and certainly for Theocritus and for Lucian.

It is manifestly impossible to discuss here, in such a manner as will be either interesting or profitable to the readers of the *Review*, more than one, if so much as one, of the many questions which must be raised by a general history of Greek literature. And as the beginning is not a bad place to begin, I shall make no apology for devoting the rest of this article to some remarks upon Professor Murray's view of the 'epic cycle'. As a whole, his account of Homer and the Homeric question fulfils, better than could be expected, the exceedingly difficult task of presenting the problem, in the present phase of discussion, to readers who are to be presumed incapable of independent judgment. Nor is he to be blamed, whatever may be the historic truth of the matter, for stating or assuming (pp. 9, 45) that the *Cycle* had no higher origin than a compilation or compilations of the Alexandrian age. He is perhaps heretical when he says (if I understand him rightly) that these abstracts or *compendia* of legend were from the first merely prose, and not even adaptations or arrangements of the original narratives in verse. But as

to the time from which they date, he represents the present orthodoxy, if orthodoxy there is. It is not indeed always easy (and for good reasons) to discover exactly what the makers of the *Cycle*, Dionysius, or Apollodorus, or whoever they were, are upon this hypothesis supposed to have done. But it is, I believe, generally understood that from what they did the *Cycle* derived its unity as well as its name, and that to Aristotle, for example, or Plato, or Herodotus, neither thing nor title was known. Professor Murray therefore is justified, for the purpose of his book, in assuming this, more especially as he gives to the attentive reader a sufficient hint that it is open to question, when he remarks that Athenaeus, the chief or sole ancient author, whose opinion appears in his account, made 'the odd mistake' of supposing the word 'cycle' to mean the original poems. It would scarcely have been consistent with proportion to find room at the present moment and in such a summary for the view, hinted rather than advanced by Otto Seeck in the *Quellen der Odyssee*, that the *Epic Cycle*, the *Cycle* mentioned by Athenaeus, Suidas, Proclus, and others, was the very oldest monument of Greek bibliography; that it dated not from the first or the second century before Christ, but from the sixth, and that it was nothing more or less than the Greek epos (or in popular parlance 'the poetry of Homer') thrown into a quasi-historical form by the first collectors of it, acting under the auspices of the successive rulers of Athens before, during, and after the reign of Pisistratus.

Nevertheless, before the 'Homeric question' can be properly treated, room will have to be found somewhere for discussing this view, and discussing it thoroughly. If it has not sufficient evidence to justify a positive affirmation, it has at any rate all the evidence that there is. As to how, and at what points, the *Cycle* should be divided, what were the proper titles of the constituent parts, and to what authors these parts, when detached, should be respectively assigned; on these points there was, among the scholars of antiquity, a great diversity of opinion. The criticisms, which have been made by modern scholars upon the account of the *Cycle* in Proclus, prove at any rate this: see pp. 44 foll. of Professor Murray's book. Indeed it is certain that the very notion of providing the various parts of it with named authors was of late origin and the product of erudite or quasi-erudite criticism. There is no proof that in the fifth

century the names of Stasinus, Hagias, Lesches, and the rest were so much as known, much less known as authors of the *Cycle* or any portion of it. To Herodotus 'the *Cypria*' and 'the *Epigoni*' were already 'not Homer', but he was content, so far as appears, to leave them anonymous; and anonymous, as is well shown by Wilamowitz in his *Homerische Untersuchungen*, they continued to be reckoned by prudent scholars, notwithstanding the fluctuating, and, so far as we know, quite arbitrary attribution of them to sundry personages, not reasonably suspected of being themselves fictitious. But what every ancient author, from Herodotus downwards, agrees in and assumes is this, that all parts of the *Cycle*, by whomsoever composed, descended from the primitive ages of Greek literature, that all of them originated in times which we should now call pre-historic, or at least pre-bibliographic. Nor, so far as I am aware, is it anywhere alleged by an ancient writer that the parts of the *Cycle*, to the knowledge of any one, had ever within historic times been seen in any other than their 'cyclic' form. When Herodotus wishes to show that the *Cypria* is not by the author of the *Iliad*, he has to fall back upon a discrepancy of detail and allusion far more minute and less important than many which, as a matter of fact, may be found within the *Iliad* itself, a discrepancy such as might be paralleled in almost any large piece of literature, however uniform and carefully composed. It is evident, therefore, that the *Cypria* of the fifth century, like the *Cypria* of Proclus, was related to the *Iliad* closely and, in fact, not otherwise than as one chapter in a novel to another; the *Cypria* was already perfectly 'cyclic', and in this section at any rate the supposed Alexandrian compilers (whose operations, be it remembered, are absolutely hypothetical and untestified), had nothing to do. And already in the fifth century, as in post-Alexandrian times, the 'Theban cycle', or rather the Theban part of the *Cycle*, which in many particulars was connected with the Trojan part of it, agreed closely with it in these particulars, so that the one led naturally and historically as it were, to the other. Nothing less than this can be inferred from the admission of Herodotus, that the *Epigoni* is perhaps by Homer, when we see upon how small a pretext he can be positive that the *Cypria* is not. Further, the very fact that Herodotus thinks it worth while to discuss the 'Homeric' authorship of these supposed works, although it is by no means his habit

to investigate such questions, suggests that there was some strong *prima facie* ground for the opinion which he rejects, the opinion that *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Cypria*, and *Epigoni* had all one and the same origin. It has even been observed with truth, and must not be forgotten, that the titles '*Cypria*' and '*Epigoni*,' as used by Herodotus, prove nothing as to the actual independent existence of poems so called, any more than the similar use of 'the Feet-washing,' or 'the Exploits of Diomedes' proves that these parts of the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* had an independent existence. All alike would appear to have been in origin mere distinctions for reference between different parts of the epic history. In short, Herodotus speaks exactly as he would do, if the *Cycle*, exactly such as it is described or assumed by the scholars of Alexandria and of the decadence, existed already in his time, and was then vulgarly regarded as 'the poetry of Homer.'

And this, whether true or not, the learned of the decadence undoubtedly believed. Athenaeus believed it, as Professor Murray says, by 'an odd mistake.' When he tells us that Sophocles 'enjoyed the epic cycle', and made many plays out of it, he perhaps ought to have meant and said that Sophocles used many legends which were worked up into an epic compilation made some centuries after his death; but he did plainly and admittedly mean that Sophocles read with pleasure *The Cycle*, which he himself had also read or at least read about. Suidas also, or his authorities, fell oddly into the same error, in saying that 'the ancients (οἱ ἀρχαῖοι) attributed the cycle to Homer'. The date of these 'ancients' cannot, from the nature of the case, be any other than the sixth century. In the fifth century and later it notoriously was not the serious opinion of any one worth quoting that the *Cycle* as a whole was by Homer; and as to what was believed, on matters of literary authorship, earlier than the sixth century, we cannot in fairness and reason suppose that Suidas imagined himself to possess information.

Still more strangely, Aristotle too, if he did not know the *Cycle* by name, if he did not know it as 'the poetry of Homer' (and of course he did not, if until long after his time its component parts had not been brought together and adjusted to one another) used by pure accident language, which could not be better fitted than it is, to lead us into the error of Athenaeus. That 'the poetry of Homer is a circle' (ἡ

‘Ομήρου ποιήσις κύκλος), and that ‘the Epics are a circle’ (τὰ ἔπη κύκλος), are propositions which, in well-known passages, he uses as premisses of a certain syllogism, happily invented to illustrate a particular kind of fallacy. With all possible respect for the authority of Mr. D. B. Monro, it is surely rather hard to believe, that the agreement of this language with the opinion of Athenaeus and others about the date and origin of what they call the Ἐπικὸς Κύκλος is a pure coincidence, that Aristotle does not refer to *The Cycle* at all, but to a small and insignificant set of verses, which had the ‘circular’ quality of admitting any change of order without injury to the sense. It is urged as an argument for this, that Aristotle could not have spoken of *The Cycle* as identical with ‘the poetry of Homer’, because in his opinion the genuine poetry of Homer comprised almost nothing beyond the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But why should this opinion of Aristotle restrain him from citing phrases, which are equally good, for the purpose to which he applies them, whether they are true or false? “The fourth book of Moses is Numbers. Numbers are a multitude. Therefore the fourth book of Moses is a multitude.” Would it be necessary or reasonable to infer, from the appearance of this, as a fallacious syllogism, in a book of logic, anything about the true and critical opinion of the writer upon the origin and authorship of the Hexateuch? All that Aristotle implies—and this, unless we resort to some artificial and recondite explanations, he does imply—is that there was some piece of literature, known to his readers, which in fact did bear or had borne the three names τὰ ἔπη, ἡ Ὀμήρου ποιήσις, and κύκλος. That this piece of literature was not identical with the Ἐπικὸς Κύκλος is possible, but it is surely in the highest degree unlikely.

To the same conclusion point the famous statements of Cicero and Pausanias that ‘Pisistratus’ gave to the ‘works’ or ‘poems of Homer’ the literary shape in which they were preserved and known. In the copious modern discussion of these statements, the first step has almost regularly been to misrepresent and disguise them. Even Grote, a model of scrupulous accuracy, makes Cicero and Pausanias ‘affirm that Pisistratus both collected, and arranged in the existing order, the rhapsodies of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.’ Neither passage so much as mentions the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*; nor can anything be more certain than that,

if the tradition is true, if it descends, as it well may and in that case must, from the commencement of Athenian history about the year 500, it cannot have been limited to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, or have referred to those poems exclusively and in particular. ‘The poems of Homer’ at Athens, in the sixth century and popularly at least for long afterwards, did not mean the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as such; we do not even know that in the sixth century these titles were yet current; the ‘Homer’ of Athens in the sixth century extended certainly far beyond these; and as we have seen, unless positive testimony is to be rejected without any positive ground, we must believe that it extended to *The Circle*.

And why should we not believe this? Is it not altogether probable? At what other time, except the sixth century, could any one have been interested in the work of shaping, out of the varying traditions of reciters, an immense legendary chronicle? In the ages of erudition, in the second century, or the first, such a proceeding would surely have been futile and perverse. By whom in that age was such a compilation to be read, or how should it compete in interest, among the small circle of scholars and poets who had leisure for the subject, against the original poems from which it was framed? But in the sixth century there was a plain motive for bringing the varieties of popular narration into such harmony and union as might be possible. ‘Homer’ was then universally supposed to be history, to represent in some fashion an authentic tradition of real events. If so, to extract the real truth, by making ‘a harmony’, was a task both conceivable and tempting. It was the first and obvious step towards the production of history and of literature.

Lastly, upon this view we can account for one fact about *The Circle*, which upon any other offers no little difficulty. We can see why it was so called. Neither its extent, nor its internal structure, so far as I can see, throws any light upon its title. A narrative is not *circular* or a *circle* because it is large, or because it is complete. When a certain historical or quasi-historical compilation had once been called *The Circle*, we can understand how the name, or like names, should have been bestowed upon other summaries; and this is all which has in fact been shown or explained. But why was the name bestowed in the first instance? The circumstances of the sixth century at Athens may answer this question. The

title referred not to the form of the compilation, but to the use which was to be made of it. As to the purposes to which the official Athenian 'Homer' of the sixth and fifth centuries was applied, we have evidence abundant and undisputed. It was framed to be recited solemnly on certain public occasions, and also—a use far more important—to be the staple of a new and literary type of education. It was intended, as we should say, to be read by public authority 'in churches and schools'. It was the course which recitation and reading were to follow and, when it was finished, were presumably to repeat. In short it was *the circle* upon which Athenian study was to revolve.

The supposition, that the unity and consistency of the *Cycle* was due in great part to harmonizing compilers, does not of course exclude, or rather it requires, the belief that in the mass of traditional poetry, out of which the *Cycle* was framed, there was already a community of subjects, personages, incidents, style, and colour. Without this, a harmony would have been impossible; and this, from the circumstances under which the Epic narrative seems to have been first made and circulated, it is not difficult to presume. But that the corpus was actually constructed and formed by individual literary poets, consciously and systematically continuing and completing the work of their predecessors—this appears to me inconceivable. There have been ages, since the foundation of fixed literature, when such a proceeding was possible and took place. But that the seventh or eighth century B.C. was such an age, there is neither proof nor likelihood. And indeed, since the *Cycle*, which was vastly more than a tale of Troy, seems to have included nearly all the poetry of the pre-bibliographic age, excepting the corpus (similar in character and probably in

history) called Hesiod, of which later times had any real cognizance, such a theory practically means, that in that age the whole business of poets was continuation. Doubtless the reciters in general followed closely a common tradition, including, for certain parts of their narratives, many famous and successful variations. But probability confirms authority in the assertion, that the final combination was a process distinct from the first composition, and that it was performed at Athens in the sixth century.

It will be seen that, thus interpreted, the tradition does not give us any direct information respecting the points to which the 'Homeric question' is often too much confined, the origin and composition, that is to say, of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. It is compatible with the tradition to suppose that these parts of *The Circle* were incorporated in it without alteration, and determined the rest. But the foregoing supposition will manifestly affect the spirit and expectation in which we approach the internal evidence of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Much that has already been done in this department may be seen, as it was seen by Seeck, in a new illumination; much, especially in the *Iliad*, remains to be done. Let these conceptions only be applied to the evidence as it is presented, for example, by Grote, Professor Jebb, and Dr. Leaf; and let us see where it leads us, and whether we are thus enabled to make further steps towards the solution of the problem. But this must be for another place and time. We have already run far enough, perhaps too far, from Professor Murray, of whom in conclusion this may be said, that what he writes always represents the real genuine opinion and feeling of at least one competent person. This is not a universal merit; it is not even very common.

A. W. VERRALL.

FARNELL'S CULTS OF THE GREEK STATES.

The Cults of the Greek States, by L. R. FARNELL. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896. Vols. 1 and 2. 32s. net.

MR. FARNELL has essayed a very difficult task. To perform any large enterprise in scholarship to the satisfaction of every one is hardly possible, and probably there is no subject in which it is so entirely impossible

as in the one which he has chosen. The persons who will use the book may be divided into two classes: those who intend to write on Greek mythology, and those who don't. A person who belongs to the first class could be satisfied with only one book, viz., the one he dreams of writing himself, or, if he has already published one, the revised edition thereof. As a rule, the

critics of any book on Greek mythology or religion belong to this class; and, as a rule, they praise the book under review in so far as it carries out their own special theory, and blame it in so far as it differs from their opinions. The present reviewer has, what is, perhaps, not a disadvantage for the task of criticising: he has written his book, and recognised that it was not good enough: then, being forced to choose between two crimes, breaking an engagement and printing a book with which he was dissatisfied, he perceived that the latter was the greater crime, and placed the great pile of manuscript in the seclusion where it has lain nearly twice nine years. Chastened in spirit by his own failure, and having a wholesome fear of the difficulties which he found insuperable, he may perhaps be better qualified to represent the larger but less articulate class of persons, who do not even dream of writing on the subject, and are content to make the best of the existing books, and to find something useful in most of them. From this point of view, it may be confidently said that, so far as its range extends, Mr. Farnell's book is the best in existence; and the collections of authorities, grouped together conveniently at intervals, are wonderfully useful.

The book is arranged according to the names of the great Gods; Cronos, Zeus, Hera, and Athena take up one volume; and Artemis, Hekate, Eileithyia, Aphrodite fill a second. The author intends to complete the enterprise in a third volume; but he will have to reduce his scale of treatment very much, if he is to compress the rest of the great gods into a single volume. The principle of arrangement can hardly be avoided, and yet it is not quite satisfactory. But there cannot at present be any really satisfactory treatment of Greek religion and the mythology that is inseparable from it. Mr. Farnell sees, and sometimes states very plainly, that the name is no index to the character of a god; that the god expresses the religious conception of a tribe or people at some period of its development; that from some reason certain gods were fixed and stereotyped at a particular stage in the social evolution of the people, while in another god a more developed stage is crystallised. By what accident or through what cause is it that you find a Hera both in Samos and in Argos, nominally one personality, really two widely differing conceptions of the divine nature, corresponding to the different character and civilisation of their worshippers? In the ancient con-

ception the divine nature was regarded as the prototype and guarantee of existing human nature, and the Greeks never thought of divine nature as a moral ideal beyond themselves towards which human nature should strive. It is clear that the goddess of one district took form when the tribe knew no true marriage, and that she exemplifies in the holy drama of her divine life the temporary relationships that filled the place of marriage. It is clear that, in another district, a more permanent conception of marriage expressed itself in a different divine idea. It is clear, too, as I think, that among some tribes their conceptions of a god or a goddess developed in such a way as to cause a development of the ritual; but that everywhere this development of the divine conception and of the ritual was arrested, sometimes at an earlier stage than in others. With much of what has just been stated, Mr. Farnell would, I imagine, agree more or less completely. But is it possible to arrange a systematic and complete account of the religion of the Greek states according to those ideas? Mr. Farnell thinks not, or he would doubtless have tried it. I agree with Mr. Farnell, for I spent great part of the years 1880 to 1882 in the attempt, and abandoned it in despair. There are too many cross-currents of influence; there is too much room for subjective impression, too little certainty as to details; and, above all, our authorities are too tantalisingly fragmentary and inadequate.

In using the book one feels, sometimes, that too much attention is given to theories which Mr. Farnell rejects, and too much space devoted to his reasons for rejecting them. But, considering that the work is addressed to the entire body of persons interested in Greek mythology and religion, and that almost all books which treat systematically and in detail about that vast subject are dominated and guided by views which he rejects, one cannot fairly blame him for this method of unfolding his own views. A different method would be appropriate, if Mr. Farnell were setting forth a definite theory, and showing how many facts of Greek religion are illuminated and made intelligible thereby; but, when his object is to discuss the entire complicated body of phenomena connected with the names of all the chief Greek deities—phenomena which cannot be all explained from one point of view or on one theory of origin—I do not see how he could avoid constant references to the views of such

writers as Preller, Roscher, etc. Theirs are the books that we always have had to turn to for a conspectus of the facts; and there is hardly a page in them that is not coloured and made misleading to the unwary reader by their theories. Perhaps some writers, more insignificant, but not more extreme or extravagant than Roscher, might have been with advantage left unnoticed.

But many critics who are ready to blame the polemical form of setting forth one's own views by stating one's reasons for not accepting those of one's predecessor, would be equally ready to say, 'the author has apparently not observed the presentation of a contradictory view by the learned —', if Mr. Farnell had not explicitly shown why he dissented from that learned gentleman. Moreover, where a subject is in the stage of growth, and has not yet arrived at the fully developed stage in which an accepted body of principles can be laid down as a foundation, polemic is unavoidable, for it is in many cases the best, and in some cases the inevitable method of placing one's own view before the reader.

A very large book like this, which has been written amid the pressure of college work, lecturing and administrative, and has not been a part of the author's regular duties, but rather a relaxation from them, has necessarily taken a long time in composition; traces of development in the writer's views and method might be found; and perhaps that is the reason why some principles, with which one strongly sympathises, are used in one case, and not in another. But it is equally probable that, in Mr. Farnell's opinion, a certain principle which explained the recorded facts in one

case, was inadequate to do so in the other, or that in one case there was sufficient evidence to establish it, while in another the evidence was so vague and so various that the principle of interpretation was not sufficient to explain the whole of them; and he might declare that there is no single key to all mythology. Personally, I confess that I should be inclined to apply much more freely principles which he sometimes uses very effectively.

There is, however, too much tendency among reviewers to yield to the temptation of picking out from a voluminous work like this points on which one differs from the writer, and concentrating attention on them. The readers of the *Classical Review* wish to learn what they will find in Mr. Farnell's work, and whether it is usefully and suggestively set forth. From that point of view the reviewer's duty is thoroughly pleasant. The reader will find a very complete statement of the facts, and judicious and admirable criticism of the theories, prominent and sometimes even obscure, concerning the deities mentioned; he will meet with many things said clearly and well, with some things better said than they have been said in any other place; and he will find a long and well-chosen series of illustrations, containing all the most important artistic embodiment of the religious conceptions. The monuments are discussed with great care and skill; and often the reader feels that the part of his work which Mr. Farnell has performed with most love and most enjoyment has been the exposition of the developed Hellenic ideal, as set forth in the best art of Greece.

W. M. RAMSAY.

MARCHANT'S THUCYDIDES, BOOK VI.

Thucydides, Book VI. Edited by E. C. MARCHANT, M.A., Trinity College, Oxford, Assistant Master in St. Paul's School, Fellow and late Assistant-tutor of Peterhouse, Cambridge, late Professor of Greek and Ancient History in Queen's College, London. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd. pp. liv. 299.) 3s. 6d.

Mr. MARCHANT's close attention to matters of grammar and exegesis, his knowledge of Athenian affairs and of the political situation in B.C. 415, and his acquaintance with the

topography of Syracuse and its environs render his 'Thucydides Book vi.' a valuable addition to Messrs. Macmillan's list of school class books. Indeed his familiarity with the labours of preceding commentators, his knowledge of MSS. and his genuine critical ability entitle this work to higher recognition than is claimed for it in the catalogue, and mark it as one in which scholars of every rank may take a respectful interest.

The editor has included in this edition a new collation of M, the eleventh century codex Britannus, and has in two places

altered the text in accordance with readings found in M only, and hitherto unrecorded. Thus, c. 78, 4 he points ἀπερ<ἀν>εἰ...δεόμενοι ἂν ἐπεκαλείσθαι, the inserted particle giving the sentence unmistakably a more Thucydidean ring; and c. 86, 5 δεόμενοι μὴ προδιδόναι, νομίσαι δὲ (instead of νομίσαι τε) is another distinct improvement.

The troublesome καὶ of all MSS. c. 64, 1 (βουλόμενοι στρατόπεδον καταλαμβάνειν ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖν καθ' ἡσυχίαν, εἰδότες οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως δυνήθοντες, καὶ εἰ...ἐκβιβάζουσι) is explained by the editor as an error arising from lipography. Others bracket the καὶ as unintelligible: he finds it to be a remnant of ICA<ΘICA>I of which four letters were lost by a slip. This seems natural when one reflects that in uncials καί=ἴσαι. Emending, therefore, to καθίσαι (sc. τὸ στράτευμα) he compares c. 66, 1 καθ' ἡσυχίαν καθίσαν τὸ στράτευμα. This emendation appears to be as sound as it is ingenious. We might go on to multiply instances illustrating the merits of Mr. Marchant's present work, but it would be superfluous. We turn therefore to cases in which he seems to have been less fortunate.

Reference is made pp. lii., and 203, to a 'map' or 'plan' of Syracuse, which is not included in the work or even mentioned in the table of contents. The absence of such a map constitutes a serious defect. We have noticed some printer's errors: 'scholium' (p. 192), used of the famous poem of Callistratus; ξυνήκησοντες (p. 202) for ξυνουκίσοντες; ξυντάξη (p. 239) for ξυντάξη. Perhaps it is by such an error also that εἰσηγητέον appears in the note (p. 237) while ἐσηγητέον (the form of the preposition which Mr. Marchant prefers for Thucydides) is printed in the text. So προχωρῇ (p. 155) refers to προσχωρῇ in the text. In note p. 223 the word οὕτως is explained by οἰκούντες τοὺς...ὄντας, though in the preceding note and in Introd. p. xxxvii, the participle ὄντων just before is declared by the editor to be neuter. But there is a further question—indeed there are several questions—involved here which will require discussion later on.

On c. 8, 3 (ἐκκλησία αὖθις ἐγίγνετο, καθ' ὅτι χρή τὴν παρασκευὴν ταῖς ναυσὶ τάχιστα γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, εἰ τοῦ προσδέοντο, ψηφισθῆναι ἐς τὸν ἐκπλοῦν) our editor says 'the dative στρατηγοῖς depends directly on ἐκκλησία ἐγίγνετο.' Of course it might do so in another context, such as that which he quotes from Andocides, but here τοῖς στρατηγοῖς...ψηφισθῆναι corresponds to ταῖς ναυσὶ...γίγνεσθαι, whence it seems much more natural to take the preceding words together. The sense, too,

is in favour of doing so. Of the two declared objects of the ἐκκλησία, one was 'to vote, at the suggestion of the στρατηγοί, such additional supplies as the latter might require.' Nicias (c. 19, 2) thought he might divert the people from the expedition παρασκευῆς πλήθει, εἰ πολλὴν ἐπιτάξει, and (c. 25, 1) 'a certain person coming forward bade him λέγειν ἦντινα αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν Ἀθηναῖοι ψηφίσονται.' In the face of this, we cannot doubt that τοῖς στρατηγοῖς is dative after ψηφισθῆναι. But to pass on. The editor further says (with Hude) 'it is absurd to make ψηφισθῆναι depend on χρή,' and it really depends 'on ἐκκλησία ἐγίγνετο, constructed like ἔδοξε,' though a few lines above in the same note we read 'the infinitive ψηφισθῆναι, subject εἰ τοῦ προσδέοντο, is added as an epexegesis.' All this seems to us very awkward; nor can we perceive the absurdity of making καθ' ὅτι χρή go with both members of the sentence. Previous public resolutions had narrowed the scope of debate for this assembly to two points, or 'terms of reference,' which are the subjects of the two clauses respectively—ἐκκλησία ἐγίγνετο καθ' ὅτι χρή...γίγνεσθαι καὶ [καθ' ὅτι χρή]...ψηφισθῆναι. The people were to discuss and determine, *how* the παρασκευή should be most quickly completed, and *how* any additional supplies demanded by the στρατηγοί should be voted for the expedition. The absurdity found by the editor in this construction of καθ' ὅτι χρή...ψηφισθῆναι is chiefly owing to his not connecting the infinitive with τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. It might well be a question for debate how the additional supplies, as demanded by the στρατηγοί, should be voted. Nicias, at all events, did not anticipate that what he asked for would be granted without a division. The question is not, as the editor strangely puts it, 'how they should vote,' but 'how certain supplies should be voted.'

c. 14. καὶ σὺ, Διπρύτανι, ...ἐπιψήφίζε...νομίσας, εἰ ὀρρωδεῖς τὸ ἀναψηφίσαι, τὸ μὲν λύει τοὺς νόμους μὴ μετὰ τὸσὺνδ' ἂν μαρτύρων αἰτίαν σχεῖν, τῆς δὲ πόλεως βουλευσαμένης ἱατρὸς ἂν γενέσθαι. Mr. Marchant renders 'that illegal action would not be blamed where there are so many witnesses to its innocence,' thus (with Poppo-Stahl, and others) taking μὴ with σχεῖν. But it appears to us that μὴ goes with μετὰ, = ἄνευ; cf. c. 86, 3 μὴ μεθ' ἑμῶν = (as Mr. Marchant rightly notes) ἄνευ ἑμῶν. The words μὴ...μαρτύρων might almost have commas before and after them. Nicias argues that—the legal irregularity of putting the same question to a second vote would involve formidable responsibility if not done in the presence of so many witnesses; but when

done in the publicity of the ἐκκλησία and in such a crisis of the national counsels, the man who took this bold step would [not be blamed, but would] be the saviour of his country.' The contrast is not between τὸ λύνειν and τὸ μὴ λύνειν, but between τὸ λύνειν μὴ μετὰ τοσῶνδε μαρτύρων and τὸ λύνειν μετὰ τοσῶνδε, i.e. the whole ἐκκλησία. The connexion μὴ...σχῆν is grammatically possible, the sentence having an imperatival cast, and μὴ having some subtle intrinsic liking for the infinitive; but the sense favours what is, on the whole, the more usual construction after 'verbs of thinking.'

c. 15, 4. καὶ κράτιστα διαθέντι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου. Our editor renders 'though he [Alcibiades] administered the war (in Sicily) excellently.' But Alcibiades did *not* administer the war in Sicily, or any part of it, though he made *dispositions* for it, whether or not these were excellent. Thucydides scarcely thinks they were. Besides, the aorist participle could scarcely yield the sense of 'was administering,' which the above translation comes to. Alcibiades sat in council at Rhegium with Nicias and Lamachus; his proposals having been adopted, he went thence to Messênê, Naxos, and Catana, the last of which accident, not Alcibiades, placed in the hands of the Athenians. He was recalled before active hostilities had begun. We therefore suggest that the editor should strike out the '(in Sicily)' and make διαθέντι refer to the dispositions of affairs formerly brought about by Alcibiades, when he really exhibited rare power as a diplomatist. τὰ τοῦ πολέμου refers to the *former period* of the Peloponnesian War not to the war in Sicily.

c. 31, 4. ξυνέβη δὲ πρὸς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἄμα ἔριν γενέσθαι, ᾧ τις ἕκαστος προσετέχθη, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἐπιδείξειν μᾶλλον εἰκασθῆναι τῆς δυνάμει καὶ ἐξουσίας ἢ ἐπὶ πολεμίου παρασκευῇ. This the editor renders (Introd. p. xxxiii.):—'The result was that among themselves they fell to quarrelling at their posts (as to who was best equipped for the expedition), while to the Greeks at large (through the splendour of the equipment) a display was portrayed of their (internal) power and (external) influence rather than a force equipped against an enemy.' Thus he gives the *construction* more correctly than those do who (like Poppe and Stahl) supply τοῦτον τὸν στόλον as subject of εἰκασθῆναι, and understand εἶναι to follow this. But he fails to do justice to the *balance* of the sentence. Coordinating its clauses, instead of subordinating the former, he misses the general effect. We agree with Jowett that the first clause (in ἔριν

γενέσθαι) merely reproduces, in vivid summary, what has been just before described in detail: the energy of emulation with which the Athenians, individually and in their various naval and military departments, strove to outdo one another in magnificence. Nothing has been hitherto said of *quarrelling*, nor is it again spoken of here. Indeed the introduction of this idea would be discordant with the whole tenour of the passage—Thucydides aims at describing not the *jolly* but the *enthusiasm* of the people. Ἔρις can of course mean rivalry for good as well as for evil: cf. Aesch. *Eumen.* 975, where Athênê says νικᾷ δ' ἀγαθῶν ἔρις ἡμετέρα διὰ παντός. Thus the general sense is:—'While the Athenians in their several offices exhibited this heated rivalry among themselves, the effect produced on the imagination (εἰκασθῆναι) of outsiders was that of a demonstration (ἐπιδείξειν) of the vast wealth and power of Athens as a state, in comparison with the other Hellenic states.' In other words the first clause refers to the (already described) motives or feelings in the minds of the Athenians; the second, to the objective impression—the εἰκὼν ἐπιδείξεως—imprinted on the minds, or imaginations, of observers, depicting the comparative resources of the Athenian nation. By a familiar usage, τε...ἄμα...καὶ seem to coordinate both clauses, but the true *logical*, as distinct from the *grammatical*, subject of συνέβη is given in the second clause. Mr. Marchant, however, says of Jowett's interpretation, with which this is substantially identical, that 'it is all wrong.' His reasons for saying so rest mainly on his own assertions (Introd. p. xxxiv.): (a) that 'ἔρις cannot here mean that there was rivalry among the Athenians'; (b) that Thucydides is not describing 'what the Greeks thought on that day, but what the Athenians were doing'; and (c) that 'the rest of the Greeks were not there to see what the expedition' looked like. With regard to (a) we have already said enough. With regard to (b) and (c) we quote from this very chapter 31, 1 and 6,—οἱ δὲ ξενοὶ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄχλος κατὰ θεῶν ἦκεν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀξιώχρουν καὶ ἄπιστον διάνοιαν; and—καὶ ὁ στόλος...περιβόητος ἐγένετο κ.τ.λ. from which may be seen that there was a *force of foreign opinion present in Athens* highly interested in, and critical of, what was going forward; and also that the report of the expedition had been noised abroad throughout Hellas. In explaining the grammatical construction of the passage, the editor says τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις must be supplied with εἰκασθῆναι: the sense being—τοῖς

'Αθηναίοις πρὸς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔρις ἐγένετο ἅμα καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας ἐπιδείξεις ἡκάσθη. But his translation gives no clue to the explanation of 'this connection of τοῖς Ἀ. with εἰκασθῆναι (or ἡκάσθη); and the more one considers the matter the more impossible it appears to understand how such a dative could be explained if it actually appeared in the text. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔριν γενέσθαι is all right and perfectly intelligible; but τοῖς Ἀ. with εἰκασθῆναι could neither be dative of the agent, nor of the persons to whom the similitude presented itself; and what else remains?

c. 34, 9. ἐν τῶν ἔργων τῇ ἀλκῇ. On this the editor remarks that ἀλκή, which he here renders 'resistance in action,' is found = *robur* in Herodotus and Xenophon, but not elsewhere in prose. The remark is scarcely relevant to the passage here annotated, and is one which in itself challenges criticism. How would he translate ἀλκή in Thuc. I. 80. 3. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους... παρόμοιους ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλκή? Poppo in his note there renders it *robur*; and at least it = 'means of resistance in action,' which comes to the same thing. For the phrase above ἐν τῶν ἔργων τῇ ἀλκῇ—we should prefer 'plucky conduct in the battle-field' as a rendering, but do not wish to find fault with Mr. Marchant's phrase. The word occurs in almost the same sense in Aristotle *Eth. Nic.* iii., vi. 1115b, 4, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἀνδρίζονται ἐν οἷς ἔστιν ἀλκή, i.e. as Prof. Stewart explains, 'men show courage where they can take up arms and defend themselves.' We refer to this in order to correct the extraordinary mistranslation given of it by Liddell and Scott—men show courage 'where death is helpful.'

c. 62, 4. On the difficult ἀπέδοσαν here the editor mentions nearly all the views hitherto propounded, but evidently still dissatisfied remarks: 'if Nicias left Hyccara before it fell, and rejoined the main fleet on its way back to Catana, ἀπέδοσαν may mean—'They delivered the prisoners to Nicias.' But the proper word in this sense would have been παρέδοσαν, which is so used eight lines before, where we read that the Athenians, having captured Hyccara, delivered it over to the Egæstæans' (παρέδοσαν Ἐγεσταίοις).

c. 78, 4. αὐτοὺς δὲ [εἰκὸς ἦν] πρὸς ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον, ἰώτας, ἅπερ ἂν εἰ ἐς τὴν Καμαριναίαν πρῶτον ἀφίκοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δέομενοι ἂν ἐπεκαλεῖσθε, ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου καὶ νῦν παραπελευρομένους ὅπως μὴ δὲν ἐνδύσομεν φαίνεσθαι. The editor translates the spaced words—'you ought to

be openly encouraging us, so that we may not give way.' This is, to say the most for it, a very weak way of representing the imperative 'ὅπως μὴ ἐνδύσεται' attributed to the Camarinaeans in the hypothetical case referred to, and here adopted by the speaker with the needful change of person. In such a case the Camarinaeans would have come to the people of Syracuse and said 'do not yield—do not flinch.' Ὅπως here does not mean 'so that,' but prefaces the strongest form of Greek imperative. Indeed, Mr. Marchant in his note on the next page (218), appears aware of this, but his translation (p. 217) should have been accommodated to it more nearly.

c. 82, 3. αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ πρότερον ὄντων ἡγέμενες καταστάντες οἰκοῦμεν, νομίσαντες ἡκιστ' ἂν ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίοις οὕτως εἶναι. The editor (Introd. p. xxxvii.) argues that ὄντων here is neuter, and adopts this view in his note, p. 223. He translates accordingly:—'we being established as leaders of the cities that were formerly under the Great King's power ourselves control them,' adding 'τῶν... ὄντων is neut., not masc.; οἰκοῦμεν = διοικοῦμεν, as in tragedy often, and is trans., sc. αὐτὰ, i.e. τὰ... πρότερον ὄντα'; and concluding his argument (for ὄντων neut.) 'in the present passage the use of οἰκοῦμεν shows that the neuter is intended.' But the use of οἰκοῦμεν = διοικοῦμεν here is itself matter of question, and cannot prove anything as to the gender of ὄντων. Before we discuss whether οἰκοῦμεν here = διοικοῦμεν, and whether ὄντων is really neuter (as the editor wishes to regard it) we must observe that on the same page 223, in the very next note, οὕτως in the above sentence is explained by i.e. οἰκοῦντες τοὺς... ὄντας. If οἰκοῦντες can thus govern the masculine in the note, why should not οἰκοῦμεν govern the masculine in the text (contrary to what we have quoted above, 'The use of οἰκοῦμεν shows etc.')? Some change of view through which the editor's mind passed seems to have left its awkward impress here. This note on οὕτως is doubly unfortunate (a) from its inconsistency with the preceding note and the Introd. and (b) from its making οἰκοῦντες thus govern the accusative of the person. For Mr. Marchant is quite right when he says, or implies, that οἰκεῖν (and we may add διοικεῖν) can only be used of administering affairs, not of controlling persons. οἰκοῦντες τοὺς... ὄντας is bad Greek, not only on this account, but also because the verb οἰκεῖν when transitive (and also διοικεῖν) always (as far as we know) refers to the administration of domestic or internal affairs: to the management of a

household, or the direction of the policy of a state regarded as analogous to a household. *οικεῖν* (*διοικεῖν*) never strays so far from its origin (*οἶκος*) as to be used of the control of foreign states, or to describe the control by the Athenians of the *quondam* dependencies of Persia. *οικεῖν τᾶνδον* is right: *οικεῖν τὰ ἔξω ἑκτός* or *τὰ* is wrong. We feel it necessary to emphasize the point because the editor (in his note on *οικοῦμεν* here) neglects it, and says:—‘It is much more likely the verb is transitive *sc.* τὰ ὑπὸ β. πρότερον ὄντα = ‘manage their (external) affairs,’ as though he said *οικοῦμεν τὰ τῶν ἐνυμμάχων*, the word being used here metaphorically, like *ταμιεύεσθαι* and *ταμίας* (cc. 18, 3; 78, 2).’ Let our readers consult the passages to which Mr. Marchant refers, and they will find that the *ταμιεύεσθαι* and *ταμίας* are not ‘like’ *οικοῦμεν* here in any respect bearing on the point before us. If, indeed, Mr. Marchant can produce, from a classical author, the phrase *οικεῖν τὰ τῶν ἐνυμμάχων*, or one exactly analogous, we are ready to concede all he contends for. At present we consider that *οικεῖν τὰ τῶν ἐνυμμάχων* is very questionable Greek; although we say this subject to correction by any who may know better. But *if* we are right, Mr. Marchant’s argument for making *οικοῦμεν* transitive here, governing *αὐτὰ*, (*sc.* τὰ ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ πρότερον ὄντα), at once falls to the ground; nor need we be surprised at this, *οικεῖν* not being elsewhere used by Thucydides for *διοικεῖν*. Accordingly, as regards the gender of *όντων*, we must revert to the old view which makes it masculine, as indeed *ἡγέμονες* would seem to require. We may add a reference to Thuc. ii. 37, 1 *ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ’ ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται*, where *οἰκεῖν* is used very much as it is here of ‘the state regulating its policy,’ the verb containing its own object in a way difficult to reproduce in an English version. L. and S. wrongly render *οικεῖν* by ‘manage,’ in Aristoph. *Ran.* 105:

Heracl. ἡ μὴν κόβала γ’ ἐστίν, ὥς καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ.
Dio. μὴ τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκεν νοῦν· ἔχεις γὰρ οἰκίαν.

where Héraclès had presumed to utter what he conceived to be the opinions of Dionysus, and the latter, wishing to keep his thoughts as free from intrusion as his house, replies—‘dwell not in *my* mind, for thou hast a house;’ or without metaphor: ‘my opinion is not to be appropriated or expressed by you: express your own if you choose; mine is private to myself.’ There is no suggestion of an attempt by Héraclès to *manage* the mind of

Dionysus, and this translation of *οἶκε* would be fatal to any pretension to wit which the passage may contain.

c. 91, 4, ὥς ἂν...ἐνυμμάχῃ. The editor’s remark is:—‘ὥς ἂν only here in Thuc.... The construction is poetical, ὅς with fut. indic. being the ordinary prose form of expression.’ True enough, except for the words ‘only here in Thucydides.’ In i. 33, 1 we find in Shilleto’s text *ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κινδυνέοντας δεξιόμενοι ὥς ἂν μάλιστα ...καταβῇσθε*. In the face of this Mr. Marchant’s remark ‘only here’ is too absolute. Shilleto says:—‘κατάβῃσθε vel καταβῇσθε omn. ut vid. codd.’ and refers to the ὥς ἂν of our passage as parallel. Even if our editor is convinced that in i. 33, 1 we should read *καταβῇσθε*, or *καταβείσθε*, and on this account ignores the instance, still, with the facts as Shilleto states them, we regard his above assertion as too absolute, when made in this curt and unqualified fashion.

c. 96, 2. ἐξήρηται γὰρ τὸ ἄλλο χωρίον, καὶ μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἐπικλινές τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐπιφανές πᾶν ἔσω. The editor says ‘μέχρι τῆς πόλεως and ἔσω are the opposites one of the other; for ἔσω=landwards from the city.’ The scholiast’s note is *καταφανές ἔσωθεν*, and other editors beside Mr. Marchant follow this. Yet how can ἔσω=ἔσωθεν? The line of vision—the point of view—appears to us to be quite the same in both clauses. The thought in the writer’s mind was, that if anyone approached the city from Epipolae, as the ground sloped downwards, he would be full in view city-wards, i.e. would project the appearance of himself inwards, i.e. towards, or into, the city. The usage of *ἐπιφανῆναι*, often followed by *ἐς* or *ἐπὶ* with the name of the person or place to which one ‘presents an appearance,’ will be found to confirm this. Hence, however unaccommodating our English idiom may be, there is no need to have recourse to the desperate view that ἔσω here =ἔσωθεν. Of course the person descending would, as a matter of fact be in view *ἔσωθεν* from the *Syracusan* standpoint; but Thucydides is here speaking from the standpoint of the Athenians, whose hope of attacking Syracuse covertly from Epipolae was precluded by the nature of the ground.

In some of his translations the editor sacrifices elegance, and indeed perspicuity, to a demon of accuracy which ill rewards his devotion. For example the outburst of Alcibiades c. 92, 4 *τό τε φιλόπολι οὐκ ἐν ᾧ ἀδικοῦμαι ἔχω, ἀλλ’ ἐν ᾧ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπολιτεύθην*, is thus rendered:—‘Love of country consists for me not in suffering injustice, as I am now

doing, but in the feeling that I once lived securely as a citizen.' The question is not whether the italicised words represent the sense of the Greek, so much as, whether they represent any sense whatever. Alcibiades could hardly have been supposed to hold that his love of country 'consisted in suffering injustice.' He here regards (or pretends to regard) himself as a true patriot still, though now virtually in arms against his native land. He argues by 'division of the records of the mind,' separating the present when his country wrongs him from the past when it honoured him. He loves Athens in the

retrospect, as it were. He says:—'Though my patriotism revolts from the injustice of which I am now the victim, it still lives in the memory of the past, when my rights as a citizen were secure.'

We have, in what precedes, noticed almost all the points in this work which seemed to us to deserve unfavourable comment. They are not enough to alter the opinion which we expressed at the beginning, that it is a valuable addition to the series of classical school books in which it appears.

JOHN I. BEARE.

HADLEY'S EDITION OF THE *ALCESTIS*.

The Alcestis of Euripides. Edited with Introduction and Notes by W. S. HADLEY, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press. 1896. [Pitt Press Series.] 2s. 6d.

THIS compact little volume is intended for the use of beginners in the study of the Greek tragedy. Hence it addresses itself to a less advanced class of students than does the edition of Prof. Earle reviewed some time since in these columns. Mr. Hadley's brief introduction is well adapted to give the young scholar a just idea of the surroundings amid which a Greek tragedy was performed. We note, however, that he maintains a very cautious attitude as to the much vexed stage-question; although at the present time, when the victory seems so clearly to belong to the 'no-stage party,' he might, perhaps, have been safe in taking more decided ground. It is noteworthy, also, that while doing full justice to the brilliancy and acuteness of Dr. Verrall's recent book on Euripides, Mr. Hadley temperately but decidedly rejects the new theory of the '*Alcestis*' therein propounded. The same note of conservatism is perceptible in Mr. Hadley's treatment of the text. The departures from the reading of the MSS. are much less numerous than they are, for example, in Prof. Earle's edition. The explanatory notes are, for the most part, clear and concise, and are well adapted to their purpose; but I have noted a few statements that seem to require correction or modification. At v. 321 the old explanation that ἐς τρίτην refers to 'the days of grace allowed

to a debtor' is revived. But what real evidence is there that the custom of allowing a three-day extension of time for the payment of a debt ever existed at Athens? In the note on βαρβίτον (v. 345) there is a good deal of information about the lyre and cithara, but very little as to the nature of the βάριτος.

The explanation of the difficult construction κατὰλθον ἄν in v. 360 is much too brief. *Alcestis* is not yet dead, and the speaker is addressing her. The Greeks, having no distinct form of expression for the conclusion of a contrary-to-fact condition in future time, were obliged to use the aorist with ἄν in this way; whether by a kind of 'mental prolepsis,' as Mr. Hadley seems inclined to think, or not is not so certain. What is the time of παρῆν in v. 357? See for other instances Goodwin *M. and T.* 414, and add to the list there given Euripides *I. A.* 1211. In the note on 608 it should have been pointed out that πυράν does not necessarily imply the burning of the corpse. A grave might possess a πυρά even though the body of the deceased was buried. Thus in the Mycenaean graves there are distinct traces of burning although (Dr. Verrall to the contrary notwithstanding) the bodies of the occupants were not cremated. (See Rohde, *Psyche* pp. 31-2.) But these are minor points. The explanatory notes are followed by brief critical notes, which contain some good conjectures. A few conjectures made by the editor have also been introduced into the text. Noticeable are τάν for τ' ἄν in 197; οὔσα for οὔτε in 332 with τό τ' for οὗτ' in 333 (but Wecklein's brilliant εὐπρεπὴς οὕτω for εὐπρεπεστάτη seems

better); κύκλον, and ὄρα with the MSS., in 449 (which may be right, though Καρνείον... μῆνός is then awkwardly placed and ἀειρομένας seems to require an object); πᾶσιν for παισίν in 501 (anticipated by Wecklein); κυρίῳ with α in 1140. The book is, taken all in

all, to be heartily recommended for the use of students beginning the study of the Greek drama.

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CRUSIUS' BABRIUS¹.

FIFTEEN years have elapsed since Dr. Rutherford published his edition of the Babrian Fables, by which, and probably by which alone they are known to most Englishmen. Professor Crusius, whose monograph *de aetate Babrii* is allowed to be the most important attempt yet made to solve the difficult question of the period when Babrius lived, had preceded Rutherford's edition by several years; whence it is evident that among the eminent Germans to whom the task of a new revision might fitly be assigned, he, if any one, had the first claim. It is therefore with great satisfaction that we hail at last the appearance of a work which cannot but revive interest in a poet whose fables, like those of Phaedrus possess an undoubted literary charm. A new and extra circumstance of interest is the accidental discovery in 1881 of some Palmyrene wax-tablets containing fourteen Babrian fables; these were presented by A. D. van Assendelft de Coningh, brother of a Dutch officer into whose possession they first came, to the library of the University of Leiden, and Hesselning has edited them in *J. of Hellenic Studies* xiii. pp. 293-314. A facsimile is given by Crusius at the end of his volume, which will be of some service for showing the shape of the letters, hardly for much more: a defect which is perhaps inseparable from such photographic reproductions, though the facsimile of the Athoan MS. seems tolerably, and is, certainly, comparatively clear.

The Prolegomena contain six chapters, i. on the MSS. of Babrius; ii. on the Paraphrases; iii. on the Excerptors and Imitators; iv. on the Epoch of Babrius, his Rules of Metre and the principles to be observed in emending him; v. on some modern critics of the fables; vi. on the Dactylic and Iambic versions. Those who have read Crusius' masterly dissertation *de aetate Babrii* will, I

think, be a little disappointed not to find it reprinted; but this would have materially increased the bulk of the volume. The most important of the above chapters, next to that on the MSS., is iii., discussing the metrical laws observed by Babrius.

After these six chapters Crusius prints the Testimonia beginning with Pseudo-Dositheus A.D. 207, then *seriatim* Emperor Julian, Libanius, Aphthonius, Themistius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Ausonius, Avianus, Suidas. The evidence of Avianus is particularly important, from its circumstantiality: *quas (fabulas) Graecis iambis Babrius repetens in duo volumina coartavit*, the most explicit statement which antiquity has left us as to the form in which the Babrian fables were issued by their author.

Then comes the actual text of the fables, with a full app. critic. of the reading of the Athoan and other MSS., including, where extant, those of the Assendelft tablets, a new feature of signal value, these tablets having till now only been accessible to a few. Pp. 112-123 contain the fables preserved by the Vatican codex, eleven in all; 124-129, the four *new* fables found in the Assendelft tablets; 130, one fable extant in Pseudo-Dositheus, (paraphrased by Avianus 34); 131, the single specimen preserved by Natalis Comes; what remains after this is merely a series of prose fables from which fragments of Babrian seasons may be certainly or plausibly elicited, or actually occur in Suidas. Pp. 215-221 contain fragments of hexameter or elegiac, 234-244, of iambic fables. On pp. 242 *sqq.* C. Fr. Mueller has edited the iambic tetrastichs of Ignatius the Deacon or others. The work concludes with several indices, the most valuable of which gives a complete conspectus of the words used by Babrius.

From the above analysis, which does not pretend to be minute, it will be seen that the new Babrius may serve as a general introduction to Greek Fable.

xxxvi. 7, λεπτός τε ὢν καὶ βληχρός A.

¹ [Babrii Fabulae Aesopeae. Recognovit Prolegomenis et Indicibus instruxit Otto Crusius. ed. Maior Teubner 1897].

Boissonade corrected τ' ἑών, Fix τις ὄν. The form ἑών is now confirmed by the wax tablets, though this fable is not in them, and is rightly restored by Crus. lix. 12, Crus. with considerable probability edits ὡς ἂν βλέποιο τῷ πέλας τί βουλευοί, the Athous (A) having a m. pr. τὸ, changed later to τόν. lxvi. 6, (Fable of the two wallets) A gives ἰδίον δ' ὅπισθεν ἦτις ἦν πολλὴ μείζων, altered by Fix and Sir G. C. Lewis to ἰδίον δὲ τὴν ὀπισθεν, ἦτις ἦν μείζων. It is a little disappointing to find a change so violent, accepted both by Ruth. and Crus. Possibly we should construct ὀπισθεν ἦτις ἦν together, and for πολλὴ should be written ὅλω: ἰδίον δὲ (γέμονσαν ἐκείνην) ἦτις ἦν ὀπισθεν, ὅλω μείζων (τῆς πρόσω). lxvii, Fable of the lion's share. How tame is Babrius here in comparison with Phaedrus, whose humour is so pre-eminently conspicuous in this fable; as to make the silence of Seneca quite astonishing. lxxii. 21, χῶ νηπίων τ' ἔφθορος ὀρνέων ἱρηξ, corrected by Boissonade ἔφεδρος, cries for a new suggestion. Equally unsatisfactory is ἱππεῖν for ἱππεύειν in lxxvi. 10 σάγην δε νότοις ἔφερον οὐκέθ' ἱπ., but ἱππεύων (Ruth. Gitlb.) cannot be considered right: I believe it is ἱππεύειν, an exegetic infinitive 'for horse-service.' In v. 12 of the same fable σάλπιγξ τ' τέκελεν πᾶσιν ἀσπίδα σμῆχειν, Crusius writes ἔφώνει from the Bodleian Paraphrase: perhaps Babrius wrote ἐκλειζε, cf. iii. 1. Αἶγας ποτ' εἰς ἑπαύλιν αἰπόλος κλείζων. lxxxiv. 3, The gnat and the bull, in which the gnat expresses its fears of weighing too heavily on the bull's horn, A. gives εἰ σου βαρύνω τὸν τενόντα καὶ σαίνω: Crusius edits from Dositheus καὶ κλίνω. This is far removed from σαίνω: ξαίνω 'fret' may be proposed as at least possible. xc. 65, ἄλλους δὲ βασιλεῖς ὑπερέθιζε καὶ ποιεῖ, may not the right word be ἐθέτιζε, 'get ready and set up,' cf. cxviii. 2, καλὴν ἡθέτιζεν; cxvii. 12, contains a bold suggestion of Crus. The Athoan gives οὐκ ἦν ὅμοιον τὸ θῆμα τῷ μαγειρείῳ and τὸ θῆμα is confirmed by the wax tablets, in which this is the fourth fable. Crusius accordingly retains the τὸ and writes θῆμα, comparing εὔρεμα, ἔκθεμα, etc. This point deserves a more full examination as θῆμα is at first startling. c. is in Avianus, of which fact Crusius gives no indication, as also of cxl. xclix. 4, I am not satisfied that the dual τῶκυπτέρω (Rutherford) is impossible. A has τὰ ὠκύπτερα, the Vaticanus τῶκυπτέρωι: both forms find the explanation on Rutherford's hypothesis: and certainly there is nothing *in rerum natura* which forbids two prominent feathers being marked out from the rest and being accordingly

dualized. cii. 7-9, τὰ ζῶα πάντα δ' ὡς ἐπέσχον εὐθύνας | λύκος μὲν ἄρνι, πάρδαλις δ' ἐπ' αἰγάργῳ | ἐλάφῳ δὲ τίγρις, Crusius seems to accept Rutherford's view that ἐπ' is adverbial. Lachmann conj. δέ γ' αἰγάργῳ, and his feeling that ἐπ' cannot here = 'besides,' seems to me well-founded. But retaining ἐπ' I do not see why we should not translate 'with' or 'confronted with,' whether the preposition extends to all the three pairs of opponents or only to the second. cvii. 6, 7, μὺς δὲ δεῖπνον οὐδ' ἄκρων ἐπαψάσται | χειλῶν τ' ἀμέστων. This is the m. pr. of A, corrected to ἀμέστων. If ἀμέστων were a possible compound, which is hardly conceivable, though the verbal look of μεστός might make it less outrageous, the idea would be similar to the Aeschylean ἐλπίς προσήει χεῖλος οὐ πληρουμένῳ, 'a mouse-dinner ought not to touch even the tips of your unfilled lips.' As it is, I should prefer to write ἀνεκτόν; at any rate Eberhard's ἄλις σῶν does not satisfy.

cix. is thus given in A.

Μὴ λοξὰ βαίνειν ἔλεγε καρκίνῳ μήτηρ
ὕγρη τε πέτρῃ πλάγια κῶλα μὴ σύρειν.
δ' δ' εἶπε 'μήτερ ἢ διδάσκαλος, πρώτη
ὀρθὴν ἄπελθε, καὶ βλέπων σε ποίησω.'

This is a fair specimen of the chief difficulty which the Babrian collection presents. If it is compared with the more elaborate and highly-finished specimens, it is so little worthy of the comparison as to suggest the process which Rutherford aptly calls *tetrastichism*, i.e. reduction of a larger original to a total of four verses. In particular the last words καὶ βλέπων σε ποίησω are, so to speak, miserable: meaning, as they do, 'and when I see you, I will do what you ask.' Avianus, too, gives the fable in a much expanded form of twelve lines. We are obliged to fall back on the prose (Greek) paraphrasts. But here again the evidence is of an uncertain kind. The Bodleian, which is nearest to Babrius, follows the four-line version very closely: only in the fourth verse it has σὺ, ἢ διδάσκουσα, ὀρθὰ βάδιζε καὶ βλέπων σε ζηλώσω. There are some to whom the verse thus emended ὀρθὴν βάδιζε καὶ βλέπων σε ζηλώσω, may seem sufficiently Babrian to have come from him: and this is the view of Crusius. I confess to siding with Rutherford against this view; but the Bodleian paraphrast must, I think, have had the Athoan tetrastich, in a slightly different form, before him. On the other hand, the prose version in Halm (*Fabulae Aesopicae* 187) is quite different, and must have come from another redaction. It seems probable

that a tetrastich redaction of the more prominent fables was made very early, and that these, perhaps for brevity or even as a cheaper school book for boys, obtained a large circulation, and were ultimately incorporated with the larger and unabridged fables.

Something still remains to be said about the fables contained in the wax tablets. In correcting them Hesselings's and Crusius' account of the readings in them have both been studied, also Polak's and van Herwerden's later emendation of the first of the series published in *Cl. Rev.* 1894, p. 248.

7. ὑψηλὸν εὐτμητον ἡλίου πλήρη,

perhaps εὐείλητον, well warmed.

13. κάκιστε θηρῶν is, I think, beyond doubt. I had so filled up the lacuna of the tablets κακειστεθ.....συντονψευστηγνονειρονου-μασι...τρος when I first read, several years ago, Hesselings's collation in the *J. of Hellenic Studies*. But what follows is not so clear. Herwerden adds [ἄλλως] after ὄνειρον and writes the whole passage thus:—

κάκιστε θηρῶν [εἶπε φᾶς] σὺ τὸν ψεύστην
ὄνειρον [ἄλλως] ὄμμασιν πατρὸς δείξας

and so Crusius, except that for εἶπε φᾶς he prints εἶπεν ὤς. If ἄλλως (Herw.) is retained, I should prefer κ. θηρῶν [εἶπεν ἦ] σὺ τὸν ψεύστην, ὄν. [ἄλλως]. It is, however, questionable whether so marked a word would have been omitted: my first idea was [εἶπεν ἦ] σὺ [γαρ τοῦτον] (the trochee here has its parallel in v. 6 ἀνδρῶνα) ψ. ὄν. It is, perhaps, more probable that εἶπε followed ὄνειρον, and that between τὸν and ψεύστην [δε τὸν] has fallen out.

κάκιστε θηρῶν, [ἦ] σὺ τόν[δε τὸν] ψεύστην
ὄνειρον, εἶπεν, ὄμμασιν πατρὸς δείξας.

vv. 16 sqq. I would write thus:—

τ[ι] δῆ[τ]᾽ ἐπῆ[ά] (ἐπι the tablets) σοι λόγοισι
κούκ ἔργον
ποιῶ[τ]ι; τοίχῳ δ' []
ἐπέβαλε χεῖρας, [χεῖρας ἐπέβαλε tablets], τὸν
λέοντα τυφλώσων.
τούτῳ σκόλοψ ὑπ' ὄνυχα [σκολωψδε τουτου-

ποδῶνα the tablets, δ marked with a point beneath by Hesselings] καὶ καθ' αἰμώδους
τῆς σαρκὸς εἰσδύς.

The last three words after εἰσδύς cannot be restored with anything like certainty, only σῆψιν (Polak, Herwerden, Crusius) seems to be likely. The tablets give, according to Hesselings, ἡσηνυσθοπιων. In the second fable of the tablets (Crus. 137), Hesselings gives the letters η...παισινδειπνον-αετος δώσειν. Weil, after one of the prose paraphrases, conjectured ἦνεγκε, Crusius ἀπῆγε, Polak ἦξε. A more natural supplement would be ἦμελλε, or as Babrius more probably spelt it ἔμελλε. The word, the tense, and the construction with fut. inf. are frequent in B. as Crusius' index proves.

In fab. 11 Hesselings gives απορρυνουσησιο-δεροςδετοννωτον.

Crusius most cleverly conjectures απορρυνείσης and it appears nearly certain that it is either this or απορρυνούσης. But for δερος I would suggest δέρρεως, a somewhat unfrequent word which might perplex the transcriber of the tablets, and retaining the words in the order given by these, would write

ἀπορρυνούσης δέρρεως δὲ τοῦ νώτου.

In fab. 13 Hesselings (Crusius 123) the last four verses are given thus by the tablets:—

θύσας δὲ ταύτην εὔρε τὴν φύσιν πάσαις
ὁμοίαν
μέγιστον ὄγκον ἐλπίσας τε καὶ σπεύσας
ἀπεστερήθη τοῦ τὰ μικρὰ κερδαίνειν.

The Bodleian paraphrase (112 ed. Knoell) has νομίσας δὲ ἔνδον αὐτῆς ὄγκον χρυσίου εἶναι καὶ θύσας εὔρεν οὖσαν ὁμοίαν τῶν λοιπῶν ὀρνίθων. There is a semblance here of a seazontic original which might suggest

θύσας δὲ ταύτην εὔρε τὴν φύσιν πλήθει
λοιπῶν ὁμοίαν ἐντὸς οὖσαν ὀρνίθων.
μέγιστον ὄλβον (so Crusius) [δ] ἐλπίσας τε καὶ
σπεύσας
ἀπεστερήθη κ.τ.λ.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

THE NEW EDITION OF PAULY'S ENCYCLOPAEDIA.

Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, neue Bearbeitung, herausgegeben von G. WISSOWA (Metzler, Stuttgart. 1895-7). Volume II, 2862 columns (*Apollon* to *Barbaroi*): Volume III, Part i, 1440 columns (*Barbarus* to *Campanus*). 30 Mk. per volume, or 15 Mk. per half-volume.

THE first volume of this important Encyclopaedia of classical learning was noticed in the *Classical Review* in 1895 (ix 113). The high expectations then formed have been amply fulfilled in the successive volumes which have appeared since. The whole work is estimated to consist of twenty half-volumes, so that the recent publication of the fifth half-volume implies the actual completion of a quarter of the work. To give any adequate account of the three half-volumes which have appeared with such perfect punctuality during the last three years would severely tax the efforts of a syndicate of experts. All that need be said here is that, so far as the work has been examined or consulted from time to time, the articles maintain a very high standard of thoroughness and excellence.

In the third half-volume (*Apollon*—*Artemis*) the first and the last article (both by Wernicke) are among the longest and most valuable of those connected with mythology. The same half-volume includes *Ares* (by Sauer) and *Argonauti* in forty-three columns (by Jesson). *Apollonius Rhodius* (by Knaack) fills seven columns, followed by as much as two columns of authorities alone. Among others belonging to the Alexandrine period, *Aristarchus* and *Aristophanes of Byzantium* are very fully treated by Cohn. The article on the comic poet *Aristophanes* occupies twenty columns (by Kaibel), and that on *Aristotle* twice that amount (by Gercke). There is also a very complete article on *Archontes* (von Schoeffer), including a convenient chronological conspectus of all the Athenian Archons now known to us. Among the excellent articles on Greek law by Thalheim may be mentioned one on *Ἀπειος πᾶγος*. Under *Aquae* no less than one hundred places are registered, and under *Arabia* there is a carefully constructed map of the region south of Damascus.

In the fourth half-volume (*Artemisia*—*Barbaroi*) the longer articles include *Asia* and *Asiarches* (Brandis), *Attika* (Milchhöfer

and Judeich), and *Augures* and *Auspicium* (by the editor, Wissowa, now a Professor at Halle). The article on *Bakchylides* (by Crusius), published before the recent recovery of his poems, extends to eight columns, to which additions must presumably be made in some future supplement. The maps and plans in this volume include a large plan of Babylon, ground-plans of the 'Stabian Baths' and the 'Central Baths' at Pompeii, and of the Baths of Diocletian, as well as a map of Attica marking the position of all the known Demes. This map has been wrongly placed in the middle of the article on *Athena*, whereas it ought to accompany the tabulated conspectus of the Demes as distributed over the ten tribes and over the three districts of Attica on p. 2227 f.

In the fifth half-volume, which has just appeared, the longer articles which may be mentioned are those on *Basileus* (von Schoeffer), *Bathykles* (Carl Robert), *Bibliotheken* (Dziatzko), *Bibelübersetzungen* (by Jülicher), *Boiotia* (Oberhummer and Cauer) with due notice of Professor Rhys Roberts' interesting work on the 'Character and Culture of the Ancient Boeotians' (1895), *Bosporus* (Oberhummer and Brandis), and *Bithynia* and *Byzantium* (by several writers). The article last mentioned extends to forty columns, but for 'Byzantine literature,' etc we have to wait for the article on *Constantinople*. The maps in this volume include Byzantium, the Thracian Bosporus, Brundisium, and the parts of Rome near the Forum Boarium. The disproportion in the space assigned to certain subjects is somewhat striking in the case of the articles on *βουλῆ* and 'Beans'; the former subject is comprised in only sixteen columns (by Oehler), the latter spreads over as many as eighteen (by Olek). Only three more columns are assigned to the article on *Britanni*, to which English scholars will turn with special interest; its author is Professor Hübner, who is already well known to them in connexion with his work on the Roman Inscriptions of Britain in vol. vii of the *C.I.L.*

It may here be suggested that it would add greatly to the convenience of those who use the work, if the editor were to make it a rule that *all references extending over more than a line of print* should not be allowed to appear as a parenthesis, but *should be*

reserved to the end of the clause, or treated as a separate sentence. The need of such a rule may be exemplified by the following passage from the article on APPIANUS, p. 229 :—

Die bei A. vorliegende Erzählung lässt sich vom Tode Caesars bis zur Schlacht bei Mutina (26. oder 27. April 43 nach Drumann I 309. Ruete Die Correspondenz Ciceros in den J. 44, und 43, Diss. Strassb. 1883, 81; 21. April nach L. Lange R.A. III 533. Schelle Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Todeskampfes d. röm. Republik, Progr. d. Annenschule Dresden 1891. O. E. Schmidt Der Tag der Schlacht von Mutina, Jahrb. f. Philol. CXLV 321 ff.) genau, bis zum Consulat Caesars (19. Aug. 43) hin und wieder durch Ciceros Correspondenz und die Philippiken, sowie durch die Fragmente des Nikolaos von Damaskos kontrollieren.

The article on *Athens*, promised by C. Wachsmuth, is deferred with a view to taking

proper account of the excavations proceeding on or near the western slope of the Acropolis. It is to be hoped that the main results of the French exploration of Delphi will be published before the article on that subject is due.

With the latter part of the fifth half-volume we bid farewell for a while to Greece, all Greek words being reserved for K. In this exclusively Latin portion of the work, the article on the *Caecilia gens* (sixty columns) includes no less than 139 persons, and that on the *Calpurnia* (forty columns) only one less. Facts like these are enough to indicate the minuteness and fulness of treatment which are characteristic of the new edition of this important work. No scholar's library is complete without it.

J. E. SANDYS.

NOTES ON BACCHYLIDES.

V. 121 f.

[τοὺς δ' ὧ]λεσε μοῖρ' ὀλοὰ
[τλάμονα]ς.

Instead of τλάμονας (Mr. Kenyon's conjecture) Prof. Housman proposes πλεῖνας (*C. R.* xii. p. 70), and this is, I think, right. The lacuna at the bottom of col. 29 does not seem too large for πλεῖνας, considering the usual width of π in this hand. τοὺς δ', however, which Mr. Housman takes to mean 'but others,' is then awkward. Read τῶν δ', 'but more than these' (viz. the two heroes just named in 117 as slain by the boar). Prof. Platt asks (*C. R.* xii. p. 60), 'Does a poet worth his salt say ὧλεσε ὀλόα?' Homer did not shrink from saying Πρόθοος θοός (*Il.* 2. 758), nor Sophocles from αἰδηλον Ἄιδαν (*Ai.* 607): so perhaps Bacchylides may still be allowed ἅλα λιτὸν ἐπέσθειν.

V. 140–142.

καῖε τε δαιδαλέας
ἐκ λάρνακος ὠκύμορον
φιτρὸν ἐγκλαύσασα.

ἀγκλαύσασα (a conjecture of mine, adopted in the *editio princeps*) is the easiest remedy, but I no longer feel much doubt that the original word was one which expressed the notion of 'taking out.' καῖε ... ἐκ λάρνακος ... φιτρὸν, though not impossible, is extremely harsh. Mr. Housman's ἐκλύσασα

(*C. R.* p. 70) is satisfactory in sense; the notion of frantic haste which it conveys is quite in place here. But (a) it is somewhat improbable metrically, since the ῥ answers to a syllable which is long in verses 7, 22, 47, 62, 102, 127, 167, 182; i.e. in all the corresponding places except 87, where the first syllable of τοιοῦτον is *anceps*. And (b) ἐκλύσασα recedes rather far from the MS. ἐγκλαύσασα: unless we assume an intermediate corruption ἐκλύσασα, which (since it would have satisfied the general sense) would not have been very likely to pass into ἐγκλαύσασα. Prof. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1898, p. 130) suggests ἐγλύσασα (ἐκλύσασα) or ἐκκλάσασα, remarking that, though both are dubious, the latter, at least, is certainly admissible. To my mind, ἐκλύσασα is the more attractive of the two: φιτρὸν ἐκ λάρνακος ἐκλύσασα seems quite a possible phrase for poetry,—'released' it from the λάρναξ by undoing the fastenings of the latter: but then there is the palaeographical difficulty noticed above,—of explaining how a fairly lucid reading like this should have generated ἐγκλαύσασα in a MS. as old as *circ.* 50 B.C. As to ΕΚΚΛΑΙCACA, that is palaeographically easy enough, but the drawback is the sense. ἐκκλείειν always means, 'to shut out.' Surely ἐκ λάρνακος ἐκκλάσασα could not mean, 'having unlocked from (taken out of the locked) chest.' This would be, at least, an unexampled use of the verb.

Prof. Tyrrell (*C. R.* p. 81) ingeniously suggests ἐγκλῆσασα (which is nearest of all to ἐγκλαύσασα), in the sense, 'she set to burning the brand which she had (formerly) locked up' (cp. λυεῖ πεδήσας in Soph. *Al.* 676): then, however, we are left with the old difficulty, that ἐκ λάρνακος must go with καὶε φιλτρὸν, and the notion of 'taking out' must be evolved from ἐκ. The problem, I fear, has not yet been solved (unless ἐκλύσασα can be accepted).

V. 195 ff.

πείθομαι εὐμαρέως εὐκλεᾶ κελεύθου γλῶσσαν
οἰακοστρόφον]
πέμπειν Ἰέρωνι.

The genitive κελεύθου in the MS. helped to suggest Mr. Kenyon's conjecture οἰακοστρόφον: he understands, 'I trust to send to Hieron an utterance of fair fame to guide his path.' The difficulty which I feel about this is that I fail to see how the poet's utterance could be described as a guide of Hieron's path. Pindar, no doubt, gives plenty of good advice, though it may be doubted whether even he would have ventured on claiming to 'pilot' Hieron's course. In Bacchylides also we find a gnomic element, but less of direct and definite counsel to the victor; and in this particular ode there is nothing of it, except the indirect admonition to contentment in vv. 50-55. I believe that κελεύθου ought to be κέλευθον, and that the verse may have run somewhat as follows:—

εὐκλεᾶ κέλευθον γλῶσσαν ὁ[λβίῳ φέρων]
πέμπειν Ἰέρωνι.

'(Right willing am I) to bring blest Hieron the tribute of my voice, and to send it on a glorious path.' See Pind. *O.* 9. 41 φέροις δὲ Πρωτογενείας | ἄσται γλῶσσαν, 'bring the tribute of thy utterance' (or 'lend' it) to the town of Protogeneia' (*Opus*). κέλευθον is the path of song (a notion blended here with that of actual transmission from Ceos to Syracuse, see vv. 10 ff. ὕμνον ἀπὸ ζαθέας νάσον κ.τ.λ.): so Pindar fr. 191 (Bergk⁴) Δωρίαν κέλευθον ὕμνων: *N.* 7, 51 ὁδὸν κυρίαν λόγων, etc.; and εὐκλεᾶ, 'glorious,' implies that the song, thus sent forth on its way, gives glory, as in Pind. *N.* 6. 29 ἐπέων... οὔρων | εὐκλεῖα (=εὐκλεᾶ): *O.* 2. 90 εὐκλείας δίστοιν ('glorious shafts of song'). The corruption of κέλευθον into κελεύθου may have arisen from the fact of another accusative (γλῶσσαν) following it.

VI. 1-4.

Λάχων Διὸς μεγίστον
λάχε φέρτατον πόδεσσιν
κῆδος ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ προχοαῖς[ι σεμναῖς]
δι' ὅσσα κ.τ.λ.

An antecedent for ὅσσα is needed: Mr. Housman suggests in v. 3 προχοαῖς [ἀέθλων], the genitive depending on φέρτατον: 'a glory the best of all the prizes on account of which,' etc.; but I should rather prefer here a supplement which did not introduce a second substantive. And if we read προχοαῖς[ι πάντων], the emphasis which belongs to πάντων would serve to make the construction with φέρτατον more evident.

VIII. 10-12.

ὦ Ζεῦ κεραυνεγχές, κα[ὶ ἀμφ']
ἄλθαισιν Ἀλφειοῦ τέλεισσονs
θεοδοτο[υ]ς εὐχάς.

Pindar speaks of θεόδοτα ἔργα, θεόδοτος δύναμις, but it is hard to see how θεόδοτος could be epithet of εὐχή. In v. 12 we should, I think, write θεοδότοις, the s in v. 11 having probably belonged to a dative plur.; e.g., τέλεισσον [αἷτε σὺν τύχαις] θεοδότοις εὐχάς.

IX. 3.

δόξαν, ὦ χρυσαλάκατοι Χάριτες,
πεισίμβροτον δοίητ' ἐπει [no accent in MS.]
Μουσᾶν τε ἰοβλεφάρων θείος προφάτας
εὐτυχος Φλιοῦντά τε καὶ Νεμεαίου
ἱμνεῖν.

If the Μουσᾶν...προφάτας could be Apollo, then we might read (with Mr. Kenyon) εὐτυκον in v. 4, and take the sense to be: 'Grant, ye Graces,—ye and the divine spokesman of the Muses,—persuasive brilliance to my song, that I may sing (ἱμνεῖν as epexeg. inf.) well-built (εὐτυκον) Phlius,' etc. To say that εὐτυχος could not mean 'well-built' is not (I think) correct, whether we do or do not accept Porson's εὐτύκους δόμους (for L's εὐτυχοῦση δόμοις) in Aesch. *Suppl.* 959: εὐτυχος could assuredly have the sense of εὐτυκτος in the Homeric κλισίην εὐτυκτον. But it is quite true that εὐτυχος ordinarily means 'ready,' and this fact confirms the MS. here, which gives the nominative. Everything turns on the meaning of προφάτας in v. 3. Apollo μουσηγέτης is, of course, constantly associated with the Muses (e.g. Plat, *Legg.* 653 c), and represented as 'leading' their song, in the sense of sounding the lyre to which they sing (Paus. 5, 18 § 4,

ᾄδουσαι Μοῦσαι καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐξάρχων τῆς ἑδῆς): but this is a different thing from the function of *προφάτας*. The 'spokesman' of the Muses is the poet; as Pindar calls himself αὐοῖδιμον Πιερίδων προφάταν (fr. 90). Similarly the singing birds are called οἱ τῶν Μουσῶν προφῆται in Plat. *Phaedr.* 262 D. There can be no doubt, then, I think, that the *προφάτας* here is Bacchylides himself, and that *θείος* means 'inspired' (the epic *θείος αἰοιδός*). But, if so, the *τε* after *Μουσῶν* in v. 3 is certainly corrupt, as several critics have seen. Mr. F. W. Thomas defends it, indeed, but at the cost of a very bold and (to my mind) improbable change, reading *Μουσῶν τε ἰοβλεφάρων θ' ὕμνων* (or *ὕμνος*, instead of the MS. *θείος*) *προφάτας*. Mr. Housman is, I think, on the right track in reading (with the *ed. princeps*) *ἔπει*, and holding that *τε* is the corruption of a relative word. He proposes *Μουσῶν τὸ ἰοβλεφάρων*. The practice of Bacchylides as to compounds of *ἴον* allows us either to assume the digamma here (as the reading *τὸ* would do), or to ignore it: *ἰόπλοκον* has *F* in ix. 72, but there is no *F* before *ἰόπλοκοι* in xvii. 37, *ἰοστέφανον* in xiii. 89, or *ἰοστέφانون* in v. 3: just as Pindar has *F* with *ἰόπλοκον* in *O.* 6. 30, but no *F* with *ἰοπλοκάμων* in *P.* 1. 1. Hence we might also read *Μουσῶν ὅτ' ἰοβλεφάρων*, which may have generated the MS. *τε* through being written without elision (*δτε*) by a scribe who assumed *F* in the next word: it also avoids the slightly harsh (though of course legitimate) construction *ἕμνεῖν ἔπος Φλιοῦντα*. Objection has been taken to the sing. *ἔπει*, but groundlessly: Pindar uses it, of a poetical 'utterance,' in *P.* 2. 66 *βουλαὶ δὲ πρεσβύτεραι | ἀκίνδυνον ἔμοι ἔπος σὲ ποτὶ πάντα λόγον | ἔπαινεῖν παρέχοντι*. Two other emendations of the passage should be mentioned. Prof. v. Wilamowitz (*Götting. Anz.* p. 131) reads *ἔπει | Μουσῶν ἑλικοβλεφάρων*, assuming *ἰοβλεφάρων*, as well as *τε*, to be corrupt. Prof. Blass, *ἐπεὶ Μουσῶν γε ἰοβλεφάρων*, where *γε* is surely quite intolerable.

IX. 12 f. *ξανθοδερκῆς . . . δράκων*, 'with flaming eyes': cp. Bacch. fr. 46 (=13 Bergk⁴) *ξανθᾶ φλογί*. Statius seems to have had Bacchylides in mind, when, in describing this same monster, he wrote, *Livida fux oculis* (*Theb.* 5. 508).

IX. 49 ff. *σᾶς γενεᾶς λιπαροζώνων θυγατρῶν, ἃς θεοὶ σὺν τύχαις ὤκισσαν ἀρχαγούς ἀπορρήτων ἀγνιᾶν*.

These are the daughters of the Asopus
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(for it is clear that in v. 39 we must read *ἕκετ' Ἀσωπόν*). The best commentary on this passage is Diodorus 4. 72, where he says that Asopus, 'having made his home in *Phlius*' (ἐν Φλιοῦντι κατοικήσας), married Μετώπη daughter of Ladon [the river of Elis], by whom he had two sons, Pelasgus and Ismenus, and twelve daughters—Coreyra, Salamis, Aegina, Peirene, Cleone, Thebe, Tanagra, Thespia, Asopis, Sinope, Oinia, and Chalcis.

This list well illustrates the poet's statement that the daughters of Asopus had become ἀρχαγοὶ ἀγνιᾶν, while the wide range (from Coreyra to Sinope) adds significance to the verses (40 f.) which refer to the 'world-wide' fame of Asopus. It is especially interesting to observe that Diodorus connects the Asopus, from whom these daughters sprang, with Phlius, not with Boeotia. Bacchylides was touching a legend familiar to the Phliasian victor's fellow-citizens.

X. 25 f. *τετρ[.]νεπει
καμ[.]μον*.

Verse 25 = 53 ὕστερον εὐφροσύνα. Perhaps, then, *τετρ[.]νεπει* | *καμ[.]μον*: cp. Pind. *P.* 9. 121 *ἐπεὶ φύγε λαίψηρόν δρόμον*. [My former suggestion, *τετράκωλον*, was made before *ὑστερον* had been restored in 53, and assumed that a trochee, e.g. *ἄθλον*, might stand there.]

X. 27 f. *δὶς ν[.]ν ἀγκ[.]ἀρυνξαν εὐβού-
λων [Χαρίτων] προφάται*.

Mr. Kenyon's restoration of *Χαρίτων* is manifestly right: *εὐβούλων*, however, is not 'favouring,' but 'judging aright,'—i.e. giving the prize to him who deserves it. The Charites often appear as the givers of victory in the games (Pind. *O.* 2. 50 *Χαρίτες ἄνθεα τεθρίππων . . . ἄγαγον*: *N.* 7. 54 *φέρειν στεφανώματα σὺν ξανθαῖς Χάρισσιν*, etc.). The *προφάται* of the Charites are the judges of the games. Prof. Platt thinks *Χαρίτων* wrong, chiefly because he holds that this must be a logaoedic verse; it is, in fact, a verse composed of a dactyl and a 'second' epitritus, — — — — —, which occurs elsewhere also in connection with logaoedic verses. He coins ἀθλάρχων (a word too large for the gap), when *προφάται* would be the heralds employed by the judges; a change which turns poetry into prose.

X. 45 f.

*τὸ [μ]έλλον
δ' ἀκρίτους τίκτει τελευτὰς
παῖ τῶν βρίσει*.

So we must clearly read (not τελευτάς. παῖ, τύχα βρίσει). πᾶ...βρίσει is explanatory of ἀκρίτους, and serves to define its meaning, which would otherwise remain too vague. The metaphor is from a balance: Arist. *Problem.* 16. 11 (p. 915b 3) ὅταν βρίσῃ ὁ κύκλος ἐπὶ θάτερον μέρος. 'The future is fraught with issues which cannot be judged beforehand, (so as to tell) in what way fortune will incline the scale.'

XI. 77 f.

τείχος δὲ Κύκλωπες κάμον
ἐλθόντες ὑπερφιάλοι κλεινᾷ πόλει.

Prof. Platt, holding that the last syllable of v. 77 must be long, alters κάμον to κάμοντ'. This is, indeed, the only emendation which will yield a long syllable without further changes of a drastic kind; and it is therefore the more important to consider how far it is tenable. It is (in my opinion) one of those changes which, though exceedingly slight in themselves, are seen on a closer examination to be extremely improbable. While ἔκαμον is one of the commonest of words, ἐκατόμην is found only twice in literature earlier than the third century B.C.; viz., (1) in *Il.* 18. 341 τὰς αὐτοὶ κατόμεσθα, (the captives) whom we won by our own toil: and (2) in *Od.* 9. 130 οἷ κε σφιν καὶ νῆσον ἔυκτιμένην ἐκάμοντο, literally, 'who would have acquired for them by toil a well-settled island' (i.e., whose labour would have made their island into a good settlement). Thus, in each of the two classical examples, ἐκατόμην has the proper middle sense (as distinguished from that of the active ἔκαμον), to win or acquire by toil, not simply to fashion by toil: but that middle sense is unsuitable here. In Greek of the post-classical age, no doubt this distinction could be neglected: Apollonius Rhod. 4. 1321 has ὑπέρβια ἔργ' ἐκάμεσθε,—hardly more than ἐκάμετε: and this may be the case with ἐκάμοντο in Ap. Rhod. 2. 718. These are the only two places, in addition to the two Homeric passages, where ἐκατόμην seems to be extant. It appears, then, that, for a text of the fifth century B.C., there is a very strong *prima facie* case in favour of the MS. reading κάμον, and against Prof. Platt's conjecture κάμοντ'. But this is a crucial instance. If the short syllable is admissible in v. 77, then it must be so also in v. 119 (where the MS. has πρόγο-νοι), and in all the similar cases.

XI. 115–122.

σὺν δὲ τύχα
ναίεις Μεταπόντιον, ὃ

χρυσέα δέσπουνα λαῶν.
ἄλσος τέ τοι ἱμερόεν
Κάσαν παρ' εὐνδρον πρόγο-
νοι ἔσσαν ἐμοί, Πριάμοι' ἐπεὶ χρόνῳ
βουλαῖσι θεῶν μακάρων
πέρασαν κ.τ.λ.

I am not yet prepared to say that I regard Palmer's correction, ἔσσαν ἐμοί for ἔσσάμενοι, as certain: but I am not afraid to say (despite the off-hand manner in which some critics have dismissed it) that I regard it as immeasurably better and more probable than any other reading that has yet been proposed, and as deserving of the most careful consideration even from those who, at first sight, may be disposed to reject it. The main points are these. (1) Strabo says of Metapontum (p. 264), Πυλίων δὲ λέγεται κτίσμα τῶν ἐξ' Ἰλίου πλεισάντων μετὰ Νέστορος. (2) Nestor, on the same return-journey from Troy, was said to have founded the ἱερὸν of Ἀθηνᾶ Νεδουσία which existed near the town of Πουάεσσα in Ceos, the island of Bacchylides (Strabo, p. 487). This Ceian ἱερὸν, as may be inferred from the 'continuous maintenance, down to Strabo's time, of the legend as to its origin, indicates the existence in Ceos of families claiming a Pylian or Nestorid ancestry; just as there were Nestoridae in Cos, Nelidae in Miletus, Athens, and other Ionian states. In fact, as Otto Crusius (who strongly supports Palmer's ἔσσαν ἐμοί) says, 'Neleus und Nestor sind die wichtigsten κτίσται der ionischen Inselwelt' (*Philol.* lvii., *N.F.* xi. p. 179). He aptly quotes the Ionian Mimnermus (fr. 9):—

ἡμεῖς δηντε Πύλον Νηληϊῶν ἄστρῳ λιπόντες
ἱμερτὴν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα.

By πρόγονοι ἐμοί Bacchylides would mean, not, of course, merely the ancestors of his own particular family, but the ancestors common to his family and to others in Ceos which claimed a Pylian origin; precisely as Pindar uses ἐμοί in the passage which affords so striking a parallel, *Pyth.* 5. 74 ff, ὅθεν (i.e. from Sparta) γεγενναμένοι | ἵκοντο Θήρανδε φῶτες Αἰγείδαι, | ἐμοὶ πατέρες, οὐ θεῶν ἄτερ. If ancestors of Bacchylides emigrated to Metapontum, 'how,' asks Prof. Housman, 'came he to be born in Ceos?' If the Aegeidae emigrated to Thera, how came Pindar to be born in Boeotia? It ought not to be forgotten that, in the case of Greek lyric poets of this age, who depended much on the favour of the great,—finding many of their best

patrons among the rich and well-born,—in the oligarchic world,—a claim to heroic or eupatrid ancestry was a very useful recommendation. From this point of view, the vaunt (if such it can be called) of Bacchylides, in an epinikian ode, is just as intelligible as the similar vaunt of Pindar. (4) The last point which I shall notice in favour of ἔσσαν ἐμοί is that, in the absence of any defining word, πρόγονοι would be most awkwardly vague: it would have to mean the antestors of the present Metapontines (implied in Μεταπόντιον, v. 116).

Professor v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (*Götting. Anzeig.* p. 132) reads προγόνων ἔσσαμένων as genit. absol.: when ἐστί, I suppose, is to be understood with ἄλσος in 118, since τοι (=σοι) would forbid us to govern it by ναίεις. He does not alter κάμον in 77. He holds (as he has kindly informed me) that in 35 f. the syllables -οι βροτῶν ᾗ, — — —, can answer to -ες κάμον ἔλ, — — —, in 77 f., and to -ον προγόνων (his own reading), also — — —, in 119 f. The apparent choriamb in 77 f. and in 119 f. may be regarded, he thinks, either as ‘a δίμετρον δακτυλικὸν καταλήγον εἰς συλλαβήν, or as anacalasis of the trochaic metre, the so-called epitritus.’ Thus he differs altogether from Prof. Platt, who alters κάμον in 77, and reads πρὸ γου-|νοῖ in 119 f. What πρὸ γου-|νοῖ means, he does not explain, and I fail to understand. Prof. Housman, adopting it, completes the emendation by adding ἔμεν (=εἶναι), instead of Palmer’s ἐμοί, after ἔσσαν. The sense then is, ‘they founded an ἄλσος, so that it should be in front of a γουνός.’ An emulator of Prof. Platt’s vigorous style might be disposed to ask, ‘Did ever any poet out of Bedlam, etc.?’ (*C. R.* xii. p. 62). For my own part, I prefer to say that to describe πρὸ γουνοῖ ἔσσαν ἔμεν as improbable would (in my opinion) be to employ the figure litotes. Before leaving this most interesting passage, I may observe that Prof. v. Wilamowitz’s view of the metre could be reconciled with Palmer’s view of the text by simply reading θέσσαν instead of ἔσσαν. If the θ of θέσσαν had been taken for an intrusive θ’ (τε), ἔσσαν would have come; and, in reference to an ἄλσος, θέσσαν is as fitting a word as ἔσσαν.

XII. 4–7.

ἐς γὰρ ὀλβίαν
ξείνοισί με πότνια Νίκα
νασον Αἰγίνας ἡπάρχει
ἐλθόντα κοσμήσται θεόμητον πόλιν.

In *Anthol.* 9. 189 ἀπάρχειν occurs in the sense of ‘leading a song or dance’ (like

ἐξάρχειν, κατάρχειν): ἔνθα καλὸν στήσεσθε θεῇ χορόν· ὑμῖ δ’ ἀπάρξει|Σαπφώ, χρυσείην χερσὶν ἔχουσα λύρην. But, before ἀπάρχει here could be taken as = ‘leads the way,’ we should require ἐλθόντι in v. 7, with μοι (which metre excludes) in v. 5: for the construction, ‘leads the way, (so that) I should go,’ would be too harsh. ἀπάρχει, then, is clearly wrong. My conjecture, ἀπαιτεῖ, has found favour with some critics, as with Prof. v. Wilamowitz (*Götting. Anz.*, p. 132). But another has since occurred to me which is palaeographically easier, viz. ἀπαίρει, as = ‘causes to set forth,’ ‘leads away’; we might compare, not only such phrases as ἀπαίρειν νῆας in *Her.* 8. 60, but *Eur. Hel.* 1519 τίς δέ νιν ναυκληρία|ἐκ τῆσδ’ ἀπῆρε χθονός; The corruption would then have arisen from the loss of ι, leaving ἀπαίρει, which might easily have suggested ἀπάρ(χ)ει.

XIII. 25–30.

[οὔτω παρ]ὰ βωμὸν ἀριστάρχου Διὸς
[... ..]υδέος ἄν-
[... ..]σιν ᾗ[ν]θεα
[... ..]αν δόξαν πολύφαντον ἐν αἰ-
[... ..]τρέφει παύροισι βροτῶν [so the MS.]
[... ..]ει καὶ ὅταν κ.τ.λ.

In vv. 29 f. Mr. Kenyon prints παύροισι βρο-|τῶν [... ..] καὶ ὅταν θανάτοιο κ.τ.λ. The restoration which (merely *exempli gratia*) I suggested was made on the basis of Mr. Kenyon’s division, and before I was aware that the letters ε| (with a lacuna of one letter before them) had been deciphered in v. 30. It was as follows:—

[τοῖς δὴ παρ]ὰ βωμὸν ἀριστάρχου Διὸς
[νίκας ἐρικ]υδέος ἄν-
[άγον]σιν ἄνθεα
[ἀγλα]ῖαν δόξαν πολύφαντον ἐν αἰ-
[ῶνι] τρέφει παύροισι βρό-
τῶν [Ζεὺς] καὶ ὅταν κ.τ.λ.

I meant: ‘for those who bring up their wreaths of victory to the altar of Zeus,’ i.e. for the victors who come to offer thanks before the altar of Ζεὺς Νεμειῆος,—Zeus nurtures a glory, such as is given to few mortals, so long as they live,’ etc.; and I was led to suggest ἀνάγουσιν by the consideration that παρὰ βωμὸν implied some verb or participle expressing movement. But (1) I now see that παρὰ βωμὸν does not require a direct reference to motion, but may be used as in x. 29 f. (ἀγκάρυξάν νιν) Ζηῆος παρ’ ἀγνὸν

| βωμόν, and xvi. 22 σὸν κελάδησαν παρ' ἀγακλέα ναόν: where motion, though implied, is not directly expressed, and where παρά, though joined with the acc., may be rendered simply 'by.' (2) It is now clear that v. 30 began with [ἀ]εί, so that my [Ζεύς] will not do. (3) It is also clear, from a comparison of vv. 95, 161, and 194, that in v. 29 we must correct the MS. παύροισι βροτῶν to παύροις βροτῶν. Prof. Housman restores thus:—

[τᾶ δὲ παρ]ᾶ βωμόν ἀριστάρχου Διὸς
[νίκας ἐρικ]υδέος ἀν-
[δεθεῖ]σιν ἄνθεα
[ἀγλα]ὰν δόξαν πολύφαντον ἐν αἰ-
[ῶνι] τρέφει παύροις βροτῶν
[αἰεί], καὶ ὅταν κ.τ.λ.

I do not stop now to inquire whether Prof. Housman is right in holding that a short ἄν is impossible at the end of v. 26: that is a principle which involves changes in several other places, and which will certainly require fuller examination before it can be accepted. Apart from that, however, Prof. Housman's ἀνδεθεῖσιν is intrinsically better than my ἀνάγουσιν: and so far I would acquiesce in his restoration (except as regards my own ἀγλαάν, which he thinks probable, but which is open to the objection that after ἄνθεα in v. 27 a word beginning with a vowel, though not unexampled, should scarcely be assumed without necessity: χρυσέαν or the like would avoid this). There is, however, one serious difficulty, which seems to have escaped him. What is now the subject to τρέφει? Not, surely, πόνος supplied from πόνον in 23; nor Ζεὺς from Διὸς in 25; nor ἄνθεα (nomin.) from ἄνθεα (accus.) in 27. It had occurred to me that (keeping the rest of Prof. Housman's restoration) we might in v. 28 read [θεὸς καλ]ὰν: θεός is a monosyllable at the end of a verse in v. 50: and θεῶν is so at the beginning of a verse in v. 95. True, the lacuna at the beginning of v. 28 is estimated at only five letters, and this supplement supposes seven: but Θ, Ε, C are in this hand thin letters, and there seems to be room. (Μοῖρ' ἄβρᾶν, another possibility, would hardly fit in, as M is wide.) Meanwhile, Prof. v. Wilamowitz has proposed another restoration, which also furnishes a subject for τρέφει:—

[ἐκ τοῦ παρ]ᾶ βωμόν ἀριστάρχου Διὸς
[Νίκας φερεκ]υδέος ἀν-
[δίδω]σιν ἄνθεα,
[καὶ κλυτ]ὰν δόξαν πολύφαντον ἐν αἰ-
[ῶνι] τρέφει παύροις βροτῶν
[ἀ]εί, καὶ ὅταν κ.τ.λ.

The only drawback to this (and it is not a great one) is the comparative rarity, in Greek of this age, of the intransitive ἀναδιδόναι (γῇ ἀναδίδωσιν ἄνθη would be the normal phrase). In v. 28, [καὶ καλ]ὰν (instead of κλυτὰν) would bring down the demand on the space to six letters.

XIII. 36 f.

πανθαλέων στεφάνοισιν
[ἀνθέων χ]αίταν ἐρεφθεῖς.

It certainly looks as if Bacchylides meant πανθαλέων to be scanned _ _ _ . The antistrophic verse (48) is ἐν πάντεσσιν ἀέθλοις, and a spondee stands first also in 69, 81, 102, 114, 135, 147, and 168: in v. 15 alone is it possible to obtain a dactyl by writing Περσείδας. On the other hand in xiii. 196 we have πανθαλῆς with an undoubted ᾶ. The compound πανθαλῆς occurs nowhere else: but Pindar P. 9. 72 and Ar. Av. 1062 have εἰθαλῆς (Dor. for εἰθληῆς, from θηλή), 'thriving'; while εἰθαλῆς (θάλλω) is used by Aesch. fr. 300. 5 (Nauck²). We are thus led to the conclusion that, in the same ode, Bacchylides could use both πανθαλῆς and πανθάλῆς.

XIII. 62. δ[έσ]ποινα παῖ ξε[]

The corresponding verses 95, 161 and 194 show that the scansion of the words lost after παῖ was _ _ _ (in v. 29, as has been said above, παύροις βροτῶν must be read). The δέσποινα is Aegina: I propose παῖ ξείνου πατρός, i.e. of the Asopus (cp. xiii. 44 f. ποταμοῦ θυγάτηρ | δινάντος Αἰγίνῃ). But why, it will be asked, is Asopus called ξείνος? Not, surely, simply because he was not of the island Oenone to which his daughter gave the name of Aegina? I can answer that question. We saw (on ix. 49 ff.) that Phlius, not Boeotia, was, as Diodorus shows, the centre from which the genealogical myths connected with Asopus chiefly radiated. Now the Phliasians had a legend that their Asopus was of Phrygian origin, having sprung from the Maeander and passed under the Aegean from Asia Minor to Peloponnesus; from the Maeander, said this legend, the Asopus had received the flute of Marsyas, and wafted it to Phlius. See Paus. 2. 5 § 3 'Ἀσωποῦ τὸ ὕδωρ ἔπηλν καὶ οὐκ ἐγχώριον': cp. id. 2. 7 § 9, and E. Curtius, *Peloponn.* ii. 470 and 581. [Prof. v. Wilamowitz, *Götting. Anz.* p. 133, thinks that the name concealed in ξε—is 'die mir unbekannte Mutter der Aegina': but, according at least to Diod. 4. 72, the mother of Aegina was Μετώπη.]

XIII. 76-83.

- 76 Εκτορα χαλ[κεομίτραν],
 77 ὁππότε Π[ηλείδης]
 78 [. .]ᾱ[. .]τα √ [· √ · √ · √ ·]
 79 ὤρεϊνατ[ο Δαρδανιδᾶν]
 80 τ' ἔλυσεν ᾶ[λκάν].
 81 οὐ πρὶν μὲν [· √ · √ ·]
 82 [Ἰλ]ίου θαητὸν ἄστν
 83 [·]λειπον' κ.τ.λ.

The conditions under which any restoration of this passage must proceed have been modified since Prof. Blass has (as I learn from Mr. Kenyon) effected a combination of frag. 18 (p. 205 ed. Kenyon) with verses 76-81. The ν which stands in the first line of that fragment was the final ν of χαλκεομίτραν. (The identification rests, I understand, not simply on the letters in the fragment, but also on the way in which the scrap of papyrus containing it fits on to the rent, and the traceable continuity of fibres.) The fragment shows that verse 78 ended with the letters which Mr. Kenyon read as AININ, but which Prof. Blass reads as ANIN corrected from HNIN (A written over H), making it pretty certain that the word was μᾶνιν. If so, v. 78 must have spoken of the wrath of Achilles, and there was no change of subject there (as I had surmised) from Achilles to Ajax. Further, verse 81 ended with a word of which the last letter was N. This may have been another epithet of Ἰλίου θαητὸν ἄστν (82), as a plurality of epithets is frequent in Bacchylides; and it seems very probable that, with Prof. Blass, we should read in 83 <οὐ>λείπον.

XIII. 95-99.

- λῆξεν δὲ συν φασισμ[βρότῳ]
 Ἄοι, στόρεσεν δέ τε πό[ντον]
 οὐρία, νότου δ' ἐκόν[τος √ · √ ·]
 ἰστίον ἀρπαλέως ᾶ-
 ελπτον ἐξέικοντο χ[έριτον].

Two preliminary questions arise. (1) In 97 are we to read οὐρία with the first hand, or οὐρία with the corrector? If οὐρία, we might compare 'placidi straverunt aequora venti' (*Aen.* 5. 763): but Boreas, the subject to λῆξεν, is also somewhat the more natural subject to στόρεσεν (cp. δεινὸν ἄγμα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε | στένοντα πόντον,

Ai. 674). The place of δέ as third word, which the dat. οὐρία involves, is no difficulty (cp. *Ai.* 169 μέγαν αἰγυπὶν δ' ὑποδέσαντες). (2) The first hand wrote ΑΡΠΑΛΕΩΤ in 98, and the corrector has made the Τ into C (see the Facsimile, col. 26). Which is right, ἀρπαλέως or ἀρπαλέως τ'? If the corrector had written σ above τ (as Prof. Platt, naturally enough, infers from the *editio princeps*, *C.R.* xii. p. 62), then the presumption in favour of ἀρπαλέως τ' would have been stronger than it actually is. Still, the fact remains that the first hand wrote Τ,—a strange oversight here, if he had only ἀρπαλέως before him, whereas an accidental omission of C is quite conceivable. And there is a small point in favour of ἀρπαλέως τ' which ought not to be missed. In v. 97 everything points to ἐκόντες: if, then, we read ἀρπαλέως without τ', the notion of *willingness* or *joy* would be expressed twice over in the same clause. On the whole, I incline to ἀρπαλέως τ'. Then in 97 we may read οὐρία νότου δ' ἐκόντες ἔξεσαν. The last of these words is due to Mr. F. W. Thomas, who compares *Pind. P.* 1. 91 ἐξίει δ' ὥσπερ κυβερνάτας ἀνὴρ | ἰστίον ἀνεμόεν. As to the short final syllable of ἐκόντες, we find √ there in one of the corresponding verses, 163, μυρίων τ' ἤδη μίτραισιν ἀνθέων, though in the others (31, 64, 130, 196) it is long: I fear, however, that Prof. Platt's κούφισαν (as = 'hoisted'?) will not serve.

XIII. 149-154.

- καὶ μὰν φερεκνδέα ν[ᾶσων]
 Αἰακοῦ τιμᾶ, σὺν εὐ-
 κλείᾳ δὲ φιλοστεφ[άνῳ]
 πόλιν κυβερνᾶ
 εὐνομία τε σάφρων
 [ᾗ]θαλίᾳ τε λέλογχεν κ.τ.λ.

The subject to τιμᾶ in 150 is ἀρετά in v. 147. In 153 the MS. has εὐνομία: εὐνομία is my conjecture, received by Mr. Kenyon. Can εὐνομία be retained without deleting τε? Only in one of two ways. (1) We might take the sense to be, 'she (ἀρετά) governs the city, and (so does) Eunomia,'—when the latter is a second subject to κυβερνᾶ, added by a kind of afterthought. (2) The alternative is even worse (indeed, to my mind, inadmissible): viz. to take the clause beginning with σὺν εὐκλείᾳ as referring to εὐνομία alone, which then becomes the only subject to κυβερνᾶ: we must then read, not ᾗ θαλίᾳ, but either καὶ θαλίᾳ or εὐθαλίᾳ in 154, and suppose hyperbaton of τε, so that the constr. is εὐνομία κυβερνᾶ τε . . . καὶ

θαλίας (or εὐθαλίας τε) λέλογχεν. Prof. Housman evidently saw that neither of these courses could well be adopted, and therefore, wishing to read εὐνομία, proposed to omit τε, and to write σαοσίφρων. But can the unheard-of σαοσίφρων be said to derive adequate probability from σαοσίμβροτος in Hesychius, or σωσιπόλις? Surely the best remedy is to read the dat. εὐνομία. The position of σαόφρων is not then 'intolerable' (as Prof. Housman thinks it), because κυβερνᾷ stands so near; the sense is, 'governs . . . in a wise spirit,' σαόφρων being practically equivalent to an adverb σωφρόνως.

XIII. 187-193.

ἐλπίδι θυμὸν ἰαίν[ει],
τᾷ καὶ ἐγὼ πίσυνος[ς]
φοινικοκραδέμνοι [~ - -
190 ἔμνων τινα τάνδε [~ - ~ - -
φαίνω, ξενίαν τε [φιλά-
γλαον γεραίρω
τὰν ἐμοὶ Λάμπων κ.τ.λ.

In suggesting φοινικοκραδέμνοι Χάρισσιν, I had in view the fact that the *rose* was sacred to the Charites as well as to Aphrodite, and that they were often represented as young maidens decking themselves with flowers (cp. A. S. Murray, *Manual of Mythology*, p. 174). In the compound φοινικοκραδέμνος, the second part would not here refer to κρήδεμνον in the technical sense, but to anything that 'binds the head' (κάρα, δέω), and the epithet would mean 'rose-crowned.' Χάρισσιν would depend on πίσυνος in 127, where τᾷ (sc. ἐλπίδι) = 'in (or 'with') that hope.' The personification implied in the epithet would be against taking τᾷ with πίσυνος and Χάρισσιν as a modal or instrumental dat., as in Pind. I. 3. 8 χρὴ μὲν ἔμνησαι πόλιν, | χρὴ δὲ κωμάζοντ' ἀγαναῖς χαρίτεσσιν βαστάσαι. In 190 I would suggest ἔμνων τινα, τάνδε [τε νίκαν Πυθέα]. We expect another reference to the victor Pytheas, and indeed, the mention of his name, before the epinikion ends; and the son's victory would naturally be associated here with the hospitality which it evoked from his father Lampon.

XIII. 195 f.

τὰν εἴ κ' ἐτύμως ἄρα Κλει[ώ]
πανθαλῆς ἐμαῖς ἐνέστα[ξεν φρεσίν],
τερψιπέυς νῦν [ἄοι]δαί
παντὶ καρύξοντι λαφ.

In the transcript as I first saw it the letters after ἐτύμως were read as ΔΟΑΚΑ, ΔΟ and the second Α being marked doubtful: from these I conjectured ΑΡΑ ΚΛ, i.e. ἄρα ΚΛ[εὐώ], and the ΕΙ was afterwards identified in a small separate fragment. At the same time I restored ἐνέστα[ξεν φρεσίν], a conjecture which (as I afterwards learned from Mr. Kenyon) had been also made by Prof. Blass. As to εἴ κ', I never had any doubt that it ought to be εἴ γ': in some of my MS. notes, dating from last summer, I find εἴ γ' ἐτύμως...ἐνέσταξεν. The presence of καρύξοντι, indeed, makes the impossibility of εἴ κ' patent to any one. In sending my ἄρα Κλειώ and ἐνέσταξεν, etc. to Mr. Kenyon, I probably forgot to change the κ' to γ': my eye certainly overlooked the κ' in reading the proof-sheet, and, so far, I am to blame. But how writes Prof. Housman? 'εἴ κ' ἐνέσταξε, καρύξοντι: such is the amazing solecism proffered by Messrs. Jebb and Blass.' Any reader of this would infer that εἴ κ' was a reading due to Prof. Blass and me, whereas it is the reading of the MS. Another critic would have told his readers this, and would have assumed, in such a matter, either that we had not chosen to touch the MS., or that the omission to alter κ' was a mere oversight. But Prof. Housman speaks of 'an amazing solecism' which we proffer—clearly suggesting that we 'proffer' it as our own conjecture. To say nothing of courtesy, this is a breach of fairness. Prof. v. Wilamowitz, who thinks that εἴ γ' 'restricts too strongly,' suggests that W. Schulze may be right in assuming a form εἰκ (related to εἰ as οὐκ to οὐ) from the Arcadian εἴκαν: but that scarcely seems likely for Bacchylides.

XIV. 3-6.

[σ]υμφορὰ δ' ἐσθλὸν ἀμαλδύ-
[νει β]αρύτλ[ατ]ος μολοῦσα
[. . .]ον ἥδη ὑψιφανῇ τε
[. . . κ]ατορθωθείσα.

This is what the first hand wrote. Note the point after μολοῦσα, which stands in the MS. In v. 5 the corrector drew lines through ΗΔΗ, and wrote καὶ above it. Mr. Kenyon indicates a lacuna between the corrector's καὶ and ὑψιφανῇ. A little bit of papyrus, just above the line, is torn out after καὶ, but it is certain that the first hand's ΗΔΗ was immediately followed by ΥΨΙΦΑΝΗ, and there seems no reason to suppose that the corrector had written anything after καὶ, which was merely his substitute for ἥδη.

On metrical grounds I corrected ἐσθλὸν in v. 3 to ἐσθλοῦς, which Mr. Kenyon reads: Prof. v. Wilamowitz (*Götting. Anz.* p. 134) also approves it, remarking that ἐσθλὸν may have arisen from the singular in the parallel clause (v. 5). The choice seems, indeed, to lie between ἐσθλοῦς and ἐσθλόν τ': for the point after μολοῦσα in the MS. (whose punctuation is, as a general rule, trustworthy) is against such a conjecture as Prof. Platt's, ἐσθλῶν ἀμαλδύ|νει βαρύτλατος μολοῦσα | θ ν μ ό ν, καὶ [ἀμ'] ὑψιφανῇ: or any other which precludes a pause in the sense after μολοῦσα.

But what was the origin of the first hand's ΗΔΗ in v. 5? It can scarcely have come from a mere ΔΕ (as if, *e.g.*, the text had been σεμνὸν δὲ καὶ ὑψιφανῇ). I think, with Prof. Housman, that it is most likely to have come from ἰδέ: a word not elsewhere found in Bacchylides, nor anywhere in Pindar, nor in tragedy, unless Triclinius was right in correcting ἦδ' (so L.) or ἦδ' to ἰδ' in Soph. *Ant.* 969; Simonides, however, has Ὀμηρος ἦδὲ Στησίχορος (fr. 53). Prof. Housman restores thus:—

συμφορὰ δ' ἐσθλόν [κ'] ἀμαλδύ-
[νειν β]αρύτλατος μολοῦσα
[θαητ]όν ἰδ' ὑψιφανῇ τε[ύ]-
[χοι κ]ατορθωθείσα:

i.e., disaster, 'arriving with intent to crush him' (ἀμαλδύνειν μολοῦσα), would, after all, exalt the man of worth. The main objection to this is the point after μολοῦσα in the MS., confirming what the context itself suggests, that a new clause began with v. 5. But another possibility has occurred to me, which would enable us to use ἰδ'. The lacuna before ον in v. 5 is estimated at four letters: but the letter I being thin, there is room (as I have tested by measurement) for ΚΛΕΙΝ. Now suppose that Bacchylides wrote:

συμφορὰ δ' ἐσθλόν τ' ἀμαλδύ-
νει βαρύτλατος μολοῦσα,
καὶ κλεινὸν ἰδ' ὑψιφανῇ τεύ-
χει κατορθωθείσα.

In ΚΑΙΚΛΕΙΝΟΝ the resemblance of ΚΑ to ΚΛ might have led to the loss of ΚΑΙ, leaving in our papyrus only ΚΛΕΙΝΟΝ: and ΙΔ (perhaps written without elision ΙΔΕ) may have grown into ΗΔΗ (unmetrical though that was) under the hand of a scribe who noted only that in

the two immediately preceding verses — was followed by —: this he thought to reproduce by κλεινὸν ἦδη. Then the corrector, finding καὶ κλεινὸν (with perhaps ἦδη) in another MS., and seeing that ἦδη at least was wrong, may have concluded that καὶ ought to replace it.

XIV. 10 f.

[ὅς γε] πὰρ χειρὸς κυβερνᾷ-
[ται δι]καίαισι φρένεσσιν.

We must read, I think, ὅς τὸ (W. Headlam, A. C. Pearson), or ὅς τὰ (v. Wilamowitz). As τὸ πὰρ ποδός (Pind. *P.* 3. 60) denotes what is just before us, our 'immediate future,' so τὸ πὰρ χειρός might well mean, 'what one has to do off-hand,' one's nearest or immediate task. But is κυβερνᾶται the right form? If so, it is pass., and τὸ πὰρ χειρός is acc. of respect: 'is governed *in*, as to, his immediate task.' κυβερνᾷ, with σὺν in v. 11, would be better: but then the corrector has deleted the I of ΚΥΒΕΡΝΑΙ: could he have done this if ΣΥΝ had followed, showing that the verb was the pres. indic.? This is so improbable that the choice seems to rest between κυβερνᾶται and κυβέρνασεν (so v. Wilamowitz). I should prefer the latter, did not the gnomic aor. seem slightly out of place here.

XV. 57-61.

ἀ δ' αἰόλοις ψεύδεσσι καὶ ἀφροσύναις
ἐξαισίους θάλλονσ' ἀθαμβίης
ἔβρις, ἀ πλ[ούτων] δυνάμιν τε θοῶς
60 ἀλλότριον ὥπασεν, αὐτὶς
[δ'] ἐς βαθὺν πέμπει φθόρον.

In v. 59 I have thought from the first that we must write ἀ: ἀ, as = 'she,' emphatically resuming the subject, seems to me impossible when ἀ...θάλλονσ'...ἔβρις has preceded. Then δ' in 61 is the δέ 'of the apodosis'; we have to compare such passages as *Il.* 4. 438 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο..., | δεινὰ δ' ὁμοκλήσας προσέφη κ.τ.λ. But I wish that we could adopt Prof. Platt's emendation αὐτὶς | [σφ']. Unfortunately the facsimile shows (col. 31) that there is not room for ΣΦ, and the slight traces of the lost letter point to Δ: it cannot (I think) have been Φ.

XVI. 3.

. ἰαθε [. . .]ρον[. . .] Οἰῖρα.

The metre is shown by v. 15, — — — — —
— — — — —. Prof. Blass restores Πιερίαθεν

ἐπὶ φρένας Οὐρανία. The first word is (I think) certain: but ἐπὶ φρένας is weak and unsatisfactory. Read Πιερίαθεν ἐϋθρόνος Οὐρανία. The Muse sends to the poet in Ceos a golden ship, freighted with songs, from Pieria in Thrace, where Apollo haunts the banks of the Hebrus, rejoicing in the swans, and in the hymns of his votaries: παϊγόνων (v. Wilamowitz) seems likely in v. 8, especially as the ι needed for ῥόνων is not in the MS.

XVI. 11-15.

τόσα χοροὶ Δελφῶν
σὸν κελάδησαν παρ' ἀγακλέα ναόν.
πρίν γε κλέομεν λιπεῖν
Οἰχάλιαν πυρὶ δαπτομέναν
'Αμφιτρωνίδα κ.τ.λ.

πρίν γε in v. 13 is odd, and thus far I have seen only two attempts to explain it. (1) Prof. Otto Crusius (*Philol.* lvii. p. 170) accepts the full stop at ναόν, and understands, 'we sing how, of yore, Heracles left Oechalia,' so that πρίν is much like ποτέ: but I know of no parallel for this. (2) Prof. v. Wilamowitz (*Götting. Anz.* p. 135) takes πρίν with λιπεῖν: 'Before Heracles (thus we sing) left Oechalia' ['bevor Herakles, so singen wir, Oichalia verliess']: then, he thinks, a parenthesis begins with ἔκετο δ' in 16, and goes down to βούν in 22: and at last, in v. 23, τότε ἄμαχος δαίμων brings in the account of what happened before Heracles left Oechalia. I confess that this seems to me to pass the bounds of poetical license in the structure of sentences.

The MS., be it noted, has no point after ναόν. I suspect that πρίν γε κλέομεν should be linked with what precedes. πρίν with the indic. is of course very rare except in negative sentences: Goodwin *M.T.* § 635 brings only three instances of it in sentences which are 'strictly affirmative': and in all of these πρίν means (as in the negative sentences) *until*. Here, then, the sense (beginning with τόσα in v. 11) would be:— 'Thus far the Delphian choruses have hymned thee by thy glorious shrine—*until* we begin (as we now do) to sing how Heracles left Oechalia,' etc. The limiting force of τόσα in v. 11 illustrates the negative feeling which may elsewhere be traced even in these affirmative sentences where πρίν takes the indic.: *i.e.* the choruses do *not* chant any longer—they *cease*—now that the moment has come to sing of Heracles. In short, πρίν γε is here the mechanism by which Bacchylides manages that transition, in which he was so much less skilful than Pindar from poem to myth.

In concluding this batch of notes, I must ask leave to refer very briefly to an observation made by Prof. Housman in the last number of this *Review* (p. 69). After referring to the 'metrical solecisms' of which he holds Mr. Kenyon to have been guilty, he adds: 'three or four supplementary violations of metre are proposed in the notes by Professor Jebb.' At my request, the Editor asked Prof. Housman to specify these 'violations.' They are, it appears, the following four. (1) and (2): the short ἀν- of ἀνάγουσιν and the short βρο- of βροτῶν in my first restoration (*exempli gratia*) of xiii. 25-30 (on which see above): to these Prof. Housman again alludes on p. 72, as 'false quantities,' because they contravene his doctrine (yet to be proved) that the last syllable could not be ἀδιάφορος. (3) τετράκωλον in my first restoration of x. 25: on which see above. (4) On v. 193 I had suggested that either ὃν ἄρ' or ποθ' ὃν could be inserted after Μουσᾶν: Mr. Kenyon, in his note, said, 'ὃν ἄρ' (or ποτ'),' where ποτ' should have been ποθ' ὃν: and Prof. Housman seized on the oversight as proof that I had proposed ὃν ποθ'. These are the four 'violations of metre' to which, without specifying them, Prof. Housman made such prominent allusion. We learn from the same authority that there are 'quite half-a-dozen scholars in England who understand these matters' [of metre]. As we know that one distinguished College in Gower Street already claims two of these, there are only four left for the rest of England; and no one of any modesty could feel hurt at being left out of such a group. Ireland, by the bye, we infer, cannot boast a solitary metrist; while as to Scotland, we learn from Prof. Platt (*C.R.* xii. p. 58) that the very rudiments of metre are unknown in its Universities. I wonder whether he has ever seen a book called *Flosculi Graeci Boreales*, edited in 1882 by one of the finest scholars in Britain, Principal Sir William Geddes, then Professor of Greek in the University of Aberdeen. It contains Greek and Latin verses, by 'alumni Aberdonenses,' comparable to the best work of the kind that has been done anywhere. It is indispensable to study metres in technical hand-books; but it is also good to aim at acquiring, by writing in those metres, some insight into their spirit, some perception of their rhythm, some sympathy with their flexible movement, some ear for their music; something, in a word, which is nearer to their essence than a doctrine which, when separated from the discipline of

taste and feeling, may sometimes incur the danger of becoming rashly dogmatic and pedantically rigid.

R. C. JEBB.

but the conjecture was left on record because the reading of the MS. is uncertain.

F. G. KENYON.

IN the February number of the *Classical Review* (p. 68*b*) Mr. Housman says 'three or four supplementary violations of metre are proposed in the notes by Prof. Jebb.' It is not for me to undertake the defence of Prof. Jebb on metrical points, where even those who claim to be authorities seem to differ not a little; but I think it is only fair to explain that in one instance, where an unmetrical restoration is apparently ascribed to Prof. Jebb, the fault is not in his conjecture but in my too brief statement of it; while in another, a want of correspondence between the restoration of an epode and the text as it stands in the corresponding epode is due to his conjecture having been made on a proof that had not been finally revised.

At the end of my note on v. 193 I mention that 'Professor Jebb suggests ὄν ᾄρ' (or ποτ') ἀθάνατοι.' The insertion in brackets was merely intended to signify that Prof. Jebb made no decisive choice between the two previously suggested stopgaps; but if ποτέ was chosen the order should have been inverted, so that I ought to have written 'or ποθ' ὄν.'

The other passage is x. 25, where Prof. Jebb proposed to read τετράκωλον ἐπεὶ, the corresponding line in the second epode (l. 53) having [ῥστε]ρον εὐφροσύνα. But when Prof. Jebb made his restoration, he had before him a proof in which the latter line stood asον εὐφροσύνα, and he then proposed to read the first word as ἀέθλον (scanned disyllabic). Subsequently I discovered traces of a ρ, and restored ῥσπερον, but retained Prof. Jebb's restoration of ll. 21-26, both on account of the uncertainty of my reconstruction of ll. 51 and 53, and for the sake of its suggestions as to the general sense of the passage. I called attention, however, to the uncertainty of the metre of ll. 23 and 25, so that no one could have been misled.

It may be worth while to remember that, in other passages as well as this, the gentlemen who were kind enough to help me in the preparation of the *editio princeps* were not working on the text as it now stands, but on one far less complete, and subject to alteration almost from day to day. To give but one other example: at xiii. 30 the (doubtful) letters εἰ had not been inserted in the proof when Prof. Jebb conjectured Ζεὺς,

iii. 37. [γέγω]νεν is almost impossible, but what on earth can the right word be? λίγαινεν?

v. 64. For ἐδάη see Pind. frag. 44.

67. ἀργηστῆς is, I think, only another form of ἀργεστής: cf. ἀργέτι beside ἀργήτι.

vii. 6. τα[χύτητά τε].

x. 51. Was the original reading of the first hand γλῶσσαν ἰοὺς ὥς?

xii. 8. Νεμέα is an iambus, and this line the first of the antistrophe.

xiii. 190. ὕμνων τινα τανδῆ. . .

The τινα seems to me to require some rather strange metaphor to agree with it, e.g.:

ὕμνων τινα τάνδ' ἔκαθεν πηγὰν νέων.

(*Pyth.* iv. 299) ἔκαθεν Housman: There can be no doubt I think that the same critic's correction of ὕμνων to ὕμνων is right. In 189 I should prefer Mr. Nairn's φοινικοκραδέμνους τε Μούσαις.

xvii. 17. μεγαλὰν?

xvii. 90. With Blass, Ellis, Housman, Pearson, Richards against me I may well speak with bated breath, yet I cannot believe that Bacchylides would lengthen a short vowel before σόει. We must not appeal to Homer unless we can show that the lyric poets scan on his principles. Homer will lengthen a short vowel before νέφος, μέγας, λιάρος, δέος, δῆν, λίσσομαι, any number more words; Bacchylides knew that as well as we, and he does not imitate him therein. I should propose rather to read δόρν, σόει <δέ> νιν Βορεάς.

Before introducing a short syllable as anacrusis in a Dorian ode of Bacchylides the following facts should be considered. In all the Dorian odes of Pindar a short anacrusis is only found in these instances: the sixth line of the strophes of *Olymp.* vi., when the rhythm is peculiar and not at all like any of Bacchylides; moreover it could not be long by any possibility, and so is not to the point; *Olymp.* vii. 4 and perhaps 10, viii. 22, the opening of the epodes of *Nem.* v., and *Isth.* i. 5. Bacchylides is as strict in this matter. The anacrusis of the first line of the epodes of iii. is common as in *Nem.* v., and this is very natural as we are here making a transition from logaedic to Dorian; in xiii. despite the appearances in Mr. Kenyon's scheme there is no instance, for synaphea exists between the first and

second lines of the strophe, and again between the seventh and eighth, and in the epodes between the second and third, so that in all these couplets the first syllable of the second-line is not an anacrusis at all; at 83 [ξ]λειπον is wrong (οὐ λείπον Blass); at xiv. epode 2 Kenyon's scheme is wrong, and in 19 Κλεοπολέμῳ is a choriambus; at xv. 45 read probably θεοῖσιν δ' ἀνίσχοντες (Housman), or if we here admit an exception what is *one* to bolster up any conjectures? Apart then from the peculiar case of the epodes of iii. it seems rather doubtful whether Bacchylides ever allowed this license at all. At any rate it is fifty or a hundred to one that when an anacrusis is to be supplied in these odes it must be a long syllable. This overthrows several conjectures already made, and may be useful to some future speculators.

ARTHUR PLATT.

1, 24. ἐθέλει δ' (πλούτος) αὔξειν φρένας ἀνδρός. ὁ δ' εὖ ἔρδων θεοὺς ἐλπίδι κυδροτέρα σαίνει κέαρ. The last words are obscure both in meaning and in construction. Read θεός for θεοὺς and everything becomes plain. Cf. 5, 36 εὖ ἔρδων δὲ μὴ κάμοι θεός.

3, 68. Hesych. λαίνεται χολοῦται, πικραίνεται, παρὰ τὸν ἰόν. Φρύνιχος Αἰγυπτίοις.

96. πράξαντι δ' εὖ οὐ φέρι κόσμον σιωπά. σὺν δ' ἀλαθείᾳ καλῶν καὶ μελιγλώσσου τις ὑμνήσει χάριν Κητίας ἀηδόνας. I fully accept Mr. Thomas' explanation of these words as meaning (in plain prose) that there shall be sung complimentary verses by Bacchylides on Hiero. This is much the most suitable sense. Also ὑμνεῖν in Pindar and B. means not simply *celebrate, talk about*, but *celebrate in verse*: if therefore we took the lines as Mr. Kenyon does, they would mean that B. counted on being himself made the subject of complimentary verses. But for καλῶν I would not adopt βαλῶν nor λακῶν. I suggest καλᾶν or καλῶς, the former being more poetical.

5, 11. As to the conjectures πλεῖ and πλέων for πέμπει, in Thuc. 8, 22, 4 παραπέμπει and παρέπλει have certainly got confused, most MSS. wrongly presenting the latter; and in 6, 1, 1 πέμψαντες is a *v.l.* for πλεύσαντες. But πέμπει seems better here (cf. 197); and, as either κλεινᾶν or κλεινός must be wrong (Housman), I suggest something like πέμπει ἐς θείαν πόλιν. In the MS. lines 35, 75, 115 have each a syllable that should have been given to the line following. In 14 ἐθέλων might stand. The fourfold ων would not be as disagreeable to the Greeks as to us.

131. οὐ γὰρ καρτερόθυμος Ἄρης κρινεὶ φίλον ἐν πολέμῳ will bear on the question as to *φυλο(φιλο)κρινεῖν*.

186. εὐδαιμονίας πέταλον. As against Prof. Tyrrell's interpretation, cf. 3, 92 ὀλβου ... ἄνθεα.

9, 28. The moon ἄστρον διακρίνει φάη. Possibly διακρύπτει.

11, 86. Read ξείνα τέ νιν πλαξεν μερίμνα. The dative μερίμνα seems metrically better than μέριμνα and was also the form first written in the papyrus. Was ξείνα (ξείνα) really B.'s word? Mr. Kenyon's parallel is hardly parallel. Why should the anxiety be 'strange'?

17, 112. ἄ νιν ἀμφέβαλεν αἶονα πορφυρέαν. It has occurred to me that αἶονα may be the remains of σινδόνα. In that case read ἀμφέβαλε πορφυρέαν σινδόνα.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ODE XVII.

It will conduce to brevity as well as clearness if in what I have to say on this poem I pursue the following order: first to explain the metrical elements out of which it is constructed; then to present a scheme of its metre; then to examine the questions of division and of antistrophic correspondence; and then to enumerate the conjectural alterations which I have adopted from others and made myself, or have refused to adopt and refrained from making.

The paeonic foot consists of five χρόνοι, *morae*, units of time. The distribution of these five χρόνοι into five syllables, — — — — —, is found in Simmias and perhaps in the 5th (= 4th) verse of the strophe of Pindar's fifth Pythian, but not in this ode. The forms here employed by Bacchylides are the following.

1. — — — — — παιὼν πρῶτος, in which the two first χρόνοι are contained in one long syllable.

2. — — — — — παιὼν τέταρτος, in which one long syllable contains the two last χρόνοι.

3. — — — — — κρητικός, in which both the first and the last pair of χρόνοι are contained in long syllables. Of all paeonic feet this is the easiest recognised and the oftenest used. The next variety is a foot which has the external air of a ditrochaeus but the nature of a paeon:

4. — — — — — κρητικός κατὰ διτροχάιον, in which one of the two trochees is a τροχαῖος

δίσσημος and has the length of two χρόνοι only and not of three. Like this is the next:

5. $\bar{\cup}\cup\bar{\cup}$, which you may call χορίαμβος πεντάσημος or κρητικὸς κατὰ χορίαμβον, since it has not six χρόνοι like the choriambus proper, but only five. This foot, so far as I know, is not mentioned by the ancient writers on metre, but it is clearly employed by Pindar in the 2nd and 6th (=5th) verses of the strophe of the fifth Pythian.

All these five varieties have this in common, that they are divisible in two ways: either into a θέσις (I use the term in its right and ancient sense for the stressed part of the foot) of three χρόνοι and an ἄρσις of two,

$\bar{\cup}\cup\bar{\cup}$,

or into a θέσις of two and an ἄρσις of three,

$\bar{\cup}\cup\bar{\cup}$.

The next two forms are divisible only in the second way.

6. $\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$, βακχείος, also called παλιμβάκχειος. Hephaestion says that this is ἀνεπιτήδειον πρὸς μελοποιῖαν, but Pindar and Bacchylides seem to have thought otherwise.

7. $\cup\cup\bar{\cup}$, παίων τρίτος.

These seven feet may all be found in the second Olympian or the fifth Pythian of

Pindar; and into these seven feet can the whole of this ode be mapped out, except the 16th verse (π) of the strophe. At the end of that verse I think we have an eighth form:

8. $\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$, μακρὰ πεντάχρονος,

as it is called by Bellermann's Anonymus de musica 1=83: a single syllable prolonged throughout five χρόνοι, the length of one paeonic foot. This is employed with great profusion by Moritz Schmidt in scanning the second Olympian, though its importation there is not really necessary at any point.

Such then are the bricks: now I will give a plan of the building. I retain, to avoid confusion, the MS division of verses, though it has no metrical significance: feet will therefore be found running over from one line into the next. Anacrusis I mark by setting the syllable further to the left and parting it from the sequel by the sign: instead of |. Where the end of one verse and the beginning of another are visibly connected by synaphea, I write *syn.* after the former. In catalectic feet I use no special marks of quantity beside $\bar{\cup}$ and $\cup$, because no one really knows which of three or four notations is correct. The overflow of feet from verse to verse prevents me in some places from using the special sign for the τροχαῖος δίσσημος, so I use it nowhere.

STROPHE.

α	$\bar{\cup}:\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} $		1	24	67	90
β	$\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} $	<i>syn.</i>	2	25	68	91
γ	$\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} $		3	26	69	92
δ	$\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} $		4	27	70	93
ε	$\bar{\cup}:\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}$	<i>syn.</i>	5	28	71	94
ζ	$\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$	<i>syn.</i>	6	29	72	95
η	$\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} $		7	30	73	96
θ	$\bar{\cup}:\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} $	<i>syn.</i>	8	31	74	97
ι	$\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} $		9	32	75	98
κ	$\bar{\cup}:\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$	<i>syn.</i>	10	33	76	99
λ	$\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$		11	34	77	100
μ	$\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$		12	35	78	101
ν	$\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup} \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$	<i>syn.</i>	13	36	79	102

ξ	$\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \end{array} \left \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \text{---} \end{array} \right $	<i>syn.</i>	14	37	80	103
σ	$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---}$		15	38	81	104
π	$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \left \text{---} \right $	<i>syn.</i>	16	39	82	105
ρ	$\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \text{---} \end{array} \left \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \right $		17	40	83	106
σ	$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---}$	<i>syn.</i>	18	41	84	107
τ	$\text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \right $		19	42	85	108
ν	$\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \text{---} \end{array} \left \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \text{---}$		20	43	86	109
ϕ	$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \right $	<i>syn.</i>	21	44	87	110
χ	$\text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \right $		22	45	88	111
ψ	$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \right $		23	46	89	112

EPODE.

a	$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---}$		47		113
b	$\text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right $		48		114
c	$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right $		49		115
d	$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \right $		50		116
e	$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right $	<i>syn.</i>	51		117
f	$\text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \right $		52		118
g	$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---}$		53		119
h	$\text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \right $		54		120
i	$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---}$		55		121
j	$\text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \left \text{---} \right $		56		122
k	$\text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right $	<i>syn.</i>	57		123
l	$\text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \right $	<i>syn.</i>	58		124
m	$\text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---}$	<i>syn.</i>	59		125
n	$\text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \left \text{---} \right $		60		126
o	$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \right $	<i>syn.</i>	61		127
p	$\text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \right $		62		128
q	$\text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \right $		63		129
r	$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---}$		64		130
s	$\text{---} \text{---} \left \text{---} \right $		65		131
t	$\text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \left \text{---} \text{---} \right \text{---} \left \text{---} \right $		66		132

The chief divisions, which I mark by the sign ||, are most of them rendered plain by hiatus or the lengthening of short syllables or a sequence of quantities unmetrical unless divided. Subdividing the periods into cola of two three or five feet can be done with ease by anyone and with certainty by no one.

My distribution of the syllables into feet is in some places the only distribution possible, in others not: this rhythm, by reason of its nature, is often capable of partition in more ways than one, as may be seen in the many schemes of Pindar's two paeonic odes. I do not speak of such arrangements as Rossbach's, in whose hands a paeonic ode ceases to be paeonic at all and becomes an epitome of all metres; nor even of Moritz Schmidt's method, who would almost have expelled the βακχεῖος from this poem by employing the μακρὰ πεντάχρονος: it is possible for anyone to follow as I do the practice of J. H. H. Schmidt and yet to diverge in many points of detail. For example: verse *h* of the epode may well be scanned

— — — | — — — | — — — | — — — ||.

At verses π and ρ of the strophe some may prefer

— — — — | — — — — |
— — — — | — — — — |

where — — — is not the spondee or dactyl it looks like, but a paeon beginning with a χρόνος τρίσημος. Verse μ of the strophe may be made to end with the end of a foot, and verse ν to begin with anacrusis. In short, others will hit on arrangements perhaps as good as mine and perhaps better, but they will hardly hit on any arrangement which I have not considered.

In antistrophic correspondence Pindar suffers no irregularity, except that — may answer — — —. He thus allows the following equivalents:

— — — = — — — —
— — — = — — — —
— — — = — — — —.

But versifiers are divided into two classes, one of which contains Pindar and Aeschylus, and the other the rest of mankind. In technical accomplishment Sophocles and Euripides are not more decidedly the inferiors of Aeschylus than Bacchylides is the inferior of Pindar; and any expectation of Pindaric rigour is unreasonable in itself and soon dispelled by the witness of the

MS. The equivalents allowed by Bacchylides are the following: in the few places where the text which I adopt is conjectural I enclose within brackets the letter which indicates the verse.

$\epsilon \rho t$	— — — = — — — —
$\beta (\xi) \pi \epsilon$	— — — = — — — —
ν	— — — = — — — —
(ξ)	— — — = — — — —
$(\xi) \rho (\nu) \rho q$	— — — = — — — —
ρ	— — — = — — — —
ν	— — — = — — — —
ξ	— — — = — — — —
$\nu \xi \tau \phi$	— — — = — — — —

Several of these correspondences are found in Aristophanes: for instance *Lys.* 789

$\kappa \alpha \tau' \epsilon \lambda \alpha \gamma \theta \eta \rho \epsilon \iota$ — — — — | — — —

answers 813

$\omicron \upsilon \tau \omicron \varsigma \omicron \upsilon \nu \omicron \delta \tau \acute{\iota} \mu \omega \nu$ — — — — | — — —

Aristophanes indeed goes further, and allows an epitrite, — — — —, or a foot which is an epitrite to the eye, to stand in antistrophic correspondence with a paeon.

But lest it should still be thought that these loose equivalences arise from corruption and must yield to conjecture, I mention one significant fact. The ode possesses two strophes and two antistrophes. The second strophe and both the antistrophes contain peculiarities of this nature: the first strophe (unless there is an exception in verse 14) contains none; it always has at least one of the other systems agreeing with it, and generally more than one. This cannot be explained by the hypothesis of corruption. If indeed this were the first ode in the book you might say that the scribes wrote carefully at first and grew negligent as they proceeded; but that is now impossible. Therefore I infer that Bacchylides meant the first strophe to be the pattern of the metre, and generally adhered to this in the sequel but indulged in variations now and then. From the epodes, since there are only two of them, no conclusion can be drawn.

I now come to the emendation of the poem in detail; and here I pass over such passages as 4, 74, 88, 91 ($\epsilon \xi \acute{\omicron} \pi \nu$), 93, 97, 108, where the MS is obviously unmetrical and Mr Kenyon or others have made conjectures which restore syllabic correspondence and seem to be right. But I comment on every place where metrical difficulty arises, and on several where the difficulty is

other than metrical. Almost all my corrections have been printed in the *Athenaeum* for December 25th, 1897.

7 π[ο]λεμαίγιδος Ἀθάνας. This adjective cannot well mean anything: write π[ε]λεμαίγιδος, which has the same relation to πελεμίζω as ἐλελίχων to ἐλελίζω.

17, 18 (ρ, σ).

μελ[.]ν δ' ὑπ' ὀφρύων
δίνασεν ὄμμα.

Mr Kenyon prints μελ[α]ν, which is unmetrical; write μελ[ε]ον, which makes the metre accord exactly with 40 κέλομαι κτλ: if the gap has room for α it has room for εο. For the sense see the σχέτλιον ἄλγος of 19.

20, 21 (ν, φ) φερτάτου || ὅσιον. On account of this hiatus I have made the two verses asynartete and begun the second with anacrusis: thus Professor Platt's φερτάτοι' is unnecessary, though it may be right. Reason against a third plan, to scan φερτάτου ὅσ- as _ _ _ _ and allow this equivalent for the _ _ _ _ of 43, 86, 109, will be found in my note on 116.

34-36 (λ—ν).

Πιθθέος θυγάτηρ ἄφνεοῦ
πλαθεῖσα ποντίῳ τέκεν
Ποσειδάινι.

The long initial syllable of πλαθεῖσα prevents the metre from proceeding: write μγείσα, and see xiii 66 Αἰακῷ μχθεῖσα, Pind. Ol. vi 29 Ποσειδάωνι μχθεῖσα. But how explain the change? Four lines above at 30 sq. (η, θ), are the words λέχει Διὸς ὑπὸ κρόταφον Ἰῶας | μγείσα. μγείσα λέχει? Ζηνί I should have thought. In that verse the first syllable may be long or short as you please, for it is in anacrusis: compare 74 with 8 and 97. So write πλαθεῖσα in 31: the two participles have exchanged places.

Here I will take out of their turn the corresponding verses in the second antistrophe, 97-101 (θ—μ).

φέρον δε δελφίνες ἀλι-
ναίεται μέγαν θοῶς
Θησέα πατρὸς ἱππί-
ου δόμον· ἔμολén τε θεῶν
μέγαρον. τόθι κλυτὰς ἰδὼν κτλ.

100 (λ) has _ _ _ _ for _ _ _ _ , which may be legitimate (see however on 116), but the beginning of 101 (μ) has no metrical form at all. Exact correspondence will be effected by the transposition μέγαρόν τε θεῶν | μόλεν, or if you prefer it μέγαρόν τ' ἔμολεν | θεῶν.

36-38 (ν—ο).

χρῦσέον
τέ οἱ δόσαν ἰόπλοκοι
κάλυμμα Νηρηίδες.

Where in 37 we have the syllables -όπλοκοι, in 14 we have _ _ _ _ , in 103 _ _ _ _ , in 80 the letters ΕΥΔΕΝΔΡΟΝ, which might be either _ _ _ _ or _ _ _ _ . There I am inclined to think Mr Kenyon right in proposing ἡνδεδνρον to agree with the first strophe (against εὔδενδρον to agree with the second antistrophe, see on 116); but even that change is not strictly necessary, and it is not necessary to add to ἰόπλοκοι here: in the preceding foot of the same verse you find _ _ _ _ at 103 (unless you admit a Doric κόρῃς, against which see on 116) answering _ _ _ _ at 14, 37, 80. But where in 38 we have κάλυμμα, in 15, 81, 104 we have _ _ _ , so here there is real necessity for change, anacrusis being impossible. The simplest amendment seems to me κάλλυσμα (cf. ἡδυσμα) an ornament: that the word would ever come to mean *sweeping* was what Bacchylides could not foresee. κομᾶν ἄμμα would render the antistrophic correspondence exact, but I do not commend it.

39 (π). 'Κνωσσίων: scanned as a disyllable' says Mr Kenyon. But Bacchylides does not treat ι in this way, and he does allow _ _ _ _ to answer _ _ _ _ ; therefore -αρχε Κνωσσί- is _ _ _ _ answering _ _ _ _ at 16, 82, 105.

42 (τ) ἀμβρότοι' ἔραννόν. This gives _ _ _ _ answering _ _ _ _ at 19, 85, 108: the same equivalence is found in 80=103 and in 87=21, 44 and in 102=13, 36, 79. Professor Platt's ἀμβρότου will produce exact correspondence here, just as Mr Purser's ἔθορε for θόρεν at 94 and Mr Kenyon's Νηρῆος for Νηρέος at 102 will produce it there; but since so many of these irregularities resist emendation I think it better to leave them alone in the few places where the change is easy.

43 (ν) ἰδέν is unmetrical. 20, 86, 109 begin with _ _ _ , and to write ἐσιδέν will give the legitimate equivalent _ _ _ _ : in the very next foot _ _ _ _ at 109 answers _ _ _ _ at 20, 43, 86. The end of the preceding verse is torn away, and may have contained the ἐσ-. An Homeric ἰδέειν is out of the question.

49 (c). Nothing could be more appropriate than Mr Kenyon's [ἀνδ]ρ[ός]; but the facsimile shows no room for the letters ανδ, nor have we any means of knowing whether the hiatus ναυβάται | ἀνδρός is permitted by asynartesia or forbidden by synaphea: for

two reasons therefore it would be safer to write [χει]ρ[ός], objective genitive. In the *Athenaeum* I suggested θούρον, but there is no room for *ov*.

58 καὶ σε should be accentuated καὶ σέ.
60-63 (*n-q*)

τόνδε χρύσειον
χειρὸς ἀγλαόν
δικὸν θράσει σῶμα πατὴρ ἐς δόμους
ἐνεγκε κόσμον βαθείας ἁλός.

In 62 (*p*) Mr Kenyon writes <τὸ> σῶμα, not at all in the lyric style, and so makes the second foot $_ _ _$, agreeing syllabically with the second foot of 128. But $_ _ _$ answers $_ _ _$ every whit as legitimately as $_ _ _$ does, and of this latter equivalence we have three examples though of the former we have only this one. In my opinion ἀγλαόν belongs to σῶμα and not, as Mr Kenyon makes it, to κόσμον.

67-70 (*a-δ*).

κλύε δ' ἄμετρον εὐχὰν μεγασθενὴς
Ζεὺς, ὑπέροχόν τε ΜΙΝΩΙ φύτευσε
τιμὰν, φίλῳ θέλων
παίδι πανδερκέα θέμεν.

Mr Kenyon prints Μίνωι and says that the *i* is lengthened but does not add that the *ω* is shortened. In Bacchylides the shortening is improbable and the lengthening impossible. The MS reading may just as well mean Μίνῳ, which gives $_ _ _$ for $_ _ _$ in the second foot of the verse. For Μίνῳ here with Μίνωι in 8 compare the varying datives in -ει and -εῖ from adjectives in -ης. Exact correspondence would be obtained by writing ᾧ γόνῳ and expelling the proper name as a gloss; but this is unlikely when the word παῖς immediately follows.

I do not understand the expression παίδι πανδερκέα θέμεν (αὐτάν), and I suggest φίλον ...παῖδα. If this is right, the inflexion was assimilated to Μίνῳ.

72, 73 (*ζ, η*). The foot which unites these two verses is $_ _ _$ in 6 sq. and 29 sq. and 95 sq., for in the last place Professor Jebb rightly scans δάκρυ χέον as $_ _ _$. Here Mr Kenyon's emendation χεῖρε πέτασε gives $_ _ _$, which is quite satisfactory: the χεῖρας πέτασσε of the MS has no metre.

86-91 (*v-ψ, α, β*).

τᾶ[ξ]εν δὲ Διὸς υἱὸς ἔνδοθεν
κέαρ, κέλευσέ τε κατ' οὐ-
ρον ἴσχεν εὐδαίδαλον
νᾶα μοῖρα δ' ἐτέραν ἐπόρουν' ὁδόν,
ἔτο δ' ὀκύντομπον δόρυ σοεὶ
νευ Βορεὺς ἐξόπιν πνέουσ' ἄητα.

90

In 86 Mr Kenyon restores τᾶξεν but says that Professor Jebb's γάθεν gives a better sense: 'Minos rejoiced at Theseus having fallen into his trap, and ordered the ship to proceed without waiting; but fate ordained a different ending.' Bacchylides however says nothing about an ending, and what he does say, according to this conjecture and interpretation, is incoherent and self-contradictory: 'Minos ordered them to sail on; but fate ordained a different course, and—on they sailed!' Well then, fate did *not* ordain a different course, but just the same course as Minos. If fate ordained a different course, then Minos must have ordered them to *stop* the ship. And *stop the ship* is precisely what ἴσχεν νᾶα means. The κατοῦρον of the MS is not κατ'οῦρον but κάτουρον (compare ἔπουρος): 'he ordered them to stop the ship, which was running before the wind,' τηλανγεί γὰρ ἐν φάρεϊ Βορῆϊαι πίνον αἶραι. Without this correction the passage is nonsense, and from this correction it follows that τᾶξεν¹ is right and γάθεν wrong. Minos was filled with remorse, as befitted a son of Zeus, to think that he had sent a fine young fellow to his death. I remark, though I lay but little stress on it, that the MS has no stop at the end of 89.

In 90 we have the verb σώω, which is the active of σοῦμαι and means the same as σεύω. Like σεύω, it begins not with a simple *σ* but with *σ* and an invisible consonant: hence its compounds δορυσσός and λαοσσός are spelt with *σσ*, like the augmented tenses of σεύω, and here it lengthens the last syllable of δόρυ just as σεύω lengthens short vowels in Homer. νειν in 91 is obviously νιν: *i* and *ει* are confused at v 154, viii 11, xi 68, 120, xii 6, xvii 107, xviii 36, xix 3, 15, 35. But the tense should be the past, and the two sentences require a link: alter then one more letter and write δόρυ, σο' οἱ νιν κτλ. Yet after all it is not likely that Bacchylides left a verb in -όω uncontracted; so better keep σοεὶ as the imperfect of σοέω.

In 91 ἄητα makes the verse end with $_ _ _$ instead of $_ _ _$. It is true, though strange, that Aristophanes, as I have said already, uses $_ _ _$ in antistrophic correspondence with paeons. But Bacchylides, far from admitting the correspondence, does not seem even to admit the foot. Therefore I propose here the Aeolic ἄητα. This apparently occurs, as Professor Platt has pointed out to me, in Simon. frag. 41: the MS reading there too is of course ἄητα, but the dactylic rhythm seems to require ἄητα, which Bergk formerly proposed. In Bac-

¹ Or τᾶκεν, which Mr Blass reads in the MS.

chylides frag. i 15 I have conjectured
Εὐρωπίδα = Εὐρωπίδης.

100, 101 (λ, μ). See on 34-36.

102, 103 (ν, ξ) ἔδισε Νηρέος ὀλ-
βίου κόρας.

Mr Kenyon writes ἔδισεν Νηρήος. Νηρήος, though unnecessary, may be right, since MS authority in such points is worth next to nothing. But ἔδισεν ruins the metre which it was meant to restore. The text seems legitimate: -δισε Νηρ- is _ _ _ answering _ _ _ , -έος ὀλβί- is _ _ _ _ answering _ _ _ _ . Exact correspondence in these two feet might be obtained by writing ἔδισεν γέροντος and calling Νηρέος a gloss.

109, 110 (ν, φ). εἶδεν τε πατρὸς ἄλοχον φίλαν
σεμνὰν βοῶπιν.

110 is unmetrical, but the emendation is very simple: put σεμνὰν in the place of εἶδεν and ἴδε or ἴδεν in the place of σεμνὰν (so also Platt): ἴδε makes the metre agree syllabically with 21 and 44, ἴδεν with 87. The original reading in 109 seems to have been something like ἴδον.

112 (ψ).

ἄ νιν ἀμφέβαλλεν αἰόνα πορφύραν.

Mr Kenyon's ἀμφέβαλεν is required, not by the metre, but by the following ἐπέθηκεν. αἰόνα πορφύραν should be αἰόλαν πορφύραν. In ΑΙΟΛΑΝ the Λ was absorbed by the Α and ΑΙΟΑΝ was made into the Greek word ΑΙΟΝΑ by transposing one letter: so at 120 ΑΓΛΑΟ- appears as ΑΓΛΟ-, and at v 117 ΑΓΕΛΑΩΝ has been corrupted through ΑΓΕΛΟΝ to ΑΓΓΕΛΟΝ. πορφύραν was then altered into an adjective agreeing with αἰόνα.

114-116 (b-d). πλόκον,
τόν ποτέ οἱ ἐν γάμφῳ
δῶκε δόλις Ἀφροδίτα ῥόδοις ἐρεμνόν.

δόλις is altered to δόλιος by the second hand. This Euripidean feminine is not credible in Bacchylides, whose propensity is in the opposite direction: the metre too, if not impossible, is at least unique. The two first feet of the verse are _ _ _ _ | _ _ _ _ answering _ _ _ _ | _ _ _ . The equivalence is allowable, but not so the six short syllables in a row: nowhere else in this long poem are there more than three. I would there-

fore restore exact correspondence by writing δῶκεν ἔδον Ἀφροδίτα. I imagine that ἔδον was written ἔνδον, δωκενέδον reduced to δωκενδον, the epheleystic ν then discarded from δῶκε, and ΔΟΝ mistaken for ΔΟΛΙ.

117, 118 (e, f').

ἀπιστον ὅ τι δαίμονες θέ-
λωσιν οὐδὲν φρενοάρας βροτοῖς.

I have transferred the syllable θέ- from the beginning of 118 to the end of 117: the last foot of this verse is then _ _ _ _ answering _ _ _ _ in 51. The subjunctive may be irregular, as Mr Kenyon thinks, but it is Pindaric and Bacchylidean: see ix 24. Palmer's λῶσιν is clever but quite unnecessary.

I add a few notes on other odes.

vii 10, 11. Supply Ἀρ[ιστομένει]ον [παῖδ'] : see vi 12.

ix 45, 46. Perhaps σοῖν, ὃ πολυζήλωτε
ἄναξ ποταμῶν, ἐγγόνουγ (or ἐκγόνουγ).

xiii 61. The facsimile shows traces of C : write then τεὸν τέκος. It appears too from the facsimile that Mr Kenyon's measurement of the gap is somewhat arbitrary and constitutes no objection to Prof. Jebb's κλέος.

xiii 67. Perhaps νίε' ἀδισιμάχω (or -α).

xiii 96. The MS must have had οὔραι νότου δ' ἐκόλπ[ωσαν πνοαί] ιστίον. Prof. Blass's ἐκόλπωσαν is confirmed by the facsimile, but the rest of his supplement is unmetrical.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ODE VII.

ὦ λιπαρὰ θύγατερ Χρόνον τε κ[αί]
Νυκτός.

IN place of Ἡμέρα I would suggest Selene. Bacchylides himself (Frg. 66) calls Hecate δαδοφόρε Νυκτὸς μελανοκόλπου θύγα-τερ, and Hecate as dadophorus is practically Selene. Even Hecate in Homeric Hymn v. 438, is λιπαροκρήδεμος: much more her specialised double, Selene. 'Most of the children of Night,' Mr. Kenyon notes, 'are of ill omen' (p. 64). True enough for the late canonical Olympian mythology, false entirely for that primitive faith in which holy Night was the all-mother—a faith revived by those Orphic-Pythagorean speculations in which Pindar was simply steeped. Language, faithful because unconscious, remembered that Night was εὐφρόνη, which

the lexicons in their complex fashion call a 'euphemism.' They reveal the whole source of the inversion when they add 'cf. Eumenides.' I should scarcely venture to suggest Selene but that in sense it is practically the same as Professor Jebb's *Ἡμέρα*. I may add that *πεντήκοντα* for the number of the chorus would agree well with the old 50 moon period. Schmidt (*Chronologie*, p.

49) has pointed out how again and again the number 50 comes in in the old 'Kalendarsagen,' e.g. the fifty Danaïdes, the fifty daughters of Selene by Endymion. I do not fully understand the astronomy of the matter, but the *πάννυχος σελήνη* was for most primitive festivals at once a practical and a religious necessity.

JANE E. HARRISON.

MENANDER'S Γεωργός.

THE subjoined attempts to fill up a few of the lacunae in the papyrus may possibly in some cases be near the mark, though the chance of success in I Recto would have been increased if Prof. Nicole had given some intimation as to the number of letters deficient in each line. He has done this in II Verso, and might without much difficulty, I should imagine, have supplied similar information for the earlier page, where his own supplements vary from a single letter (l. 7) to no less than ten letters (l. 5).

The opening clause might be restored thus:—

3. οὐδ' ἐδόκουν [ἄν ἐπιπτεσείν]
4. [ἐν ᾧ γ' εἴθ' ὁ μειράκισκος ἐν ἀγρῷ διετέλει,
5. [τοιούτο σ]υμβεβηκὸς, ὃ μ' ἀπολώλεκε
6. [οἰχόμε]νον εἰς Κόρινθον ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν τινα.

In l. 4 ἐν ὅσῳ γ' would equally well serve, if the space requires more letters. l. 5 would hardly accommodate M. Nicole's *μῆ εἰδὼς τὸ σ.*, unless it begins much more to the right than any of the others. l. 6 ἀπόδημον (Nicole) should clearly be a participle. οἰχόμενον fits the sense and only requires that the doubtful μ should be read as ν.

The next two lines are hardly recoverable, but M. Nicole's treatment is not convincing. They might be retained for the previous speaker without more severe dealing.

κατιῶν δ' ὑπὸ νύκτα γιγνόμενον ἐν τοῖς γάμοις
καταλαμβάνω μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐστεμμένον—.

1. 13 ἀντισταθῶ, τέχνην τιν' ἀπλὴν οὗ πως ἔχω.
οὐκ ἂν γαμῶν περὶ τῆς Γλυκέρας οὐδὲν
φράσας
τλαίην, προλιπὼν δὲ κ.τ.λ.

In I Verso the break introduced into l. 2 is of the harshest. I would suggest that Chresippos should be discharged altogether.

ὁ Κλεαίνετος γάρ, οὗ τὸ μειράκιον λίαν
περιέχεται, πρῶπῃ ποτ' ἐν ταῖς ἀμπέλοις
σκάπτων ἐπέκοψε τὸ σκέλος ἰσχυρῶς πάνν.

In l. 11 I think we may safely read the letters thus:—

ἐνταῦθ' ἀχρείας γενομένης αὐτῷ τινος

ἀχρεία may well mean 'loss of faculty,' 'unconsciousness,' 'symptoms of collapse.' In that case *καθαίμονος* (l. 12) may be dispensed with and a verb sought with perhaps ὅσοι μὲν to follow.

l. 17 παρεμύθεν' ὁ πάνν φαύλως ἔχει may perhaps be maintained unaltered as meaning 'he told him to disregard what was a mere trifle.'

In II Recto l. 1 καλέσας' ἐγὼ would perhaps be the simplest resource, with some such words as ἐπιθυμῶ μάλα ending the preceding line and governing εἰπεῖν (l. 2). Then in l. 3 Φίλινα would be a vocative and the speakers would be women, which seems a more natural arrangement of the scene.

A. οὗτός γε, Φίλινα, χαίρετω.

Φ. τί χαίρετό;

οἰμωζέτω μὲν οἶν, τοιούτος ὢν γαμῶν.

reads well enough, the explanation given by Prof. R. Ellis of the last words being accepted.

l. 7 Perhaps ἐγγύθεν ὁ θεράπων.

In the last Verso l. 4 γνώσεται' is perhaps to be read for δώσεται'.

l. 5 μόνῳ 'πὶ σοί, γέρον, l. 9 δεχόμενοι, l. 13 ἀφανές.

Unquestionably the absence of a photographic reproduction of the papyrus is much to be regretted.

T. L. AGAR.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ROMAN SHOE FOUND AT BIRD-
OSWALD.

ROMAN shoes of various sorts have been found not unfrequently both in England and in various other countries. The shoe, of which an illustration is appended, was found last summer in the course of excavations outside the Roman fort of Amboglanna (Birdoswald) on Hadrian's Wall close to Gilsland. The illustration represents it half-size. It belongs to a class of shoes which are distinct from the *calcei*, *caligae*, etc., of literature, but which were widely used in ancient times, and are still common in many parts of Europe. It is made of one piece of leather without any special sole; there is a vertical seam, as in modern shoes, behind the heel, and the toe is cut into strips each

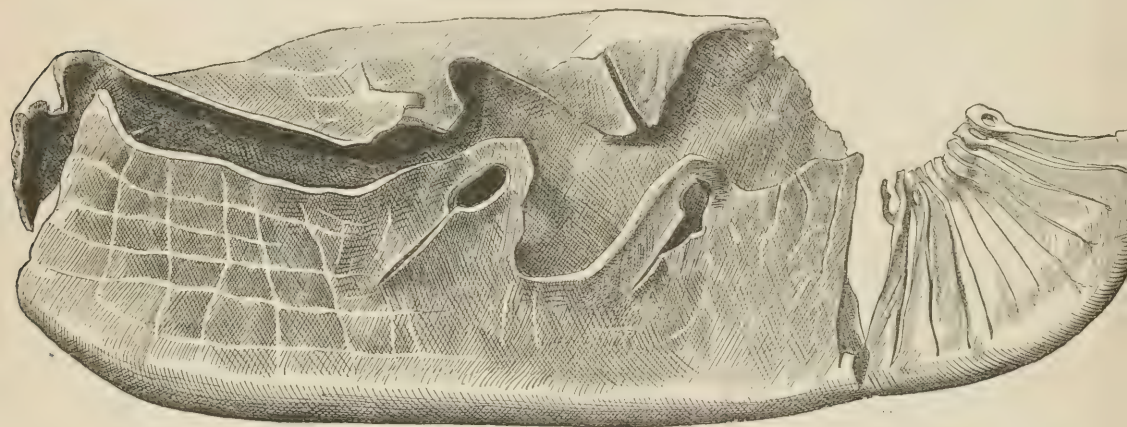
undressed leather, but their special feature seems rather to be that they are made of one piece of leather without any proper sole.

F. HAVERFIELD.

THE BASE OF THE POLYZALOS
BRONZE.

THE second line of the inscription on the base of the bronze dedicated by Polyzalos at Delphi, which was discovered by the French school in 1896, has caused some difficulty. In the interesting report which M. Homolle furnished to the Academy of Inscriptions, he offered an explanation which is not satisfactory; and it is clear that it did not satisfy himself. The legend is:—

ΑΞΕΥΩΝΥΜΑΠΟΛ.



ROMAN SHOE: BIRDOSWALD, 1897.

of which ends in an eyehole for the lace. For the fastening over the foot there are two holes on each side, which, however, resemble buttonholes rather than laceholes. The leather has been tanned and to certain extent ornamented. Shoes of this class have been found at other places on or near Hadrian's Wall, at the Saalburg fort on the German *Limes* near Homburg, and elsewhere. Of modern parallels the Scotch 'rivelins' and 'pampoosties' are, I am told, very similar, and so are the peasant's shoes in parts of Italy, Austria and the Balkans. I have walked myself in such shoes in the northern Carpathians. The Greek and Roman name for this type of footgear seems to be *καβάρινα* and *carbatinae*, the latter used by Catullus xviii. These are usually described by modern writers as shoes of

M. Homolle explains: α] ἐξ εὐωνύμου 'Ἀπόλλωνι, supposing that ἐξ εὐωνύμου indicates the position of the bronze group to the left of another monument. There are three objections. (1) The elision of the genitive termination is unheard of; and its accidental omission on a stone of this kind is incredible. (2) The first line is a hexameter; it is therefore practically certain that the second line was a hexameter or a pentameter. M. Homolle's restoration does not conform to this condition. (3) It is hard to believe that such superfluous information was inscribed on the stone. Whoever looked at the group saw to left and to right of it. One is reminded of the famous fingerpost which advised those who could not read to inquire at the blacksmith's shop.

We must divide and restore thus :—

ἄεξ' εὐώνυμα πολ[λά

a prayer to the god to show favour to the city of Polyzalos. Perhaps the whole line ran :—

Φοῖβε, Συνακόσσαισιν ἄεξ' εὐώνυμα πολλά.

J. B. BURY.

GARDNER'S *SCULPTURED TOMBS OF HELLAS*.

Sculptured Tombs of Hellas, by PERCY GARDNER, Litt. D., Lincoln and Merton Professor of Classical Archaeology and Art in the University of Oxford. Macmillan & Co. 1896. 8vo. xix. + 259 pp. 30 plates, and 87 illustrations in the text. £1 5s.

THIS account of Greek sculptured tombs is a survey and an exposition of the subject, rather than an investigation. The author explains in his preface (p. viii.), that for a long time past English-speaking scholars and 'even tourists' have felt a special interest in the sepulchral monuments of Athens, and for their benefit he has drawn up a concise account of the main facts connected with these tombs, to which he has added a slighter account of the tombs of pre-historic Greece, of Asia Minor, Sparta, Boeotia, and of the Sidon sarcophagi. An interesting chapter gives an account of the epitaphs, both of those known from the monuments and of those preserved in the *Palatine Anthology*. Specimens are given of both classes, in graceful translations, partly by the author, and partly by Dr. James Williams.

From this statement of its scope it will be seen that Professor Gardner has followed the model of some of Sir Charles Newton's best known essays, and gives an account, in literary form, of the whole field. Such an account, by an archaeologist of wide knowledge, has great use and value, but at the same time it has the necessary drawback that it must lay most stress on the familiar and the obvious, and can only make a sparing use of new material.

This being the nature of the essay, the reader can but give his assent to the greater part of its contents. A certain number, however, of points suggest themselves for criticism. Prof. Gardner quotes the Rayet terracotta (p. 6), and a black-figured vase as examples of an early Greek funeral procession. He does not suggest any doubt as to the terracotta, but I have long thought

it questionable. While for some of its details it has a suspicious resemblance to the vase, it is least plausible in the points in which it diverges, and with respect to these, its nearest parallel is a version of the Electra group of the same provenience (the Piræus) which does not stand scrutiny. (This was sold by Rollin and Feuardent, June 29, 1895. See plate in sale catalogue.)

Mr. Gardner is inclined to give a wide extension to the view that figures sitting on tombs on the Athenian lekythi represent the deceased, although the standing members of the same group may be survivors and mourners. The two vases quoted to prove this point on pages 20, 21, do not carry conviction. In the one (Fig. 9), a youth with a lyre is seated on the steps of a tomb, near which flits a shade, while in the other (Fig. 10), is a seated lady with a maid. The author argues that since the latter is a portrait of the deceased, the former must be of parallel significance, and therefore represent the proprietor of the stele seated beside it. But since the lady is admittedly represented as alive, the parallel case would be to suppose that the figure at the tomb is also alive, and therefore presumably not its deceased occupant. On p. 19 it is implied that the lyre is usually held by a seated figure, supposed to be that of the deceased, but on one of the lekythi (*White Athenian Vases in the B. M.*, Pl. xiii.), a lyre is held by a standing figure, while a second lyre lies at the tomb, to suggest the pursuits of the deceased.

A curious view is put forward (p. 110) that the two rosettes which occur on an inscribed stele between the acanthus ornament and the inscription, seem 'to represent the two breasts, and we may here see a hint that the stele takes the place of a portrait-figure, just as does the turban which commonly surmounts modern Turkish tombs.' No unconscious survival of the kind is too strange to be credible, if it can be confirmed by evidence showing the transition in progress, but without such evidence (and none is adduced) it is hard to accept the suggestion. Prof. Gardner (p. ix.) expresses his special thanks to 'Dr. Conze and the German Archaeological Institute' for permission to use the plates of their collection of the Attic grave reliefs. But surely the collocation, though familiar, is incorrect, and his thanks are due to Dr. Conze, and the Imperial Academy of Vienna.

These are points of detail. As has been said already, no exception can be taken to

the greater part of the book. It is not only, like Sir Charles Newton's work, an extremely well-informed survey of a wide field, but it has the further merit of being very well illustrated with collocation

plates, and half-tone blocks. The book is self-contained, and access to a special library is not a necessary preliminary to its comprehension.

A. H. SMITH.

CORRECTION TO THE ARTICLE ON THE 'MUNICH CODEX OF PÆANIUS.

IN meinem Aufsatz 'Ein neuer Codex des Pænius' in der *Classical Review* 1897 s. 382 ff. habe ich irrthümlich dem Codex Monacensis als cexiii. anstatt ci. angeführt. Der Irrthum kam daher, dass ich diese falsche Nummer aus Mangel an genügenden Quellen hier aus der Ausgabe des Pænius

von Dukas hergenommen hatte. Die Berichtigung verdanke ich einer freundlichen Mittheilung des Herrn K. Direktors der K. Bayerischen Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München, Dr. Laubmann.

SPYR. P. LAMBROS.

Athen.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik. Vol. 155. Part 8. 1897.

Der begriff des wissens vom wissen in Platons *Charmides* und seine bedeutung für das ergebnis des *dialogs*, C. Schirlitz. Concluded from the last no. *Entgegnung*, K. J. Liebhold. Maintains his conjecture *alterius morientis <sors> prope totius exercitus fuit* in Liv. xxii 50, 1 as against J. Franke. *Ueber die messung der epitrite in daktylo-epitritischen strophen*, C. Conradt. A protest against a fundamental point of Christ's rhythmical and metrical construction in his edition of Pindar. *Zu Ciceros Briefen an Atticus*, C. F. W. Mueller. In iv 7, 2 proposes *quid enim vereris? quemcumque herodem fecit, nisi Publium fecit, virum fecit non improbiorem, quam fuit ipse*. *Die fragesätze der lateinischen oratio obliqua*, R. Methner. Maintains that the ordinary division into actual and rhetorical questions is unsatisfactory, but that all questions in or. obl. are rhetorical in the sense that they expect no answer but have the value of an assertion or a challenge. *Die zeit der verbannung Ovids*, K. Schrader. The most probable opinion is that the date is the autumn of A.D. 8. *Zu Caesar de bello civili*, F. Giesing. Some critical notes. *Zu Ciceros divinatio in Caecilium* § 63 und zur rede pro Flacco § 55 foll., W. Sternkopf. A comparison of these passages leads us to infer that Flaccus was governor of Asia B.C. 95-90.

Part 9. *Die ägyptische legio xxii und die legio iii Cyrenaica*, P. Meyer. A history of these two legions chiefly from inscriptions. *Tullia und Dolabella*, O. E. Schmidt. The divorce took place in Oct. or Nov. 43, and the death of Tullia in Feb. 45. *Zur erklärungs von Caesar de bello Gallico*, J. Lange. On iv 14 and v 45. *Das gedicht des Reposianus de concubitu Martis et Veneris*, J. Tolkiehn. His version compared with Homer and Ovid. With the former R. shows no acquaintance. In diction he imitates Vergil and Ovid. *Kard τi = senkrecht zu*, M. C. P. Schmidt. *Zur textkritik Platons*, K. J. Liebhold. *Macer und Tubero*, W. Soltan. Concluded [Cl. Rev. sup. p.

89]. V. The sources of Livy's tenth book. *Zu Ciceros Brutus*, L. Polster. In § 129 for *luculentus patronus* reads *suculentus importunus*. *Der sturz des gardepräfecten Perennis*, K. E. W. Strootman. Perennis was murdered in A.D. 186 by British legions in Rome. *Zur textkritik des Lukianos*, H. Blümner. In Symp. 19 defends the text *ὑμοίων τι* against P. R. Müller [Cl. Rev. sup. p. 89].

Parts 10, 11. *Die entstehung des Homerischen hexameters*, H. Draheim. In Greek poetry the hexameter arose from the accentuated tetrameter and stepped into its place. For Roman poetry Ennius introduced it and put it in the place of the accentuated tetrameter, namely the Saturnian. *Zu Sophokles*, A. Frederking. Various notes. In *Aj*. 651 conjectures *βαφελς* for *βαφη* comparing Hom. i 391 foll. *Zum λόγος ἐπιδράφιος des Perikles*, H. Meuss. Shows that there is no contradiction, as has been alleged, between Thuc. ii. 35 and 45. *Ueber den aufbau der Sieben gegen Theben und der Schutzfliehenden der Aischylos*, C. Conradt. *Zur erklärungs von Sophokles Antigone*, J. Wassmer. Maintains the genuineness of ll. 905 foll. *Sokrates und Xenophon iv*, K. Lincke. Concluded [Cl. Rev. sup. p. 89]. The *Memorabilia* is a contamination of the elder and the younger Xenophon. *Die dramaturgie des Sophokles und Kaibels Elektra*, Th. Plüss. *Zum rhodischen Kalender*, E. F. Bischoff. *Zu Benedictus regula monachorum*, E. Arens. Critical notes. *Fasti Delphici* ii 2, H. Pomtow. On the archontate of the Amphiktyonic decrees of the third century B.C. (1) The composition of the Amphiktyonic council before and after the Aetolian supremacy. (2) The Aetolian period. *Irritare*, A. Fleckeisen. *Irritare* is the only correct spelling. The verb *rito* is a fiction of Priscian. *Der philosoph Agatharchides in der ersten dekade Diodors ii*, E. A. Wagner. *Zu Ciceros briefen ad Quintum fratrem*, W. Sternkopf. In iii 8 upholds Rauschen's conjecture of *quae adhuc non venerat* for *qui a. n. v.*

[A revised text of *Bacchylides*, with critical notes and commentary by PROFESSOR JEBB, will be published by the Cambridge University Press in 1899.]

The Classical Review

APRIL 1898.

ATHENA POLIAS AT ATHENS.

THE application of the title Athena Polias at Athens has been matter of controversy in recent years. Dr. Dörpfeld (*Mittheil. d. k. deutsch. arch. Inst. Athen. Abth.* xii. [1887] 25 sqq., 192 sqq., 276 sqq.) has maintained that Athena of the Parthenon was called Athena Polias; on the other hand Mr. J. G. Frazer (*J.H.S.* xiii. p. 153 sqq.) and Prof. J. W. White (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vi. p. 1 sqq.) agree that the term Polias designated only Athena of the Erechtheum or of the temple that preceded the Erechtheum on the same site. I desire to draw attention to a peculiarity in the language of Athenian inscriptions which, as far as I know, has not yet been pointed out, and to prove that under certain conditions Athenian official documents applied the epithet Polias to the goddess who occupied the Parthenon.

I will begin with the fourth century. The evidence principally consists of the inventories of treasures of various kinds, which were made out and inscribed on stone every year by the ten Treasurers of Athena. Now, if the chambers of the Parthenon had contained nothing but the property of the goddess of that temple, the officials would have had no occasion to mention 'Athena' or 'the goddess' in the body of their catalogues. But this was not the case; votive offerings belonging to a number of gods and goddesses were at different times deposited in the 'great temple,' and it was the duty of the Treasurers to keep separate and distinct the possessions of the various deities. Even this end might have been attained without introducing Athena's name. The catalogues

might have kept to a settled plan of specifying the owner of an article only when it did not belong to the goddess of the temple. The lists of the fifth century were composed on this principle, and followed a fixed order, so that they were open to no misconception. In the fourth century this continuity and system disappeared, and the disposition of the treasures was subject to frequent changes, the causes of which are in the main unknown. One result of these shiftings was that the Treasurers sometimes thought it desirable to state that this or that article in the inventory was sacred to 'Athena' or to 'the goddess.' A comparison of some inscriptions will show the nature of such exceptional circumstances.

Consider the language and order of the following extracts from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*:

(1) II. 660 (390-89 B.C.), l. 39, ἐ]γραμμά-
τευεν, ἀνέθηκεν· ἄγει ἡ ὑπάργυρος ΗΗΗΗΗ|||·
'Ἀρτέμι[δος Βραυρωνίας χρυσίδες . . . (about
24 letters), l. 40, . . . (room for 8 letters,
weight here indicated)]. 'Ἀθηναίας χρυσίδες
τρεις καὶ κονδυλωτόν· στέ[φανος . . . (about
41 letters to end of line)].

(2) II. 661, fr. d., l. 7, ἐγράμμα]τευε, ἀνέ-
θηκεν· Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνί- l. 8, [-ας χρυσίδες
. . . (about 31 letters)· 'Ἀθηναίας] χρυσίδες
τρεις καὶ κονδυλωτόν· ἐν· ἄ[στατα ταῦτα (?)

(3) II. 652, A. (398/7 B.C.), l. 49, καρχή-
σιον Διὸς Πολιῶς ἀργυροῦν with weight, then
'Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνίας χρυσίδ- l. 50, -ες . . .
(about 32 letters)· 'Ἀθηναίας] χρυσίδες ||| [. .

(4) IV. II. 652*b*. (p. 176), ll. 3-4, a golden crown dedicated by Lysander (which appears in ll. 14-15 of ii. 660) then in l. 4 [Ἀρτέμιδος Βρα], l. 5, -υρωνίας χρυσίδες [. . . (about 26 letters to end of line), l. 6 |---|. Then in ll. 6, 7, 8, 9 and part of 10, two golden crowns (which appear in ll. 15-16 of ii. 652), and a golden ring (which appears in ll. 39-40 of ii. 652); next, l. 10, χρυσίδες τρεῖς καὶ [κονδ]- l. 11, -υλωτὸν ἔν· στέφανος θαλλοῦ (a name here omitted by the mason) Λαμπρεὺς ἀνέθηκε, στάθμον τούτων κ.τ.λ.

The restoration of these inscriptions is due to the patience and acuteness of Koehler and Lolling and is, in my judgment, certainly right. We have before us the same articles but not in the same order. This is the reason why in (4) l. 10, the name of Athena was not given, whereas in (1) l. 40 the addition Ἀθηναίας was, if not absolutely necessary, at any rate convenient and sensible. In (1) two sets of χρυσίδες were taken in succession, and since those of Artemis of Brauron were entered first, it was useful and conducive to clearness to note that the second set belonged to Athena. No such specification would have been required if Athena's property had been put down in the catalogue before the property of Artemis of Brauron. In (4) no confusion could arise, because between the χρυσίδες of Artemis in l. 5 and the χρυσίδες of Athena in l. 10 were interposed articles of a different kind fully described; hence the Treasurers did not waste space in l. 10 by the superfluous insertion of Ἀθηναίας before χρυσίδες. The principle may be applied to other places, where 'Athena' or 'the goddess' is mentioned. Thus it may be that in ii. 678, A. i. ll. 17-18, we find [στέφανος] χρυσοὺς τῆς θεοῦ ἀριστείων [ἐκ Παναθηναίων τῷ [ν] ἐπὶ Ναυσικ[ι]κου [ἄρχοντος] because the preceding crown was dedicated to Athena Nike (l. 15, [Ἀθηνα Νί]κη στέφανος ἀπὸ ληίων). Note also the sequence in ii. 701, col. i. (ii.) l. 46, φιάλη χρυσή Ἀθηνα[ς] Ν[ικης], ll. 46-7, φιάλαι χρυσ[αί] Αἰθιοπίδες (in a different position ii. 678, A. i. l. 13), ll. 48-9, φιάλαι χρυσαί. . . οὐχ ὑγ[ι]εῖς Ἀθηνα[ς] στά[θμον], ll. 59-60, φιάλαι χρυσαί τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, and compare ii. 737, A. ii. 30 (a list of silver vessels, probably φιάλαι, first those of Athena, ἐφ' αἷς ἐπιγράφονται· ἱεραὶ Ἀθηνα[ς], then those of Asclepius, then those of Artemis of Brauron), ii. 725, A. (gold cups belonging to Athena, ἱεραὶ Ἀθηνα[ς], followed by gold cups of Asclepius and of Artemis of Brauron), and ii. 668, 19-20 (χρυσίδες φιάλαι τῆς θεοῦ). In ii. 660, l. 50, and ii. 667, l. 42, (παράκαταθήκη Ἀθηναίας) it is probable that a

like explanation holds good (see ii. 661, ll. 18-9), but the context is too imperfect to justify confidence.

These petty details of official inventories repay attention, because they furnish a proof that the goddess of the Parthenon was upon occasion styled Polias, and so render us the service of terminating a controversy. Several lists contain a set of silver hydriae, entered without the owner's name. In ii. 660, ll. 23-32, twenty-seven of these vessels are enumerated and the weight of each recorded; they follow in the catalogue καρχήσιον Διὸς Πολιεύς ἀργυροῦν, and precede οἰνοχοαὶ ἀργυραὶ τρεῖς (which in ii. 652, A, 30, ii. 667, 23, are in a different place), and are introduced with these words: ἰδρίαὶ ἀργ[υραῖ]· πρώτης στάθμον. That the name of a god or goddess was not inserted after ἀργυραὶ is shown by ii. 661, l. 4, (ἰδρίαὶ ἀργυρα[ῖ]· πρώτη]η στά[θμον] and by ii. 695, l. 10, [ἰδρίαὶ] ἀργυραῖ, blank, l. 11, [πρώτη] στάθμον. The inscriptions quoted are records of treasures stored in what was called ὁ νεὺς ὁ ἐκατόμπεδος, i.e., in a chamber which is generally considered part of Pericles' great temple. Consequently the silver hydriae in question belonged to the goddess who owned this chamber, for, if they had been dedicated to another deity, this fact would have been stated. Now, other catalogues present these twenty-seven hydriae belonging, as we see, to Athena of the Parthenon, in a different connexion, grouped together with hydriae of other gods and goddesses. In ii. 677, i. 9-35, we discover twelve of Athena's hydriae (from the 15th to the 27th), then three new ones (ἰδρίαὶ ἀργυραὶ καιναί), and next to these, l. 38, [Ἀθηνα]ίας Νίκης [ἰδρίαὶ (four). How, under these circumstances, did the list of the twenty-seven begin? From ii. 677 this cannot be learned, but the answer is given by ii. 678, A, ii. l. 11, ἰδρίαὶ ἀργυραὶ Ἀθη[να]ς Π[ολι]εύ[ος], l. 12, πρώτη στάθμον κ.τ.λ. Further evidence is provided by ii. 699, col. ii. The order here differs in one respect from the arrangement in ii. 677. Athena's twenty-seven hydriae were put first, the record of the last four being preserved, but for some reason the Treasurers postponed the new ones, which came next in ii. 677, and continued as follows: l. 5 [Ἀθ]ηνᾶς Ν[ικης] ἰδρίαὶ (four), l. 12, Ἀρ[τε]μίδος Βραυρωνίας ἰδρίαὶ (seven), l. 21 [Δή]μητρος καὶ Φεβ[ε]ρεφ[ά]της [ἰδρίαὶ] (five), l. 29, Ἀφροδίτης ἰδρία (one), l. 30, Ἀνάκον ἰδρίαὶ (three). At the close of the whole list, l. 36, a note was appended concerning Athena's new or restored hydriae: [αὖ]ται [και]ναὶ Ἀθηνα[ς] Π[ολι]εύ[ος], l. 37, [πρώτη] στάθμον ὃ ἦγεν πρό[τερον]. The reason

for the appearance of the epithet Polias in ii. 678 and ii. 699 is obvious; the officials desired that the vessels owned by Athena of the Parthenon should be clearly distinguished from the vessels belonging to Athena Nike. There is, however, a difference between the two cases; in ii. 699 the word Polias is indispensable, in ii. 678 it is only a matter of convenience. Observe the treatment of this point in ii. 673, where the silver hydriae are mixed up with other articles: l. 13,]ττ· 'Αθηνάας ἑδρί[α, ll. 14-16, two censers and something of gold, l. 17,]καὶ συνάρχουσι· Νίκης ἑ[δρία, l. 19, 'Αρτέμιδος Βρ[αυρωνίας ἑδρία.

In the fourth century, then, the Treasurers used the combination Athena Polias with a quite definite object, to guard against confusion with Athena Nike. The adjective was not affixed to distinguish Athena of the Erechtheum from Athena of the Parthenon. The inscriptions of the fifth century exhibit the same practice. The most important piece of evidence is *C.I.A.* i. 273, which records the vast loans, about 5,550t., made to the state from the wealth of Athena and other gods and goddesses in the eleven years from 433-2 B.C. to 423-2 B.C. I assume the general correctness of the reconstruction and interpretation presented in the *Corpus*, which, so far as I am aware, have never been impugned, at any rate in essentials. The language of the following extracts should be observed: l. 50, [κεφάλαιον τόκο χσύμπαντος 'Αθ[ε]ναίας ἐν τοῖς τέτταρσιν ἔτεσιν ἐ[κ Παν]αθηναίων ἐς Πα[να]θ[ε]ναία. l. 51... 'Αθ[ε]ναίας Νίκης ἐ[πὶ τῆς 'Ακαμαντίδ]ος πρυτανείας (debt and interest). ll. 96-7, [τάδε ἐλογίσαντο οἱ λογιστ]αὶ ἐν τ[οῖς τέτ]ταρσιν ἔτεσιν τόκον τοῖς τῆς θεῶ ἃ οἱ πρό[τε]ροι λογιστ[αὶ] λελογισμένα παρέ[δ]σαν [ἐν τοῖς ἐ]πτὰ ἔτεσιν. l. 100, debt and interest due to 'the other gods.' ll. 104-5, ...s 'Αθ[ε]ναία[s Νίκης ἐ]ν τοῖς τέτταρσιν ἔτεσιν ἃ οἱ πρότ[ε]ροι λογιστ[αὶ] λελογισμένα πα[ρ]έδσαν ἐ[ν τοῖς ἐ]πτὰ] ἔτεσιν. l. 113, 'Αθ[ε]ναίας Νίκης] καὶ Πολιάδος (a sum of money in figures). l. 114, Πολιά]δος καὶ Νίκ[ε]ς τόκ]ο (a sum of money in figures). Here the Πολιάς of ll. 113 and 114 is not different from ἡ θεὸς of l. 96 and 'Αθ[ε]ναία of l. 50. The substance of the document puts the identification beyond reach of doubt. The debt to Athena Polias and Athena Nike, which was recorded in l. 113, was 4777 t. 3248 dr. 2 ob. Of this only 28 t. 3548 dr. 2 ob. was borrowed from Athena Nike. The remainder, 4748 t. 5700 dr., was the debt to the 'Polias,' which consisted of the monies called in l. 96, τὰ τῆς θεῶ, 4001 t. 1522 dr., and of the loans from 'Athena' added up in l. 50, viz. 747 t.

4178 dr. Many scholars will doubtless consider this calculation superfluous, since every student of this document has hitherto taken for granted that the 'Polias' is 'the goddess' or 'Athena.' But it is not really irrelevant to the argument to insist on the enormous wealth of Athena Polias. Athena Polias, as her riches show, represents the Athenian Empire. She is 'the goddess' (*C.I.A.* i. 260) to whom the first-fruits of the tribute were paid. She is 'Athena,' who drew large revenues from the spoils of war, and to whom her chosen people (οἱ τρόφιμοι) set apart sacred domains (τεμένη, *C.I.A.* iv. 3, 528, p. 157) wherever they made conquests. What is the significance of Pericles' Parthenon, if it was not designed to be a new and splendid home for the tutelary goddess who had so signally blessed Athens? Is it credible that the 'great temple' built in part, as the allies complained, out of money paid as tribute, did not house the goddess, who received every year part of that tribute as a thank-offering? The advocates of the doctrine that Athena Polias was the goddess of the Erechtheum, and of the Erechtheum only, fail to remove this serious objection. Thus Prof. White (*op. cit.* p. 37) writes as follows: 'It was doubtless the purpose of Pericles to transfer the worship of Athena Polias to the Parthenon. (That may have been the purpose also of the builders of the Hecatompedon in an earlier age.) But conservative religious feeling and party strife combined to thwart him. The Parthenon was built, but his intention was frustrated.' Prof. White is of course thinking only of the cult of Athena Polias, which he considers to have been confined to the Erechtheum, on evidence which seems to me insufficient, but this only makes his admission of the purpose of Pericles more significant; he cannot suppress the feeling that the building of the Parthenon is hard to explain if the new temple was not meant for the worship of the guardian goddess of Athens. Yet he cites no ancient authorities in proof of the statement that Pericles' design was defeated by 'conservative religious feeling and party strife.' In my judgment the few facts known point to the conclusion that Athena Polias was not only set up in gold and ivory, but was honoured by worship, in the Parthenon.

Another financial inscription of the fifth century must be quoted and examined, because it has apparently led a scholar so careful and solid as Prof. Busolt, to whom all students of Greek History are deeply indebted, to desert or modify what I believe

to be the only true doctrine. In the second volume of his *History of Greece* (ii.² p. 339, n. 1.) citing among other authorities *C.I.A.* i. 273 he accepted the view which I am attempting to corroborate, that 'the goddess worshipped in the "Athena temple" was no less "Polias" than the goddess worshipped in the "Polias cella" of the Erechtheum.' But in the third volume recently published (iii. 1, p. 216, n. 1.) he seems to embrace the opposite theory. His words are these: 'Besides the property of Athena in the great temple, the Treasurers administered the property of Athena Nike and of Athena in the Erechtheum, who was styled officially Athena Polias and so distinguished from Athena unqualified, the proper tutelary goddess of the state.' This statement is put forward in explanation of *C.I.A.* i. 188. The inscription contains a series of payments amounting to more than 180 t.—to be exact to 178 t. 3864 dr. 2½ ob. + x—which were made in 410–9 B.C. (*Ol.* 92. 3.) by the Treasurers of Athena; and it is necessary to quote in full ll. 2–7, the part that has perplexed critics: ταμίαι ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθαναίης Καλλίστρατος Μαραθόνιος καὶ χουνάρχοντες παρέδωσαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπετείων φσεφισαμένον τὸ δέμο· ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος πρότες πρυτανεὺσες, Ἐλλενοταμίαις παρέδόθη: Καλλιμάχοι Ἀγνοσίοι, Φρασιτελίδει Ἰκαριεὶ: ἵπποις σίτος ἐδόθη: Ἀθαναίης Πολιάδος (3 t. 3237 dr. ½ ob.) Νίκης: (91 dr. 3¼ ob.): ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγίδος δευτέρας πρυτανεὺσες: ἀλοθέταις παρε[δό]θη ἐς Παναθηναία τὰ μέγαρα: Φίλωνι Κυδαθηναιεὶ καὶ συνάρχουσιν, Ἀθαναίης Πολιάδος: (5 t. 100 dr.): ἱεροποιῶς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν: Διύλλοι Ἐρχιεὶ καὶ συνάρχουσιν, ἐς τὴν ἑκατόμβην (5114 dr.). In the remainder of the inscription neither Athena Polias nor Athena Nike is mentioned. This circumstance has given rise to various conjectures. Dr. Beloch (*Rh. Mus.* 39, (1884) p. 58 *sqq.*) objects on various grounds to Kirchhoff's view that the phrase ἐκ τῶν ἐπετείων refers to drafts on temple revenues, and in particular argues that the addition of Ἀθαναίης Πολιάδος or Νίκης to three payments is a 'clear proof' that whenever these additions are absent we have to do with money belonging to the state, not to the goddess. Prof. Busolt rejects this conclusion and substitutes another explanation, that the words in question are annexed to the three payments because the rest of the money, as much as 170 t., comes from the treasures of Athena of the Parthenon. Consequently he is driven to the supposition that Athena Polias, the goddess of the Erechtheum, was poor, and in fact uses this inference as an argument against a restora-

tion in *C.I.A.* iv. 3, 179 c. (p. 162). The supplement proposed in the *Corpus* [Πολιάδος Π] is wrong, he observes, first, because there is not room, which is true, secondly, because 'the Polias in the Erechtheum' had not at her disposal a sum as large as 77 t. 2034 dr. 4 ob., the total made up, if 50 t. be inserted in the gap. Now there can be no doubt that the Polias of i. 273 is rich, and it is very improbable that Πολιάς means one thing in i. 273, and another thing in i. 188. The error is to be sought in the interpretation of the latter inscription. Is it not more likely that the officials of the fifth century used the title Athena Polias in the same way and for the same purpose as their successors in the fourth century? In l. 5 Ἀθαναίης Πολιάδος was added merely for the sake of perspicuity, because a draft upon Ἀθαναία Νίκη was to follow immediately. I believe also that the second mention of Athena Polias was produced by the first and was not absolutely necessary, since a contemporary reading the monument with ordinary care would have understood from the praescript that the money came from Athena, unless the contrary was stated; but this is just what Dr. Beloch would deny, and I do not know how to convince him. This point, however, affects in no way my present argument. With regard to the *usus uerborum* it should be remarked that the Treasurers might have begun with Ἀθαναίης unqualified, and continued with Ἀθαναίης Νίκης as in i. 273, 50, but that the form chosen is much neater; also, that they might have omitted in the first place Ἀθαναίης, if in the second they had given in full Ἀθαναίης Νίκης. Traces of this latter style can be found in another financial inscription of the fifth century, i. 189a, which preserves an account of thirteen payments 'for the Diobelia' made to the Hellenotamiae and their assessors in the second Prytany of a year which according to Kirchhoff was 407–6 B.C., *Ol.* 93. 2. Here in l. 3 Waddington finds on the stone, which is in the Louvre, ἐς τὴν διοβελίαν Ἀθνα[ία] Νίκει [.....]. This Kirchhoff accepts, and suggests that the extraordinary and very suspicious dative may refer to a largess granted in honour of Athena Nike. But Froehner gives ἐς τὴν διοβελίαν Ἀθαναίης [..], considering the rest undecipherable, and Dittenberger (*S.I.G.* 44 b.) follows him, proposing Ἀθαναίης [Νίκης. There is a similar difficulty in ll. 6–7, where Kirchhoff after Waddington has ἐς] τὴν διοβελίαν Ἀθαναίαι Νίκει [HHHHH κ.τ.λ., but Ditten-

berger after Froehner ἐς τὴν διοβελίαν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης ΤΤΠΗΗΗΗ κ.τ.λ. In these two passages Dittenberger's text seems to give a better sense, but in l. 19, where Kirchhoff and Waddington read Ἀθελαι(α)ι [N]ίκει ΠΠΠ, I think Dittenberger wrong in accepting from Froehner ἐς τὴν διοβελίαν Ἀθελαιας ΤΤΧΗΗΠΠΠ, because in accounts of this kind I can discover nothing resembling this isolated mention of Athena: what is the true reading is another question. In i. 177, 8 the restoration of the context of Ἀθελαιας π[is uncertain. In i. 191, ll. 1, 7, 8, 9 where Ἀθελαιας occurs four times, it is probable that Athena was opposed to Athena Nike; thus in l. 8 we have Ἀθελαιας Κυζικηνοὶ στατήρες, and in l. 9 we should restore Ἀθελαιας Νίκης. The doubt about the supplement in iv. 3, 179 c. (p. 162) has already been noticed.

The use of Ἀθελαια Νίκη, when neither Ἀθελαια nor Ἀθελαια Πολιάς has been expressed in the preceding clause is shown very clearly in Kirchhoff's revision of i. 184, 185 after Mr. E. L. Hicks' more accurate copy of the stone given in *Grk. Inscr. from the Brit. Mus.* i. xxiv. pp. 51-2. He now presents B. ll. 20-25 in the following form (iv. 1, p. 34):—

1. 20. [τὸ ἐπετείο]
 ὁ αὐτοὶ χ[συνελέχσμεν]
 ἀργυρίο Π[.....]
 || |||. Ἀθελαι[ίας Νίκης τὸ ἐπε]-
 -τείο ὁ αὐ[τοὶ χσυνελέχσα]-
 1. 25. -μεν ἀρχυ[ρίο.....]

In l. 20 Ἀθελαιας did not stand before the lacuna, and yet few, I think, will doubt that ll. 20-22 stated Athena's revenue in silver, which in this year (411-10 according to the conjectures of Boeckh and Kirchhoff) was less than 100 t. Similarly in the earlier part of this inscription, A. l. 15, from the phrase Ἀθελαιας Ν[ίκης, it may be guessed that the sum of money which precedes came from the resources of Athena. In B. ll. 26-28 I am dissatisfied with Kirchhoff's restoration because twenty-two letters are given to l. 27, and have thought of restoring the passage differently:

1. 26. σύμ[παντος κεφάλαιον]
 1. 27. τὸ ἀργυρίο τὸ τῆς Πολιάδ]-
 1. 28. -[ο]ς καὶ τ[ὸ τῆς Νίκης.....].

But I fear that the problem is at present insoluble.

So far, only catalogues and accounts of the Treasurers have been adduced to show that the title Polias cannot be denied to the goddess of the Parthenon. The point can be established in another way and with the help of an inscription of a different kind. In *C.I.A.* iv., ii. 109 b (p. 37) will be found a decree of the Assembly passed in the eighth prytany of 347-6 B.C. (Ol. 108, 2) in honour of Spartocus and Pairisades, sons of Leucon, prince of the Bosphorus. The mover, Androtion, familiar to us from the invectives of Demosthenes' client Diodorus, proposed that the Athenian people should grant them the privileges previously conferred on Satyrus and Leucon, and crown each of them with a golden crown worth 1,000 dr. at the great Panathenaea. The crowns were to be an institution, and the athlothetae were instructed to get them made in the year before the great Panathenaea; for the approaching celebration in Hecatombaeon 346 B.C. special provisions were inserted. The resolution proceeds thus, ll. 29-39: καὶ ἀναγορεύειν ὅτι στεφανοὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθελαιῶν Σπάρτοκοον καὶ Παιρισάδην τοὺς Δεύκωνος παῖδας ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐνοίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθελαιῶν. ἐπειδὴ¹ δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους ἀνατιθέασι τῇ Ἀθελαιᾷ τῇ Πολιάδι, τοὺς ἀθλοθέτας εἰς τὸν νεὼ ἀνατιθέναι τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπιγράψαντας: Σπάρτοκος καὶ Παιρισάδης Δεύκωνος παῖδες ἀνέθεσαν τῇ Ἀθελαιᾷ στεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμον τοῦ Ἀθελαιῶν. Here Athena Polias is surely the same as Athena without the epithet. But is this all? Is not 'the temple' the temple of Athena Polias? Where then were crowns of this kind dedicated? The catalogues of the Treasurers give the answer: in that chamber of the Parthenon which was called 'The Hecatompedos.' Out of the wealth of evidence I will select a few of the most pertinent illustrations. A list of 321-320 B.C. Ol. 114, 4 (*C.I.A.* ii. 719) records after 'the image (ἄγαλμα) in the Hecatompedos' the golden crowns 'proclaimed' (ἀναρθέτες sic) in the preceding year. The remains show that three of these crowns were given by the Athenian people (ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθελαιῶν) and it is possible that some of them were proclaimed at the great Panathenaea of 322-1, Ol. 114, 3. It is not difficult, however, to find a certain case of a crown proclaimed at this

¹ The use of ἐπειδὴ c. indic. in place of ἐπειδὴν c. subj. has a parallel in the decree of Tisamenus inserted in the MSS. of Andoc. 1. 83-4; for I agree with Dobree in thinking that in § 84 ἐπειδὴ δὴ ὁμωμόκασιν ought to refer to the future. But in view of this passage it may be doubted whether he was right in substituting ἐπειδὴν ὁμωμόκασιν.

festival and afterwards dedicated in the Parthenon. The Treasurers of 317-6, Ol. 115, 4, *i.e.* of the year following the great Panathenaea, added to the treasures of the temple *στέφανος χρυσοῦς* δ' ἀνακηρυχθεῖς Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων τῷ γυνικῷ [ἀγῶνι, ὃ ἐστεφάνωσεν ὁ δῆμος] ὁ Ἀθηναίων Κόνων[α (ii. 728, A. ll. 18-23). The number of crowns so dedicated was sometimes considerable; in 345-4 B.C. the 'annual crowns' (*στέφανοι ἐπίτειοι*) were as many as nine (ii. 701, col. i. ll. 19-34); and ii. 698, col. i. contains a list of crowns received between 371-70 B.C. and 354-3 B.C. The mention of 'Athena' (not *Athena Polias*) in the formula of dedication appears in ii. 741, A. f. g. (see *addenda* p. 511), *στέφανος ὃν Νεοπτόλεμος Ἀντικλέους Μελιτεὺς ἀνέθηκεν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ στεφανωθείς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου* τοῦ Ἀθηναίων.

That the style of decrees differed in no way from that of the Treasurers, may also be shown from ii. 163. Dr. Dörpfeld has already argued (*op. cit.* pp. 192-3) from this inscription that the principal cult of Athena on the Acropolis was that of *Athena Polias*. I only cite it to illustrate the conditions under which Athenian officials found it convenient to introduce the qualification *Πολιάς*. The monument is attributed to the period of Lycurgus' activity, and contains regulations for the better celebration of the annual or little Panathenaea. Observe the changes of expression in the following passage, ll. 17-24: *βωονήσαντες οἱ ἱεροποιοὶ μετὰ τῶν βωονῶν πέμψαντες τὴν πομπὴν τῇ θεῇ θύοντων ταύτας τὰς βοῦς ἀπάσας ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῆς [Ἀθηνᾶς τῷ μεγάλῳ, μὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Νίκης προκρίναντες ἐκ τῶν καλλιστευουσῶν βοῶν, καὶ θύσαντες τῇ [Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Νίκῃ ἀπασῶν τῶν βοῶν τῷ]... ἐω[νυμένων νεμ]όντων τὰ κρέα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων.* The restorations are certain, for the space can be calculated with exactness. Is it not plain (1) that *Athena Polias* is the same as 'Athena' and 'the goddess,' (2) that the juxtaposition of *Athena Nike* caused the addition of the epithet *Polias*? I have gone through all the passages from inscriptions and ancient writers concerning the Panathenaea, which are collected in the 2nd Appendix of Prof. Michaelis' book on the Parthenon, pp. 318-333. The usual description of the deity in honour of whom the festival was held is 'the goddess' or 'Athena'; the one or the other of these occurs thirty-six times. On the other hand, certain inscriptions excepted, all of which I have quoted and discussed in this paper, the word *Polias* is only used three times, in the following extracts: (1)

Zenob. 1. 56. *Ἀκέσεως καὶ Ἑλικῶνος ἔργα· ἐπὶ τῶν θαύματος ἀξίων· οὗτοι γὰρ πρῶτοι τὸν τῆς πολιადὸς Ἀθηνᾶς πέπλον ἐδημιούργησαν.* (2) Aristoph. *Birds* 826 *sqq.* *Ἐπ. λιπαρὸν τὸ χρῆμα τῆς πόλεως. τίς δαὶ θεὸς | πολιοῦχος ἔσται; τῷ ξανοῦμεν τὸν πέπλον; Πε' τί δ' οὐκ Ἀθηναίαν ἐῷμεν πολιάδα;* (3) Schol. R. ad loc. *τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ πολιάδι οὔση πέπλος ἐγένετο παμποικίλος, ὃν ἀνέφερον ἐν τῇ πομπῇ τῶν Παναθηναίων.* (I have excluded Hdt. 5. 82, because the passage has nothing to do with the Panathenaea.)

The inscriptions already examined seem sufficient to prove that it is an error to tie down the word *Polias* to a distinct local sense, confined to one place, viz. the Erechtheum. But to complete the inquiry something must be said concerning the formulae which are found in dedications. The title *Athena Polias* occurs occasionally in lists of treasures, not because the Treasurers inserted it to prevent confusion, but because the longer and unambiguous style had been used by the dedicators and was quoted in the catalogue. Part of the inventory of the 'old temple' (*ἀρχαῖος νεὸς*) is preserved in ii. 733 and 735, and ll. 17-22 of the latter inscription have been restored as follows: *[φιάλη ἀργυρᾷ ἐφ'] εἰ ἐπιγέγραπ[ταν] Ἀθηνᾷ Πολιάδι Φρύνισκο[ς].....ἀνέθ[ηκε]· ἑτέρα φιά[λη] ἀργυρᾷ, ἐφ' εἰ ἐπιγέγραπται· [ἱερὰ Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος] ἀνέθ[ηκε].....σ[τ]ράτη.* Similarly in ii. 724 B. 9-17, 737 A. ii. 9 (where Koehler's supplement *Πολιάδι* seems to me right) and 649, 14-5 (*Ἀθην[αῖ]ο[ι] ἀνέθεσαν Πολιάδι*, though *ἀνέθεσαν* here is suspicious; note l. 7 *Ἀθηναῖοι Ἀθηναίᾳ ἀκροθίμιον*) the word *Polias* was part of the inscription graven on the offering. Excavations on the Acropolis have brought to light very ancient examples of the fuller form of dedication *e.g.* iv. 2, 373¹⁰⁶ (p. 91) *[Ἀστὸν?] θαλόντον πολέοχε πότνι Ἀθᾶνα Σμίκρο καὶ παῖδον μνῆμ' ἔχοι ἔδε πόλις*, and iv. 3, 373⁸¹ (p. 180) *Δε[ικ]άτεν : Ἀθῆναία : πολιοῦχοι [Ἱ]εροκλείδες : μ' ἀνέθεκεν : Γλανκίο.* The second of these inscriptions is particularly noteworthy, because in seeking to explain the wealth of 'the goddess' or 'Athena' in the 5th century, historians always reckon the tithes of various kinds paid to her; see the references in Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 1, p. 215, n. 2. The motives that led any particular dedicator to write *Athena Polias* or *Poliouchos* rather than *Athena*, are beyond speculation. It is enough to observe that it was easy to tag a verse with *Ἀθηναία πολιοῦχω*, and that offerings were made on the Acropolis, not only to the guardian goddess, but to *Athena Nike*, to *Athena*

Ergane (iv. 3, 373²⁷¹ [p. 205]), and to Athena Hygieia (i. 335).

The result of this investigation, that the goddess of the Parthenon had a right to the title Polias, has a bearing on two topographical controversies, the one about Athena's temples on the Acropolis, the other concerning the nature and site of the Opisthodomus. I hold, agreeing partially with Dr. Dörpfeld, that a third century decree (ii. 332, 44) contains the complete and unambiguous official description of the Parthenon, viz. 'the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis'; there was a temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis. I also think that the Parthenon was sometimes meant by 'the temple,' as in the decree in honour of Spartocus and Pairisades (iv., ii. 109 b) and in an inventory of 'the Treasurers of Athena and the other gods' which probably was made in 390-89 B.C. (ii. 660, 49), but only when the context removed obscurity. But Dr. Dörpfeld's theory about the meaning of 'the old temple' I cannot accept, finding nothing in the inscriptions in favour of his view that 'the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis' in a decree supposed to be earlier than 460 B.C. (iv. 1. c. 28-9; the supplement ἀρχαίο seems right) or 'the old temple of Athena Polias' in a decree of the first century B.C. (ii. 464, 6; I accept the supplement) or 'the old temple' mentioned in a fourth century inventory of the treasures of Athena (ii. 733, A. col. ii. 6; in ii. 650, 2 (cp. 675, 2) and in ii. 163, 10-11 the supplements are not to be trusted) was distinct from the Erechtheum or an earlier temple on the site of the Erechtheum. The fragment of a fifth century decree preserved in i. 93 is best set aside, because owing to the mutilation of the stone, it cannot be settled whether the phrase in a l. 6 was 'the old temple' simply or 'the old temple of Athena' or 'the old temple of Athena Polias.' Further, whenever the words 'the old temple' are found in inventories of the Treasurers of the other gods (ii. 672, 43; cf. iv., ii. 672 c. 6) or of the superintendents (ἐπιστάται) of the Brauronium (ii. 751 B. col. ii. frg. d. 19, ii. 758, col. ii. 7) it is prudent to suspend judgment; our knowledge of the history of the various temples in Attica is not exhaustive.

The hypothesis that in inscriptions 'the temple of Athena Polias' means the Parthenon and 'the old temple of Athena Polias' the Erechtheum or an earlier temple on the site of the Erechtheum, has the merit of simplicity and is not contradicted by any of the few scattered facts at present

known. But the language of literature must be distinguished from the language of the monuments and measured by other canons. In inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries the word Parthenon denotes a chamber in the 'great temple,' but the use of the name to designate the whole building was familiar in the age of Demosthenes, and could not fail to influence the popular nomenclature of Athena's temples on the Acropolis. Men who were in the habit of speaking, just as we do, of the Parthenon, might without serious ambiguity call the Erechtheum 'the temple of the Polias'; nothing was more natural, for the Erechtheum was indubitably the seat of the most ancient worship of the tutelary goddess. But the usage of literature has not the fixity and regularity of official tradition; the Erechtheum is sometimes styled 'the old temple of the Polias,' as by Strabo (ix. 16, p. 396), while Aristides (i. p. 548, 14 Dind.) refers to the Parthenon under the title of 'the temple of Athena.' When the authority is not epigraphical but literary, no argument can be based on the meaning of the phrase 'the temple of the Polias,' if the context is lost or deprived of value by our ignorance of facts obvious to the writer. In my opinion the passages where this expression causes serious perplexity, are not numerous, but some there are, particularly in lexica and collections of scholia.

One of these ambiguous extracts has been used recently in a discussion of the site of the Opisthodomus. Prof. White, believing with Dr. Milchhoefer (*Philologus* N.F. 7. 1894, p. 352 *sqq.*) and other distinguished scholars that the Opisthodomus was not part of the Parthenon but a separate building complete in itself, seeks (*op. cit.*) to fix its position from a scholion on Aristoph. Plut. 1193 τὸν ὀπισθοδόμον ἀεὶ φυλάττων τῆς θεοῦ. On this verse the *Venetus* (V) has the following note, which I give as corrected by J. Meursius: ὀπίσω τοῦ νεῶ τῆς καλουμένης πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς διπλοῦς τοίχος (οἶκος Michaelis and Prof. White) ἔχων θύραν, ὅπου ἦν θησαυροφυλάκιον. Prof. White starts from the doctrine that 'the temple of the Polias' must mean under all circumstances the Erechtheum. He therefore takes the scholion as proof that the Opisthodomus was 'behind the Erechtheum.' But what was considered the front of this temple? The northern or the eastern portico? He thinks it 'probable that at least in the time of the sources from which the scholiast and Harpocration and other lexicographers drew their information the front of the temple

was thought to be at the north' (*op. cit.* p. 39). The Opisthodomus, then, was to the south of the Erechtheum. Further, it is suggested on the strength of Hdt. 8, 55 that a Greek felt the Pandroseum to be part of the Erechtheum; and in the end the Opisthodomus is discovered to the south, not of the temple buildings, but of the precinct called the Pandroseum, on the site of the three western rooms and western portico of the old Hecatompodon. The theory is that these chambers which made up the Opisthodomus or 'back part' of the 'ante-Persian' temple of Athena, were rebuilt, after the devastation of the Acropolis by Xerxes' army, to serve as a treasury of the gods and of the state, that they retained their old name, although the rest of the building was not restored, and that they constitute 'the Opisthodomus' of literature and inscriptions. Now, if it had been convincingly demonstrated that the western portion of the 'ante-Persian' temple of Athena was rebuilt between the years 479 B.C. and 435-4 B.C., in order that Athens might not be without a treasury, it might be permissible to conclude that by the words

'behind the temple of Athena called Polias' the original author of the obscure definition reproduced in V must have meant 'to the south of the Pandroseum,' where *ex hypothesi* a structure stood that might perhaps have been called 'the Opisthodomus.' But it is precisely the existence of such a building that stands in need of proof. The restoration, partial or complete, of the old Hecatompodon destroyed by the Persians is merely a conjecture, not an unquestionable fact certified by ancient authorities and architectural remains. When the position of the Opisthodomus is discovered, it will be possible to interpret the statement of Harpocration, Photius, Suidas, and Schol. R on Aristoph. *Plut.* 1193 that it was 'behind the temple of Athena' and estimate the value of the unique note in the *Venetus*, on which Prof. White builds. But in this matter the lexica and scholia are worthless, since every critic can construe them in accordance with his own prepossessions. My bias, I will confess, inclines me towards the Parthenon.

W. WYSE.

NOTES ON BACCHYLIDES.

(Continued from p. 133.)

XVII. 95-99. I wish to amend one detail in my note on this passage (*C.R.* xii. p. 129). In 97 I proposed to read οὐρία νότου δ' ἐκόντες ἔξεσαν (the last word being due to Mr. F. W. Thomas). But the Facsimile (col. 26) convinces me that what was read as ΕΚΟΝ is ΕΚΟΛΙ, the last stroke being doubtless part of Π, so that Prof. Blass is right in giving ἐκόλπωσαν. To this, however, he subjoins σὺν αὔραις, where the metre indicates only ~ - (cp. 31, 64, 130, 196). Read οὐρία νότου δ' ἐκόλπωσαν πνοῇ | ἰστίον κ.τ.λ.: cp. *Anth.* 9. 363 πνοῇ ἡπηνάντων Ζεφύρου λῖνα κολπώσαντες.

XVII. 7. Π. ΛΕΜΑΙΓΙΔΟΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΣ. πολεμαίγιδος (Kenyon) is, I think, right: 'with warlike aegis.' For analogous compounds of πόλεμος cp. *Batrachom.* 475 Παλλάδα πέμψωμεν πολεμόκλονον: anon. ap. Dionys. *De comp.* 17 Βρόμιε ..πολεμοκέλαδε: schol. *Od.* 1. 48 πολεμόφρων. Prof. Housman and Mr. W. Headlam propose οσελμαίγιδος ('aegis-shaking'), an ingenious conjecture, which Mr. Headlam illustrates

by *Il.* 4. 167 (Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἐπισσεύησιν ἑρεμνὴν αἰγίδα πᾶσιν: where the 'dark aegis' that Zeus 'brandishes over' the Trojans directly suggests the storm-cloud. But the aegis worn by Athena as part of her panoply was regularly depicted as a short cape or mantle. She can, indeed, spread this to the wind as a sail (ῥοιβδοῦσα κόλπον αἰγίδος, Aesch. *Eum.* 404); but she could not well be described as 'shaking' it like a shield. As to the form πελεμαίγης, Mr. Headlam remarks that (despite such exceptions as *τερπικέρανος*) we might rather expect πελεμιξαίγης. No other compound with πελεμ- or πελεμιξ- occurs. Athena, it may be noted, is here the sender of Boreas; and it might be argued, in favour of πελεμαίγιδος, that here, as in the *Iliad* l.c., there is a reference to the storm-cloud. Even if (as seems probable) the poet wrote πολεμαίγιδος, that association with αἰγίς may, indeed, have been present to his mind. But that he should have conceived Athena (like the Homeric Zeus) as 'shaking' the storm-aegis is most unlikely, when we remember that her cape-aegis was already

a fixed convention of contemporary Greek art. Thus on that very cylix of Euphronius (circ. 490-450 B.C.) which illustrates one scene of this poem—the reception of Theseus by Amphitrite—Athena, the hero's guardian goddess, is wearing the cape-aegis (Baumeister, p. 1793).

XVII. 20. εἶπεν occurs again in 74. If sound, it may be explained by a wish to vary εἶπεν, which occurs in 47, 52, and 81. Prof. -v. Wilamowitz assumes (as I did at first) that εἶπεν is merely a corruption of εἶπεν, due to a form of Pi (with the right-hand stroke shorter than the other) which went out of general use after the second century B.C. Hence he regards the (supposed) corruption as one of the documents for the antiquity of the source from which our MS. comes. But the change of such a Pi into P is not a very probable one. And it would be a most singular coincidence which had preserved εἶπεν in 47, 52 and 81, but corrupted it in 74 to εἶπεν,—just in the place where the poet might naturally have wished to break the monotony. For εἶπεν, indeed, he had no warrant (known to us) except the rare present εἶρω (*Od.* 11. 137 and 13. 7); but he may have thought that sufficient.

XVII. 36-38.

χρῦσέον
τὰ εἰ δόσαν ἰόπλοκοι
κάλυμμα Νηρηίδες.

A short syllable is wanting after ἰόπλοκοι. I agree with those who hold that τοι will not serve; and as to another possibility, κάλυμ' ~ Νηρηίδες, I can think of no tolerable word to fill the gap. Now, Theseus is here insisting with pride on his parentage;—'Aethra became the bride of Poseidon,—aye, and the Nereids gave her a golden veil.' ἰόπλοκοί γε seems, then, possible.

XVII. 74-76.

Θησεῦ, <σὺν> τὰδε
μὲν βλέπεις σαφῆ Διὸς
δῶρα· σὺ δ' ὄρνυ' κ.τ.λ.

After Θησεῦ, the MS. has lost a short syllable (cp. 8, 31, 97): and σὺν might easily have dropped out after -σεῦ. Is σὺν δ' ὄρνυ' in 76 conclusive against this view? I think not; because σὺν δὲ with *imperative* was an idiom (especially Ionic) in which the stress on the verb was much stronger than that on the pronoun; see e.g. *Her.* 3. 68 εἰ μὴ αὐτῇ Σμέρδιν . . γινώσκεις, σὺ δὲ παρὰ Ἀτόσσης πύθεν: *id.* 7. 159 εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ δικαιοῖς ἀρχεσθαι, σὺ δὲ μηδὲ βοήθεε: cp. *Il.* 9. 300 ff., 6.

46, etc. Hence σὺν δ' ὄρνυ', with the chief emphasis on the imperative, is quite compatible with σὺν τὰδε μὲν βλέπεις two lines before, where the emphasis on σὺν is normal.

Prof. Platt's τὰδ' ἐμὰ is a plausible conjecture (though he need not have altered Θησεῦ into Θησεῖ). But this papyrus never had any letters after ΤΑΔΕ in v. 74 (Facsimile, col. 34). We should have to assume, then, that the letters ΜΑ (required to complete τὰδ' ἐμὰ) either were accidentally omitted by the scribe, or were absent from the MS. which he copied.

XVII. 86.

τα . εν δὲ Διὸς υἱὸς ἔνδοθεν
κέαρ, κέλευσέ τε κατ' οὐ-
[ρ]ὸν ἴσχειν εὐδαίδαλον
ναῶ· Μοῖρα δ' ἐτέραν ἐπόρσυν' ὁδόν.

The first word is read by Mr. Kenyon as τᾶ(ξ)εν, and by Prof. Blass as τᾶ(κ)εν. I hold that it was γᾶ(θ)εν. Mr. Kenyon would, indeed, have placed this in the text, had it not involved the alteration of a letter in the mutilated word: few changes, however, are slighter than that of T to Γ. What would τᾶξεν (or τᾶκεν) κέαρ mean? The disguised Odysseus says to Penelope, *μηκέτι νῦν χροῖα καλὸν ἐναίρεο μηδ' ἔτι θυμὸν | τῆκε πόσιν γοόουσα*, 'nor waste thy heart with weeping for thy lord.' So the sense here would be, 'Minos wasted his heart within him,'—was consumed with *grief*,—which cannot be meant; or possibly (though this would strain the phrase), 'felt his heart melt within him' from *amazement* or *fear*. (So Kenyon: 'Minos was taken aback and scared.') But the whole context makes it clear that the sense required is, 'Minos secretly rejoiced.' It was with a malignant intent, as the poet hints, that he had challenged Theseus to ask a sign from Poseidon:—ὑφαίνε . . ποταμίαν μῆτιν (v. 51). Theseus sprang from the deck into the sea,—and no sign of the sea-god's favour was yet visible to the spectators. Minos was delighted. He thought that he had got rid of his foe. Instead of stopping the ship, he told his pilot to keep her on her way before the wind (κατ' οὐρον ἴσχειν): 'but Fate,' adds the poet, 'was preparing a different course,'—viz., other than that in which Minos was prematurely rejoicing,—another confirmation of γᾶθεν. Then the feeling of Minos is contrasted with the terror and grief of the ἥθροι (92 ff.). Lastly, when Theseus reappears from the depths, the poet exclaims (v. 119), φεῦ, οἶαισιν ἐν φροντίσι Κνώσσιον ἔσχατον στραταγέταν,—'in what thoughts did he check' Minos,—by abruptly

dispelling his sense of triumph and security. In view of all this, it seems pretty certain that B. did *not* write τᾶ(ξ)εν or τᾶ(κ)εν: and, for my own part, I have little doubt that the word was γᾶθεν.

In *C.R.* xii. p. 139 Prof. Housman argues in favour of τᾶξεν (or τᾶκεν) as against γᾶθεν: I wish to examine his argument. Disregarding the accent on κατούρον in the MS. v. 87 f., he writes κάτουρον, and explains the passage as follows. When Theseus, accepting the challenge of Minos, jumped overboard, 'Minos was filled with remorse, as befitted a son of Zeus, to think that he had sent a fine young fellow to his death.' So he ordered the crew to *stop* the ship, which was running before the wind (κάτουρον ἴσχεν . . νᾶα). 'But fate ordained a different course.' And what was this 'different course'? Simply, according to Mr. Housman, *that the ship should sail on*. But, if Minos told his men to stop the ship, why did they not do so? Did fate inspire a mutiny on board? Or, if the κυβερνήτης obeyed Minos, and put his helm hard up, did fate forbid the ship to answer it? In either case, the operation of fate was of so remarkable a kind that one might have expected the poet to say more about it. Then this sudden tenderness of Minos, though in itself an engaging trait, is surprisingly inconsistent with the rest of his conduct in this Minotaur business; if he really stopped to pick up Theseus, his true motive (one might suspect) was consideration for the hungry Minotaur. Lastly, as to the change of κατ' οὔρον into κάτουρον (a word which nowhere occurs, but for which Mr. Housman compares ἔπουρος): he assumes that ἴσχεν κάτουρον νᾶα means ἴσχεν τὴν κατουρίζουσαν ναῦν, 'to stop the ship *which was (then) running* before the wind'; but, according to the ordinary idiom of classical Greek, the sense should be rather, 'to *keep* the ship *before the wind*,' κάτουρον being still equivalent to κατ' οὔρον. In support of the MS. κατ' οὔρον ἴσχεν as = 'to keep before the wind,' it may be noted that the phrase ἔχειν ναῦν often occurs with reference to keeping a ship on a certain course: e.g. *Od.* 10. 91 ἐνθ' οἷ γ' εἴσω πάντες ἔχον νέας, ('thereinto they all steered their ships'); *Her.* 6. 95 οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἥπειρον εἶχον τὰς νέας κ.τ.λ.

XVII. 95. λειρίων . . ὀμμάτων. What is the meaning of the epithet? Suidas has λειρόφθαλμος (which, by the way, is not in L. and S.), ὁ προσηγεῖς ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. This ought probably to be λειρ(ι)όφθαλμος. The form λειρός is, indeed, given by Hesych.

(ὁ ἰσχνὸς καὶ ὠχρὸς), and occurs (see L. and S.) in *C. I.* 6270a, τέττιξ . . λειρὰ χέων, a reminiscence of the cicada's ὅπα λειριόεσσαν in *Il.* 3. 152. But λειρός was presumably a rarer form than λείριος. The interpretation of λειριόφθαλμος as denoting προσηγεῖς ὀφθαλμούς seems to be derived from that of ὅπα λειριόεσσαν ἀστὴν προσηγή καὶ ἡδέϊαν (Hesych.), a 'soothing' or 'pleasing' voice. This explanation of λειριόεις in *that phrase* is generalised in the gloss of Suidas, λειριόεντα ἀπαλά, προσηγή,τερπνά, ἡδέα. It is unfortunate that we know nothing as to the age or source of λειριόφθαλμος: we can only say that it has the stamp of a late word. But it is quite intelligible that the old epic ὅπα λειριόεσσαν (varied in later epos to ὅπα λείριον) should have been taken to mean, (1) a voice of delicate charm—the image being borrowed from the delicate beauty of the lily; cp. χρῶα λειριόεντα, 'delicate skin,' in *Il.* 13. 830: and then, by an easy transition, (2) 'a gentle or soothing voice,'—προσηγή,—which would well suit (e.g.) the ὅπα λείριον of the Sirens (*Ap. Rhod.* 4. 903). Next would come secondary phrases of a more artificial cast, such as λείρια ὄμματα in the sense of *blandi oculi*, 'gentle' eyes. Is such a phrase too artificial,—too Alexandrian,—for a poet living in the first half of the fifth century B.C.? My own instinct would be rather to answer that question in the affirmative. But it remains a possibility that Bacchylides may have intended such a sense. The only alternative that I can see is to understand, 'eyes of delicate beauty.' When Pindar calls the white coral λείριον ἀνθεμον ποντίας . . . ἐέρσας (*N.* 7. 79) that notion is present; there, however, the notion of colour also comes in.

XVII. 123-129.

λάμ-
πε δ' ἀμφὶ γνῖοις θεῶν δῶρ', ἀγλαό-
θρονοί τε κοῦραι σὺν εὐ-
θυμῷ νεοκτίτῳ
ὠλόλυξαν· ἔκλαγεν δὲ
πόντος· ἥθεοι δ' ἐγγύθεν
νέοι παιάνιζαν ἑρατὰ ὀπί.

Who are the κοῦραι in v. 125? ἀγλαόθρονος is an epithet of the Muses in Pind. *O.* 13. 96; and of the Danaides in *N.* 10. 1 (with reference to their representation in sculpture). So εὐθρονος is said by Pindar of Aphrodite, the Horae, the daughters of Cadmus, and Clio. The epithet ἀγλαόθρονος strongly suggests, then, that the κοῦραι meant are divine (or semi-divine) persons; and these can here be only the Nereids. Cp.

Pind. *N.* 4, 65 ἰψιθρόνων μίαν Νηρηίδων. In Eur. *I.A.* 239 ff. golden statues of Nereids are at the sterns of the ships of Achilles. Theseus found the Nereids in the halls of Amphritrite (v. 101 ff.). If the epithet be pressed, they must be imagined as still seated there; their cry of joy, mingled with the sound of the sea (ἐκλαγεν), is heard from the depths: they rejoice in the honours shown to the son of Poseidon. But ἀγλαόθρονοι might also be taken as merely an *epitheton ornans*; just as the palace of Poseidon beneath the waves is called that of πατρός ἱππίου (v. 99 f.). The phrase σὺν εὐθυμῇ νεοκτίτῳ might naturally suggest that the κοῦραι are the seven Athenian maidens on board the ship: but ἀγλαόθρονοι must then refer merely to their seats on the Ἱκρια at the stern (as in Eur. *Helen.* 1571 Helen sits ἐν μέσοις ἑδωλίοις): and considering their plight as victims destined for the Minotaur, the epithet would be strange indeed. Further, the term ἥθειοι in 128 would naturally denote both the maidens and the youths, as it does in v. 43 and 93, and as κούρους also does in v. 3. [Since writing this, I learn that M. Henri Weil also understands the Nereids to be meant.]

XVII. 131 φρένα ἰανθείς. The hiatus is irregular, since ἰαίνω had no *F*. My suggestion φρένας is accepted by Prof. v. Wilamowitz (*Gött. Anz.* p. 138). If φρένα be right, we can only compare v. 74 f., ἐξείλετο ἰόν (ἰός, ἄρρω, not having *F*).

XVIII. 10. σεύοντ' = σεύοντι. For the elision of *ι* in the Doric 3rd pl., cp. Pind. *P.* 4. 241 ἀγαπάζοντ'. αὐτίκα κ.τ.λ.

XVIII. 35. ἡ μῶνον σὺν ὅπλοισιν MS. Verses 5, 20, and 50 show the metre $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$. We need not change μῶνον to μόνον here, nor κῆνυκτον to κῆνυκτον in 50. Kenyon gives ἡ μόνον τ' ἄνοπλόν τέ νιν. On this view the σὺν ὅπλοισιν of the MS. would be a dittographia from σὺν πολεμίοις ὅπλοισιν 33 f. Prof. Housman proposes ἡ μῶνον συνοπαύων (cp. Soph. *O.C.* 1250 ἀνδρῶν γε μῶνος); the corruption would then have started from a change of ΠΑ into ΠΛ, coupled perhaps with some mutilation or blurring of ΝΩ. An emendation which requires less change is ἡ μῶνον· συνόπλοιο νιν: if the last *O* had become *C*, the first *N* of νιν would have been deleted. This is due to A. Ludwich (Königsberg programm, 1898, p. 13), who compares *Λι.* 511 σοῦ διοίsetai μόνος. Against the distinct gain in palaeographical probability we have, however, to weigh the fact that, for a contrast with στρατιῶν

ἀγοντα πολλάν in 34, a plural like συνοπαίων is slightly better than the singular συνόπλοιο.

XVIII. 50-54.

κῆνυκτον κινέαν Λάκαι-
ναν κρατὸς ὑπὲρ πυρσοχαίτου,
χιτῶνα πορφύρεον
στέρνοις τ' ἄμφι καὶ οὐλον
Θεσσαλὴν χλαμῦδ' κ.τ.λ.

As to the last three of these verses, the obvious remedy has been proposed by Prof. v. Wilamowitz, and (independently) by Prof. Platt: we must write στέρνοις τε πορφύρεον | χιτῶν' ἄμφι. The problem of v. 51 remains, where the ~ ~ - given by (κρατ)ὸς ὑπὲρ ought to be ~ ~ ~, as is indicated by vv. 6, 21, 36. Prof. Crusius, indeed, holds (*Philol.* lvii. p. 175) that 'Ionics with anaclassis' form a characteristic element in the logaoedic style of this poem, and that anaclassis explains the metrical divergence between v. 51 and the triad of corresponding verses: but I cannot persuade myself of this. Mr. W. Headlam (*C.R.* xii. 67) says, 'Possibly κρατὸς κάτω, comparing *Od.* 8. 84 f. φῶρος . . | καὶ κεφαλῆς εἵρυσσε ('drew his cloak down over his head'): but this emendation would 'bonnet' Theseus. Prof. Housman (*ib.* p. 74) says: 'Write κρατὸς θ' ὑπο in 51 and delete τ' in 53.' But what sense results? 'He had a helmet . . , and beneath his head a purple tunic', etc. Surely the simplest remedy is here the most probable, viz., to write κρατὸς περὶ πυρσοχαίτου. Mr. Kenyon objects that we should expect the dative (as in 47 f. περὶ φαίδιμοισι δ' ὅμοις | ξίφος ἔχειν): and it is quite true that the dative would be normal. But the genitive also occurs, though rarely, with περὶ in the local sense: see *Od.* 5. 68 ἡ δ' αὐτοῦ τετάνυστο περὶ σπέιους γλαφυροῖο | ἡμερίς, 'about the hollow cave trailed a garden-vine.' Again, in *Od.* 5. 130 περὶ τρόπιος βεβαῶτα ('bestriding the keel') is exactly parallel with ἄμφ' ἐνὶ δούρατι βαίνει *ib.* 371: but we know that ἄμφι κεφαλῇ (in a local sense) was good Greek (*Il.* 18. 205). Is there, then, any reason to doubt that, under even a light pressure of metrical convenience, a Greek poet could have used περὶ κρατὸς in a local sense?

XIX. 12-16.

πρέπει σε φερτάταν ἵμεν
ἰδὼν παρὰ Καλλιόπας λα-
χοῖσαν ἔξοχον γέρας·
Τιγνῆ' Ἄργος ὅθ' ἵππιον λιποῦσα
φεύγε χρυσέα βούς κ.τ.λ.

τιγν in 15, i.e. τί ἦν, has found two dis-

tinguished defenders—Prof. v. Wilamowitz ('Was war . . . als Io . . .?'), and Prof. Crusius, who regards it as an old formula in beginning a story. (Both critics hold the iambus to be admissible.) But I agree with those who think *την* corrupt. Mr. Marindin proposes to read *τίεν* (Doric inf.), and to omit the point after *γέρας*, so that the construction is, *λαχοῖσαν ἔξοχον γέρας τίεν, quae rem eximiam celebrandam acceperis*: cp. Aesch. *Ag.* 705 f. τὸ νυμφότιμον | μέλος ἐκφάτως τόντας. The point after *γέρας* in the MS. is not conclusive against this attractively simple correction; for such a point would naturally have been added when *ΤΙΕΝ* came to be read as *ΤΙΗΝ* (τί ἦν). The connection, however, of *Ἄργος ὄθ' ἵππιον κ.τ.λ.* with the preceding context seems then not quite satisfactory. We have to take the sentence *ὅτ' Ἄργος φεῦγε βοῦς* as defining either *ὁδόν*, the strain of song, or (which would be more natural) *γέρας*, the choice theme: '(namely the time) when Io was fleeing,' etc. This is not (I think) at all impossible; but it is somewhat strange. I am much disposed to accept a conjecture of Mr. W. Headlam (*C.R.* xii. p. 68), which allows us to keep the MS. stop after *γέρας*: viz. *ἦεν*, 'There was a time when,' etc. Mr. Headlam has cited several passages for the usage of *ἦν ὅτε*. He has omitted, however, to observe that this usage exhibits two distinct shades of meaning. (1) *Anthol.* 1. 92 begins with *ἦν ὅτε Χριστὸς ἵανεν κ.τ.λ.* This is exactly apposite: for *ἦν ὅτε* is there merely a formula prefacing a narrative; 'There was a time when' (= 'Once upon a time'). (2) In all the other passages it will be found that *ἦν ὅτε* introduces a contrast between past and present; e.g., *Anth.* 8. 178 *ἦν ὅτε ἦν ἀτίνακτος . . . νῦν δέ με θῆρ ἐτίναξεν*: 'there was a time when I was unshaken,'—but now it is otherwise. So also *Anth.* 12. 44; 14. 52; 9. 344 (*ἦν ὁπότε*): in Pind. fr. 83 (B⁴) we have only the words *ἦν ὅτε σῶας τὸ Βοιωτίον ἔθνος ἔνεπον*,—but that was manifestly an instance of the same kind. Presumably, then, this antithetic use of *ἦν ὅτε* was the normal one. But the single example (*Anth.* 1. 92) quoted above suffices to show that the purely prefatory use was idiomatic. As to the form *ἦεν*, it occurs *Il.* 12. 9, Hes. *Scut.* 15: an Ionic poet could certainly use it. Palaeographically, too, the correction is tenable. *ΤΙΗΝ* would come from *HEN* through *H* being read as *ΤΙ* (as Mr. Kenyon says, 'ΤΙ is very like H in the MS.'): and *EN* would then be read as *HN*.

XVIII. 29 *εἴτ' οὖν*...33 *ἦ ῥα*...35 *ἦ Πιερίδες*...37 *ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν*.

In 33 we must certainly (I think) read *ἦ ῥα*. In 29, where I accepted Mr. Kenyon's reading of *ΕΙΤΟΥΝ* as *εἴτ' οὖν*, I now prefer my earlier view, that it should be read as *εἴτ' οὖν*. The whole context from 29 to 37 is then as follows:—'Now whether fate decreed that Hermes should (unaided) slay Argus, or [ἦ in 33] whether the ceaseless cares of Argus finally exhausted him, or [ἦ in 35] the Muses lulled him to sleep,—for me at any rate [*ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν* in 37] it is safest (to relate only what is certain—or the final issue—viz., the arrival of Io in Egypt, and the birth of Epaphus).' The defective verse 38, *ἀσφαλέστατον ἄπε*, is thus completed by v. Wilamowitz, *ἄπερ ἐκράνθη λέγειν* (i.e., 'to tell how matters were finally ordained'). [Seeking to preserve the sequence *ἄπ*, without inserting the conjectural iota which *ἄπερ* requires, I suggested *ἄπερ εἰλικρινῇ λέγειν*: but it has been rightly objected that the adj. is a prose word. I took *-ον ἄπερ* to be ~ ~ ~ for *-υ*. *ἄπερ ἐμφανῇ λέγειν* would be possible.]

XVIII. 39–45.

ἐπεὶ παρ' ἀνθεμῶ[δεα
40 Νεῖλον ἀφίκετ'
'Ιὼ φέρονσα παῖδ[
'Επαφον, ἔνθα νι[
αἰνόςτόλων πρυ[
ἱπερόχῳ βρύνοντ[
45 μεγίσταν τε θυ[

Much turns on the word in 43 which the *ed. princeps* gives as *αἰνόςτόλων*. The first letter seems, however, to be Λ rather than Α (Facsimile col. 39), thus giving *λινοστόλων*, which is read by Prof. v. Wilamowitz and by Prof. Blass. The epithet would be specially suitable to Egyptian priests; but might also be said of the Egyptians generally (*Her.* 2. 37 *εἵματα δὲ λίνεα φορέουσι αἰεὶ νέοπλυντα*). In an Egyptian Isis-hymn of *circ.* 350 A.D. (Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* 1028) Isis is addressed as Αἰγύπτου βασίλεια λινόστολε.

But did *νιν* in 42 refer to Io or to Epaphus? If to Io, then *βρύνοντ'* in 44 must have been either *βρύνοντος* or *βρύνωντων*. For *βρύνοντος* (ὄλβω, or the like), we should need a subst. in the sense of *γένεος*: but this is not easy to fit in along with *λινοστόλων*. If the word was *βρύνωντων*, then it must (for metrical reasons) have been the last of the verse (so that a subst. for *ὑπερόχῳ* would have to be found in 42 or 43); and it would be an epithet of the *λινοστόλων* (the Egyptian priests or people); whereas the lauda-

tory epithet should belong rather to Epaphus or his royal descendants. Therefore it seems probable that *νιν* in 42 referred, not to Io, but to Epaphus.

If *λινοςτόλων* was an epithet of the priests, we might restore (*exempli gratia*) thus:—

- 41 Ἴω φέρουσα παῖδ' [ὑπερτάτου Διὸς]
Ἐπαφον· ἔνθα νιν [ν' ἱερέων ἔθηκεν]
λινοςτόλων πρύ[τανιν]
ὑπερόχω βρύνοντ[α πλούτῳ],
45 μεγίσταν τε θν[ατῶν κτίσε σποράν].

For *ἱερέων* (— — —), cp. II. 2 *ἱεράν* (— —). The subject to *ἔθηκεν* and *κτίσε* would be *Ζεὺς*, supplied from *Διὸς* in 41. If *λινοςτόλων* referred to the Egyptians at large, we might suggest in 42 (with a different but equally possible rhythm),

*Ἐπαφον· ἔνθα νιν ἔσσε δαμοτῶν.

XVIII. 46–48.

ᾔθεν καὶ ἀγανορε[
ἐν ἑπταπύλοισι Θήβαις]
Κάδμος Σεμέ[λαν φύτευσεν].

Led by *ἀγανορε* in the first transcript, I conjectured *ἀγανόρειος*. The Facsimile shows after *ΑΓΑΝΟΡ* a small vestige of the top of a letter which might be *Ι* quite as well as *Ε*.

And since *Ι* is admissible, it is obvious that we should read *Ἀγανορίδας* (as Crusius, v. Wilamowitz, and Blass agree in doing). Agenor, father of Cadmus, was grandson of Epaphus.

XX. Idas and Lynceus were sons of Aphareus and Ἀρήνη (*ā*), a Messenian hero and heroine: hence the brothers are Ἀφαρητιδαί (Pind. *N.* 10. 65). Idas and Apollo were rivals for the love of Marpessa, daughter of the Aetolian Εὐηνος. Evenus compelled suitors for his daughter's hand to engage in some contest with him, slew them when they were vanquished, and roofed a temple with their skulls. This was told by Bacchylides (as we learn from schol. Pind. *I.* 4. 92), probably in a lost part of this poem. Idas, having received a winged chariot (ὑπόπτερον ἄρμα Apoll. 1. 7. § 8) from Poseidon, carried off Marpessa from her paternal home. Evenus pursued the couple; at the river Lycormas in Aetolia, finding that he could not overtake them, he slaughtered his horses, and drowned himself in the river, which thenceforth bore his name. Idas brought Marpessa to his home in Messene. Apollo came to take her from him. The undaunted hero bent his bow

against the archer-god; when Zeus intervened, and allowed Marpessa to take her choice. She chose Idas, fearing that her immortal lover might forsake her in her old age.

Here is the text of the fragment:—

- Σπάρτα ποτ' ἐν[
ξανθαὶ Λακεδα[
τοιόνδε μέλος κ[
ὄτ' ἄγετο καλλιπα[
5 κόραν θρασυκαρ[
Μάρπησσαν ἰο[
φυγῶν θανάτου[
ἀναξιάλος Ποσει[
ἵππους τέ οἱ ἴσαν[
10 Πλευρῶν' ἐς ἔυκτ[
χρυσάσπιδος νιο[

The restoration of the first five verses is easy, so far as their general sense is concerned (and that is all which we can hope to recover). They may have run somewhat as follows:—

Σπάρτα ποτ' ἐν [εὐρυχώρῳ v. Wilam.,
Headlam]
ξανθαὶ Λακεδαίμονίων
τοιόνδε μέλος κ[όρα]ν ἄδον v. Wilam.]
ὄτ' ἄγετο καλλιπά[ρα]ον Platt]
κόραν θρασυκάρδιος Ἰδας.

To restore verses 6–11 is more difficult. Three conditions of the problem must first be noted. (1) We must have a verb to which *Ποσειδᾶν* (*Ποσειδᾶν*) in v. 8 can be subject, and *ἵππους* in 9 object. (2) The place of *τε* shows that it cannot link this new sentence, in which Poseidon is subject, to the former sentence, in which Idas is subject and *ἄγετο* verb. *τε* must link *ἵππους* to another acc. (which may have either preceded or followed *ἵππους*); and this other acc. was probably that of a word denoting *chariot*. Cp. Pind. *O.* 1. 86 (in the parallel story of Pelops being aided by Poseidon to win Hippodameia from Oenomaus), τὸν μὲν ἀγᾶλλον θεὸς ἔδωκεν δίφρον τε χρύσειον περὶοσίν τ' ἀκάμαντας ἵππους. (3) Whatever may have been the structure of the whole passage, *Πλευρῶν' ἐς ἔυκτ[ιμένην]* cannot go with *ἄγετο* in v. 4. It was to Peloponnesus, not to Pleuron, that Idas brought home Marpessa. Pleuron was near the river Evenus. Evenus figures in mythology as a king in Aetolia, great-grandson of Pleuron (Apoll. 1. 7. § 8). Pleuron is here manifestly the seat of Evenus, to which Idas went for the purpose of winning Marpessa. Simonides had, indeed, named Ὀπρυγίαν τὴν

ἐν Χαλκίδι (in Euboea) as the home from which Idas carried her off (schol. *Il.* 9. 556); but, in placing her home at Pleuron, B. was probably following the more generally current version. (4) Evenus was the son of Ares and Demonikè (Apoll. *l.c.*). The last word in v. 11 was probably Ἀρῆος. We may now restore (*exempli gratia*) somewhat as follows:—

Μάρπησσαν ἰο[πλόκαμον],
 φνυγὼν θανάτου [τέλος, ὡς πόρε δίφρον]
 ἀναξίλαος Ποσι[δῶν]
 ἵππους τέ οἱ ἴσαν[έμους· ὁ γὰρ ἐλθὼν]
 Πλευρῶν' ἐς ἔκτ[μέναν],
 χρυσάσιδος νῖδ[ν' Ἀρῆος]

The acc. νῖδον (which euphony as well as the context makes more likely than νῖδς) probably depended on a verb denoting some action of Idas of which Evenus was the object (*e.g.* ἤτησε κόραν). B.'s account of the manner in which Evenus had dealt with former suitors (schol. Pind. *I.* 4. 92) may have followed in connection with this passage.

The title of the poem in the MS. is ΙΔΑΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙΣ. The corresponding ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣΙ in the title of XIX is shown by the internal evidence of that fragment to be right. Even though we assume that these titles can claim no older authority than that of an Alexandrian editor, we may well suppose that, if XX had come down entire, we should have found in it some internal evidence confirmatory of what the opening lines suggest,—that it was written for a Lacedaemonian festival, and presumably for a festival at Sparta. The Lacedaemonian maidens sang how Idas carried off Marpessa

from Pleuron—to what place? To Messenia, as the old legend of Μεσσηνίος Ἴδας (Theocr. 22. 208) told? That is not likely. Pausanias (3. 13. 1) saw the tomb of Idas and Lynceus at Sparta. He remarks that one might have expected them to be buried in Messenia. [The tomb of their Messenian father Aphareus was the scene, in the old legend, of their death in conflict with the Dioscuri,—Lynceus perishing by the spear of Polydeuces, and Idas by the lightning of Zeus, Pind. *N.* 10. 66 ff.] But, adds Pausanias, the misfortunes of the Messenians, and their long exile from Peloponnesus, had dimmed their local traditions, and had made it possible 'for any people who were so disposed' to claim those traditions as their own. Ovid (*Fasti* V. 708) further illustrates this: he places the fatal encounter of the Apharetidae with the Dioscuri at *Aphidna*—not the Attic, but the Laconian: cp. Steph. Byz. Ἀφιδνα δῆμος Ἀττικῆς. ἔστι καὶ Λακωνικῆς, ὅθεν ἦσαν αἱ Λευκίπιδες (the maidens beloved by the Apharetidae). There can be little doubt, then, that in the ἐπιθαλάμιον of Idas and Marpessa, 'sung of yore at Sparta by the golden-haired maidens of Lacedaemon,' Lacedaemon was the home to which Idas brought home his bride. Simonides, if the schol. on *Il.* 9. 559 can be trusted, had made Idas a Lacedaemonian, but mentioned Arene in Messenia as the place to which Idas brought Marpessa. This fragment of Bacchylides has thus the mythological interest of affording the earliest testimony which we possess to the Spartan usurpation of the Messenian legend.

R. C. JEBB.

NOTES ON MACROBIUS.

FALLACY OF HOMONYMS.

ALL readers must concur in Eyssenhardt's eulogy on his predecessor: 'Ludovicus Ianius, cuius ingenti tot annorum diligentiae vix dici potest quantum debeant qui in Macrobio aut emendando aut enarrando versantur.'

It is only the more needful to warn students against occasional slips, even in so learned and vigilant a guide as L. Jan.

In book vii. c. 8, we read:

§ 9. Caecina subiecit: Dum de calore loquimur, admonetur rei quam semper quaesitu dignam putavi,

cur in Aegypto, quae regionum aliarum calidissima est, vinum non calida, sed, paene dixerim, frigida virtute nascatur? § 10. Ad hoc Diarius: Usu tibi, Albine, compertum est aquas quae vel de altis puteis vel de fontibus hauriuntur fumare hieme, aestate frigescere. . . . § 11. Quod ergo ubique alternatur varietate temporis, hoc in Aegypto semper est, cuius aer semper est in calore. Figus enim ima petens *vitium radicibus* involvitur et talem dat qualitatem succo inde nascenti. Ideo regionis calidae vina calore caruerunt.

Here *vitium radicibus* is evidently 'vine-roots.' Yet Jan takes *vitium* as the nominative neuter of the second declension:

'*appositio est vocis frigus, ut fere idem valeat ac eas vitians.*' Some sixty-three years ago a grammatical puzzle was current in Christ's Hospital, and perhaps in other schools, which might, had he known it, have saved Jan from this error. '*Homo in Hispaniam natura naturam vitium visum.*' '*A woman (homo taken as epicene) about to swim into Spain to see the nature of the vines.*' Of all puzzles in language homonymy, the existence of words identical in sound or spelling, or both, but different in root and meaning, is perhaps the most ensnaring. Reformers of English spelling seem unconscious of the risk. Some time ago a Board-school master named *seed*, *supersede*, *proceed*, and *recede* as examples of words requiring to be reduced to a Procrustean uniformity. That the last two words stood on a different footing from the others, never entered his thoughts. No doubt *exceed*, *proceed*, *succeed*, ought forthwith to be conformed to *accede*, *cede*, *concede*, *intercede*, *precede*, *recede*. Our friend the schoolmaster would no doubt destroy all distinction between *cession* and *session*. The only time that I saw Robert Browning, he spoke strongly against phonetic agitators: 'Their success would be

disastrous; I rejoice to think that it is impossible.'

In another passage of the seventh book (c. 14, § 17), Jan has missed the meaning not less signally.

Sicut igitur diximus, cum lumen quod pergit e nobis per aeris lucem in corpus inciderit, impletur officium videndi: sed ut possit res visa cognosci, renuntiat visam speciem rationi sensus oculorum, et illa advocata memoria recognoscit: ergo videre oculorum est indicare rationis.

On the last words, Jan notes:—

Infinitivi locum tenent nominum substantivorum. Vulgo post *est* ponitur comma, ut genitivi pendeant ab hoc verbo, sed videntur ii potius referendi esse ad infinitivos, ut *videre oculorum* sit subiectum, et *indicare rationis* prædicatum, *das Sehen der Augen ist ein Urtheilen der Vernunft.*

Far from identifying the functions of eye and thought, Macrobius carefully discriminates them (cf. § 18 '*quia trinum est officium quod visum complet ad dinoscendam figuram, sensus ratio memoria, sensus rem visam rationi refundit, illa quid visum sit recordatur*'). Retain the old punctuation: 'Sight is of the eyes, judgement of thought.' Eyssenhardt follows Jan.

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PLUTARCH, *ARISTEIDES*, CH. 22.

'*Ἀριστείδης...γράφει ψήφισμα κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων πάντων αἰρεῖσθαι.*'

If we follow Dr. Sandys on 'Aθ. Πολ. 22, § 5, and take *ἄρχοντας* 'in the widest sense of the term,' then we seem to make Plutarch contradict his own assertion in *Cimon* 8, that the strategi of 468 B.C. were '*ἀπὸ φυλῆς μιᾶς ἕκαστον.*'

If Plutarch meant by *ἄρχοντας* the nine archons, then there is apparently a discrepancy between this passage and the statements of the 'Aθ. Πολ. about the various changes in the mode of appointing the Athenian archons.

Mr. Greenidge attempts to reconcile Aristotle and Plutarch by the conjecture that in 479–8 'a decree of the people introduced by Aristides, changed the land census into a census of all property,' *Outlines of Gk. Const. Hist.* page 141–2. Against this the reviewer in *Class. Rev.* May 1897, page 218, raised serious objections, to which may be added the following:—

In the first place the theory adopted by Mr. Greenidge fails to explain how Plutarch's version of Aristides' *ψήφισμα* arose. Such a reformation of census methods would not per se make the *ἄρχοντες* chosen from all Athenians: there would still remain *ζευγῆται* and *θῆτες* as ineligible after the change as before.

Secondly, there is very little proof that Solon's census had regard to land only. A. II. 7, § 4 '*ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας*' seems to be the only passage quoted from ancient authorities that is anything like a clear statement of any such restriction to landed property.

Further, if we adopt Mr. Greenidge's view we are at once confronted with the question, why do not A. II. and other ancient authorities attribute this fundamental constitutional change to Aristides? It would surely have been important enough to attract notice, to be recorded under its proper date, and ascribed to its real author.

As a matter of fact no ancient authority attributes the change from landed property assessment to an assessment of all property

to Aristides, nor to anybody else. The natural inference from this silentium is that no such change was ever made at Athens at any one definite time, by any individual statesman. All property was intended to be counted from the first. The average yield of the harvest is said to have been the basis of Solon's system, because that was, generally speaking, the only ready criterion for assessing a citizen's wealth that was known to the fiscal authorities, such as they were, in those early times at Athens. Other kinds of property besides land were gradually taken into account in the census, exactly in proportion as the census officials gradually acquired the means and ability to detect and estimate them. Meanwhile the purchasing power of money kept declining, as the amount of coin in circulation kept increasing, till the minimum *τίμημα* recorded as fixed in money for each census class became ludicrously small for the purpose for which it was originally intended. But in democratic Athens no one dared propose to raise the minimum assessment for any census class, so the Solonian census classes became obsolete so far as distinctions of constitutional status between individual citizens were concerned. The result was the state of affairs described in A. II. 7 ad fin. *καὶ νῦν ἐπειδὴν ἔρηται τὸν μέλλοντα κληροῦσθαί τιν' ἀρχήν, ποῖον τέλος τελεῖ, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἴποι θητικόν,* and A. II. 47, § 1, which says of the *ταμίαι*, *'κλ[ηροῦνται] δ' εἰς ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς, ἐκ πεντακοσίου μεδίωνων κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνος νόμον (ἔτι γὰρ ὁ νόμος κύριός ἐστιν), ἀρχεῖ δ' ὁ λαχὼν καὶ πάνυ πένης ῆ.'*

But is Plut. *Arist.* 22 really at variance with the A. II.? The last change in the mode of appointment of the nine archons before 479-8 B.C. recorded in the A. II. is stated in ch. 22, § 5 in these words: *'ἐπὶ Τελεσίνου ἀρχοντος ἐκνέμευσαν τοὺς ἐννέα ἀρχοντας κατὰ φυλάς, ἐκ τῶν προκριθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν πεντακοσίων, τότε μετὰ τὴν τυραννίδα πρῶτον (οἱ δὲ πρότερον πάντες ἦσαν αἰρετοί).'* That is, the demes elected 500 candidates, and out of those 500 the nine archons and their secretary were appointed by lot, one being taken from the fifty candidates of each of the ten Cleisthenian *φυλαί*.

This, then, was the method adopted in 487-6 B.C. Why should we not accept the obvious *prima facie* means of combining this with Plut. *Arist.* 22, and suppose that in 479-8 Aristides arranged that all the nine archons and their secretary should be appointed by lot from the whole number of the *πρόκριτοι*, ten being taken out of the 500,

without any regard being paid to the *φυλαί* at all? If Aristides' *ψήφισμα* meant no more than this it becomes more conceivable how the author of the A. II., or his collaborators, might possibly have omitted it as unimportant. The archons lost most of their political importance in 487 B.C. When the A. II. was written the archons had for some considerable time been appointed entirely by lot, and their appointment was so mere a formality that it was of little consequence whether they were allotted *κατὰ φυλάς* or *ἐξ ἀπάντων*.

Have we any real evidence that the archons were appointed *κατὰ φυλάς* after 478? Two passages in A. II., 8, § 1, *'ἔτι διαμένει ταῖς φυλαῖς τὸ δέκα κληροῦν ἐκάστην, εἴτ' ἐκ τούτων κταμεύει[ν],'* and 55, § 1, *'[νῦν] δὲ κληροῦσιν θεσμοθέτας μὲν ἐξ καὶ γραμματεῖα τοῦτοις, ἔτι δ' ἀρχοντας καὶ βασι[λέα] καὶ πολέμαρχον, κατὰ μέρος ἐξ ἐκάστης <τῆς> φυλῆς,'* seem to say that in 329-323 B.C. the archons were appointed one from each tribe. But do they necessarily mean more than some such development as this?—As the archons lost political importance the nomination of *πρόκριτοι* by the demes became a farce, so the *πρόκριτοι* themselves came to be appointed by lot at some date not specified. Next the allotment of candidates by the demes was felt to be an unnecessary waste of time and trouble; to avoid this the preliminary sortition of candidates was conducted by the officials of the *φυλαί*, each *φυλή* appointing by lot ten candidates. Out of the 100 candidates the nine archons and secretary were nominated by lot *ἐξ ἀπάντων*.

This guess would be confirmed if instances could be discovered where in any particular year, after 478, more than one archon came from one *φυλή*, as was the case with the *strategi* who were elected *πρότερον μὲν* (e.g. 469 B.C.) *ἀφ' ἐκάστης τῆς φυλῆς ἓνα, νῦν δ' (329-323 B.C.) ἐξ ἀπάντων*, A. II. 61, § 1,

On A. II. 55, § 1 Dr. Sandys' note reads 'It has hitherto been uncertain whether in the annual appointment of archons, the holders of the office were taken from different tribes. Those who (like Schömann, p. 410) accepted this view, supposed that one of the ten tribes was unrepresented. We now learn that the tenth tribe supplied the *γραμματεῖς* to the *θεσμοθέται*.' If that is to be accepted as authoritative, there still remains a possible, and plausible, explanation of Plut. *Arist.* 22 that will not be inconsistent with the data in A. II.

Aristides' *ψήφισμα* may have been merely a temporary expedient for appointment of state officers in the midst of the unsettlement

and confusion that must have prevailed in Athens and Attica just after the departure of the Mede. What more natural than a temporary resort even to election at such a juncture? Appointment by the ordinary methods of that date, but from the whole body of eligible citizens (ἐξ Ἀθηναίων πάντων)

instead of κατὰ φυλὰς from candidates elected by the demes, is still more easily intelligible. Many of the demes were probably still ἀνάστατοι, and their organisation in confusion.

E. J. BROOKS.

A NOTE ON PLATAEA IN DR. FRAZER'S PAUSANIAS.

As the question of the accounts of the Battle and of the Siege of Plataea in Herodotus and Thucydides respectively is one of considerable historical importance, and one, moreover, with which I have some first-hand acquaintance, I should like to say a few words as to certain views which Dr. Frazer has put forward on some very important points in the two narratives. Were it merely a question of the conclusions which he and I have drawn from the evidence obtainable, I should not consider it necessary to say aught on the subject. Given the evidence, other students, who have not first-hand knowledge, can form a capable judgment. But when those who have first-hand knowledge differ as to the evidence, it is desirable that the reasons for difference should be in so far as possible sifted. I think, I confess, that such differences as do exist in the present case, have arisen from a misapprehension on Dr. Frazer's part of the real nature of this evidence. It would demand almost superhuman care to avoid such misapprehensions in a work of the magnitude of Dr. Frazer's Pausanias, where the amount of material under review is so vast and so complicated.

The notes to which I am going to refer are in vol. v., § 2 of the Pausanias.

1. *The three Passes on to the Field of Battle.*

- (1) On the Athens-Eleusis-Thebes route (Dryos Kephalaë).
- (2) On the Athens-Plataea route.
- (3) On the Megara-Plataea route.

With regard to the second of these, Dr. Frazer says that he follows me with some misgivings. He says that on the Austrian map, as well as on the French survey, the route to Plataea from Athens diverges from the Athens-Eleusis-Thebes route, not as I state it does, south of Eleutheræ, but that it goes through the Dryos-Kephalaë Pass,

and then diverges west along the line of the present loop-road to Kriekouki.

The French survey I have not got by me. I have the map of the Austrian survey, viz. :—

The well-known Austrian map of Greece, revised by Kiepert, 1885, scale 1 : 300,000.

Which shows

- (a) The road *via* Dryos Kephalaë.
- (b) Another road branching from this south of *Eleutheræ*, going to Vilia, and then over Pass No. 2 to Kriekouki.

But more than this, at the north end of this Pass No. 2, a little west of Kriekouki, are the tracks of wheels deeply worn in the limestone rock pointing right into this pass, and marking plainly the route of the Plataea-Athens road.

2. *The νῆσος.*

I seem to have half convinced Dr. Frazer of the existence and identity of the νῆσος. I need not now repeat the description of it given in the monograph the Royal Geographical Society published for me. I do not think that anyone who had once stood at the point on the side of Kithaeron, where the streams part, and looked down on to the νῆσος I have indicated could doubt for one moment that it is exactly the piece of ground Herodotus describes, and exactly as he describes it (ix. 50). Dr. Frazer raises two difficulties :—

- (1) He says the streams do not unite until far down in the plain.

That was true at the time I was at Plataea. But in the alluvial plain the water-courses are liable to rapid and frequent changes of bed. Leake's map (Northern Greece) shows that these streams did join one another in his time close to the foot of the νῆσος indicated.

- (2) Dr. Frazer says that this νῆσος is thirty stades at least from the Asopus, and that 'to meet this last difficulty Mr. Grundy is driven to suppose that Herodotus was here speaking, not of the Asopus, but one of its tributaries, which rises ten stades from the island so-called.'

I was not, however, driven to this supposition by that difficulty; but by a much more serious one, viz., Herodotus' description of the second position of the Greeks.

In ix. 25, he speaks of the Greeks being near the Spring of Gargaphia and the τεμένος of the Hero Androcates, which was at least from one and a half to two miles from the Thespian Asopus, and then says at the end of the chapter, οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταχέστες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

This 'Asopus' must have been the stream A 1 in my map; the stream to which I refer the measurement of ten stades in relation to the island.

It was the commonest thing possible in our own country and elsewhere before the days of accurate maps for the name of a well-known river to be applied to several of the streams which form its head waters. The Thames is a notable case in point. In my paper on Plataea, I ascribed the so-called mistake to Herodotus. I should now be more inclined to believe that the Plataeans did actually call A 1 the Asopus. It is one of the head streams of this river, and is much closer to Plataea than the others.

3. *The tombs of those who fell in the Battle.*

Dr. Frazer ascribes to me the opinion that the rock graves near which the Megara road must have entered Plataea, are the tombs of those who fell in the battle. He refers to p. 7 of my monograph. The opinion

there expressed is that of Dr. Merethides. I confess, however, that the language in which I stated that opinion might mislead the reader as to my own view. My impression is that a cemetery either previously existed or grew up round the site of the graves of those who fell in the battle. As to their position, Pausanias is singularly clear. Speaking of the road from Megara, he says κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον μάλιστα τὴν εἰς Πλάταιαν τάφοι τῶν πρὸς Μήδους μαχισαμένων εἰσὶ.

The position of the pass and of the ground in relation to it determines the line of the road, which passes close by these rock graves. I do not think anyone acquainted with Greek history would be likely to assert seriously that the whole of those slain in the battle were buried in such graves. As a fact, in discussing the topography of the battle-field, my interest did not lie in determining who was or was not buried in these rock tombs, but in discovering the locality to which Pausanias so clearly points as having been the site of the burial of those who fell in the battle.

(4) *The Siege of Plataea.*

I have indicated the north-west portion of the site, as cut off by what is called, as it seems to me, somewhat misleadingly, the lower cross wall, as having been the fortified city which was the object of attack in the siege. Dr. Frazer objects that the remains of this cross wall belong to a later date. That I have never doubted, but I think the fact that he mentions, viz., that all the walls on the site are eleven feet in thickness, would point to the later walls having been erected on the site of earlier ones, on those lines, that is, where the surface rock had been previously levelled for the reception of the earlier wall foundations.

G. B. GRUNDY.

ἄγαν AND μέγα, ἅπαντα AND LAT. MONS.

REFERRING to Mr. Fay's courteous reply touching *ingens* (*Class. Rev.* Feb. 1898, page 17 f.) I wish to make a few remarks.

I thought that all students of philology knew that 'a large number of scholars recognise' the certainty 'of the existence of the gradation' Skt. *a* | *ma*, Gk. *a* | *με*, of which I hold that there are no certain examples. It seems, however, that for

certainly I must substitute 'plausibility,' or 'probability,' so that Mr. Fay after all agrees with me. But we differ, in that he seems to live in hopes of being able to say 'certainty' some day.

The extension of meaning of Ger. *untar* to 'zwischen' is no evidence for the identity of the fundamental meaning of Skt. *mādhya*s with that of Skt. *ādhas* or Eng. *under*.

Mr. Fay is not sure about ἄμμε, Skt. *asmā*; so that as far as Greek goes his only 'probable' examples are ἄγαν, ἄγαμαι, by μέγα, Skt. *mah*, ἄναρτα by Lat. *mons*. I cannot accept the view that Skt. *medhā* is fundamentally identical in meaning with Skt. *addhā*. These, with ingens by Skt. *mahānt*, are all Mr. Fay's select instances.

I think that, but for deference to authorities, few would aver their mutual support is effective. Is not Skt. *aghās* = *maghā* more probable than any of them?

Mr. Fay's identification of the reduplicated form γίγας with βίβας 'high-stepping' depends upon a very free translation, as βίβας only means 'striding,' an action not peculiar to giants. But we know that the Greeks regarded them as γηγευείς.

I hold that *ingens* may have originally meant *indigena* and that the *-gens* and γίγας are identical with *gens* in fundamental meaning, but applied individually instead of collectively as in the Lat. substantive.

Mr. Fay's objections as to Form, Signification, and Composition thus seem to be irrelevant. Still, the alleged connection with Eng. *ken*, Ger. *kennen*, is possible.

The Skt. *addhā*, Avest. *azdā* = ὄντως and may be developed from an atonic derivative of the root *as* 'be.'

As Mr. Fay equates ἄγαμαι with Skt. *mah*, he cannot object on phonetic grounds to the cognation of ἄγαν, ἄγαμαι with Eng. *awe*; and it is surely incumbent on him to disprove such a cognation (which is supported by αἰώς, δεινός, Ger. *schrecklich* = 'frightful,' 'immense'). If ἄγαν be 'a neuter adverb of participial nature,' its form would allow the signification 'awingly,' so that I can give up my suggestion as to form without damaging my main position. However, Theognis may have borrowed a Delphic or Boeotian form, while in Attic and Herodotus 2-173, the familiar Delphic 'μηδὲν ἄγαν' and

in Attic only also the *ā* of λῖαν might prevent the change to *ἄγην*.

The instances adduced which concern *n* instead of *m* are perhaps remotely relevant; but, as I began by confining my statement to *m*, Mr. Fay cannot object to my continuing to let *n* alone. I have briefly noticed such instances in my *Indo-Germanic Sonants and Consonants*, § 26, p. 18, in which work the theory of Indo-Germanic sonant nasals is conclusively demolished.

By committing himself to the view that Lat. *mont-* signifies 'peak,' Mr. Fay raises a semasiological barrier between it and ἄναρτα 'uphill,' O.H.G. *andi* 'brow,' Skt. *anta-s* 'end.' The fundamental meaning of these three forms is 'opposition.' A 'brow' is that which *confronts*; an 'up-hill' slope rises *against* one; a physical 'end' is primarily a line or surface which by opposing itself limits motion or extension in a certain direction, and secondarily it means the 'last motion' of that which moves and is opposed, or the 'extremity' of that which has its extension opposed. A 'peak,' *qua* peak, projects, stands out, rises up, but is not regarded as opposing. A brow, *qua* brow, though near the top, yet is not the top. A 'peak' is an 'end' in the secondary sense, but an 'end' is only sometimes incidentally a 'peak' or 'point.'

Mr. Fay cites Prellwitz for μενθήρη = 'brow,' but according to Hesychius it means φροντίς, μέριμνα. As the form of μενθήρη presents difficulties as well as the sense, it cannot be regarded as affecting the affinities of Lat. *mons* appreciably.

A large percentage of the fallacies rife among German philologists and their followers seems due to loose treatment of the meanings of words. If Mr. Fay has not erred in good company he has at any rate erred in fashionable company.

C. A. M. FENNELL.

NOTE ON ARISTOPHANES *ECCLESIAZUSAE*, 502.

Ἄλλ' ἐπέειπον

ἅπαντα καὶ μίσει σάκον πρὸς τοῖν γνάθῳ ἐχουσα.

For the corrupt μίσει Palmer wished to read παῦσαι: quod uerum uidetur to Blaydes.

Read rather μὴ θεῖ, 'do not run about.' The corruption is due: (1) to confusion of C and Θ (2) to itacism.

J. A. NAIRN.

CONWAY'S ITALIC DIALECTS.

The Italic Dialects edited with a Grammar and a Glossary. By R. S. CONWAY, M.A., Professor of Latin in University College, Cardiff; late Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. 2 vols. (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1897. 30s.)

For the study of Italic dialects we have hitherto had to rely on two manuals: Zvetaieff *Inscriptiones Italiae Inferioris Dialecticae* (Moscow, 1886, pp. 184), containing all the dialectal inscriptions except the Umbrian, and Buecheler *Umbrica* (Bonn, 1883, pp. 224). Facsimiles of the Umbrian Inscriptions were given in Bréal *Les Tables Eugubines* (Paris, 1875, 25 fr.), and of the others in Zvetaieff *Inscriptiones Italiae Mediae* (Leipzig, 1885, 30 m.). To the student of Umbrian, new publications are hardly necessary. Nothing could be more satisfactory than M. Bréal's facsimiles, and little has been added to the explanation of the records since the careful and thorough edition by Buecheler. But Zvetaieff's plates, which occasionally were photographs not of the inscriptions themselves but merely of drawings of the inscriptions, left something to be desired. And thanks to the impulse given by a course of lectures by Prof. Brugmann at Leipzig, the interpretation and analysis of the Oscan and other dialectal remains has made not a little progress, a work in which Prof. Conway has played a part along with other pupils of Prof. Brugmann, such as Dr. Buck, Dr. von Planta, and Dr. Bronisch. The time might be said to have come for a new publication which should provide us with reliable reproductions or descriptions of the dialectal remains and with an improved interpretation and grammatical analysis. And yet it is with a slight feeling of regret that one relinquishes the trim and handy manuals of Buecheler and Zvetaieff for the two μεγάλα βιβλία that have appeared almost simultaneously, Prof. Conway's *Italic Dialects* (2 vols, pp. 686) and Dr. von Planta's *Grammatik der Oskisch-Umbrischen Dialekte* (2 vols, pp. 600 and 772).

Of the two books, Prof. Conway's is undoubtedly the more suitable for English students. Its clear arrangement and neat type give it an immense advantage over its German rival. But anyone who wishes to push his study of the Italic dialects to the furthest limits will have to proceed to

the fuller, though more unwieldy, Grammar of Dr. von Planta. I do not know that it would not have been better if Prof. Conway had delayed the publication of his book until he could have availed himself of Dr. von Planta's researches. For though he has paid a visit to Italy to verify the reading of a number of inscriptions, Dr. von Planta seems to have spent more time and labour over them; and where the two authorities differ, one is generally inclined to put more faith in the readings attested by the latter. It is annoying to find the unlikely form *úinveresim* 'universim' in an Oscan inscription (No. 114, 'now in the Naples Museum, where I read it in March, 1894') re-attested by Prof. Conway, while Dr. von Planta assures us that the true reading is *inim verelias* 'et civitatis.' I could have wished, too, that Prof. Conway had followed Dr. von Planta's plan of appending to each inscription a Latin translation.

One element of Prof. Conway's book which is lacking in the German work is the Lists of Place Names (ancient and modern) and Personal Names of the dialectal districts. Dr. von Planta tells us in the preface to his second volume that he had intended to include lists of the kind, but had given up the idea, partly because he thought them more suitable for a separate publication, partly because it was impossible to secure a full list of Umbrian Names until the completion of Vol. xi. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.¹ He has, however, throughout his two volumes quoted any Personal or Local Names which threw light on the phonetic laws of the dialects or any other topic of discussion. For example, in illustration of the difficult words *smursim-e*, *Coredier* on the Iguvine Tables, he refers to the names of two places in the neighbourhood of Gubbio (*Iguvium*), viz., Morcia and Gorregi, which I do not find in Prof. Conway's lists.

On p. xxv. Prof. Conway explains the principles on which his lists of Personal Names have been compiled. They are taken from the Indices of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, and are arranged in different classes accordingly as they occur 'frequently,'

¹ Prof. Conway (p. 443n.) says of these Umbrian Names: 'without the aid of an index I did not think it worth while to attempt a collection of the cognomina.'

i.e. at least six times, less than six times, or only once. The uncertainty of such an arrangement is obvious; but it is better to have a 'rough and ready' list than to have no list at all. And it is extremely interesting to get a bird's-eye view of these dialectal names *Magius*, *Jubellinus*, *Blossius* and the like. They seem to transfer one to quite a new world of vocabulary; and a careful study of them could not fail to produce valuable results for the Ethnography of ancient Italy. I trust that some reader of Prof. Conway's book will be impelled to undertake for the Names of Italy what Prof. Fick has done for the Greek Names, and will add to the names supplied by the Indices to the *Corpus* those that are scattered through the writings of ancient authors.

Here are some small matters which have occurred to me in reading Prof. Conway's pages: (p. 31) *proiecitad* of the Luceria inscription (*C.I.L.* ix. 782) will, if we admit Osc. *tt* for *ss*, be equivalent to **proiecissat* (cf. *incipissat*), as *fundatid*, *parentatid* of the same inscr. to *fundassit*, *parentassit*; (p. 42)

why *Anīmula* in Plaut. *Mil.* 648 rather than *Anīmula*?; (p. 50) Prof. Conway's identification of Osc. *Eyklūi* with Hesychius' *Εὔκολος* 'Ερμῆς παρὰ Μεταποντίους' seems certainly right; (p. 223) the *s* of Lat. *rosa* has been admirably explained by Prof. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Comm. Metr.* ii. 21; (p. 321) for 'Magulini' read Magulnii; (p. 512) how can Lat. *pār* Neut. correspond to **pāros* as *vīr* to **vīros*?; (p. 597) *baetere* not 'betere' seems to be the true form of the Verb, the *ae* becoming *i* in compounds, *ad-bītere*, etc.; (p. 603) the connection of Lat. *dignus* and *deceit* should, I think, be abandoned; (p. 615) the explanation of *eehiia-* as **eevehiiā*—connected with Lat. *veho* is supported by Skutsch's discovery that *akkāto-* was the Oscan form of Lat. *advocatus*; (p. 616) Osc. *eituns* would surely be Lat. **itōnes* not **etōnes*; (p. 625) is Osc. *Herukinaī* (epithet of the Oscan Venus) not to be explained as *Erycinae*?; (p. 637) why does the *a* of *Numasioi* show it to be a distinct formation from *Numerius*? Would not *Nīmāsio-* become *Numerio-*?

W. M. LINDSAY.

HERWERDEN'S *PAX*.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ cum scholiorum antiquorum excerptis recognovit et annotavit H. VAN HERWERDEN. 2 vols. Lugduni Batavorum apud A. W. Sijthoff. 1897. 8 fl. 15.

THIS is an elaborate but yet not quite a satisfactory edition of the *Pax*. The most valuable part of the book should be the text, in constituting which Herwerden has used a collation of the Ravennas made by himself in 1856, and a collation of Venetus 474 made by Cobet in 1842. Such a text ought to be distinctly in advance of those current, which still depend on Bekker's collations of R. and V.

When recently in Venice I was allowed through the kindness of the authorities of the Marciana to take about forty photographs of the text of the *Pax* as given by V. I have compared Cobet's collation very carefully with these. In many passages he restores to us the correct reading which Bekker missed:—*e.g.* 469 ἀλλ' ἄγε τὸν ξυνάλεκτον (which perhaps supports Dobree's ἀλλ' ἄγετε ξυνανέλκετε). 1040 θυλήματα. 1195 ἐπεισφόρει. 227 παρασκευάζετε. But I have

noted the following passages in which the collation fails:—56 V. has γὰρ not μὲν. 113 V. has λάθραι. 133 V. has αἰετοῦ. 137 V. has μέλ' εἰάν not μέλε ἄν. 246 It should be noted that V. has ὦ Μέγαρα, Μέγαρ(α), (α) being erased. The hiatus perhaps explains the corruption in ἐπιτρίψεσθ'. 282 V. anticipates Porson by reading Λακεδαιμονίοισιν. 355

τέ V. reads κατρίμμεθα (sic) in rasura. 374 V. μοι νῦν not νῦν μοι. 386 V. R. read ἐμοῦ not ἐμοῦ γε (ἷ γε comes from Ald.). 402 κλέπτει τε V. The old report that αἱ τε are in *ras.* is correct. 446 The old report of V. πάσχοιτο τοιαῦταθ' is right. 473 Τρυγ. praef R.] so too V. 528 V. assigns to Τρυγ. 584 V. reads ἐδάμνηεν not ἐδάμνη. 628, 630 V. marks the speaker by a line only. 703 V. reads ἰδὼν not ὁρῶν. 704 V. reads γεγενῆσθ' ἐν τῇ πόλει. 711 V. has καταγέλασας written in *ras.* 717 V. has κατέδει not κατέδη. 939 V. omits μὲν with S. (Ven. 475). 746 V. also reads ἐπαθ' (ἷ corr.). 759 V. has ἡμῶν. 864 V. has φανεί. 932 V. has λέγη not λέγει. 953 V. has τοῦθ' εἶ. 986 V. S. read ἡμῖν. 1144 V. reads ἄφανε not ἄφευε. 1226 V. ποιήση not ποιήσει. 1240 τί δ' ἄρα V. as

S. 1344 V. ^οπρ^οτ^οταγμένοι [προστ. R.]. It is worth noting that πρ in V. = προσ. Cobet was aware of this as is shown by his reading προσερεῖ in V. in *Vespae* 21.

Cobet's collation of V. has been known hitherto only from the excerpts which he gave to his friend Hirschig for an edition of the *Vespae* published in 1847. These give the reading accurately in nearly every case. I can only suppose that he was not satisfied with the accuracy of the other parts of his collation as he never published them during his lifetime.

I have tested parts of Herwerden's own collation of R. by a collation of that MS. in my possession. In some readings not noticed by Bekker, they agree e.g. 379 σὺ 458 καλοῖς 808 εἶχεν 1122 κωιδίων. I have marked the following discrepancies. 7 περικυκλήσας (H. περικυλίσας). 52 ὑπὲρ τοῦτοιον (H. ὑπὲρ τούτων). 101 ἐπικλείειν (H. ἐπικλείην). 163 θ' (H. δ'). 165 Πειραιῇ. 185 ἔστιν (H. ἔστ'). 187 om. R. 314 καὶ om. R. 386 ἐμοῦ (H. ἐμοῦ γε). 553 R. also has καὶ ἀκοντίον. 568 R. om. αὐτῶν. 943 R. V. τοῖθ' εἷ (H. τοῖδ' εἷ). 1054 φρασεῖ (H. φράσεθ').

It must be confessed that neither Cobet's collation of V. nor Herwerden's of R. gives a completely trustworthy account of what is contained in those manuscripts. It is to be hoped that Zacher will not be long in finishing the critical edition of Aristophanes begun by Von Velsen.

Herwerden gives no account of the manuscripts of the play beyond the bare enumeration on p. ii. Hence it is difficult to know whether he has any valid reasons (beyond deference to the authority of Blaydes to whom he dedicates his book), for treating S.¹ throughout as a manuscript of independent value. Certainly Cobet is in no two minds about the matter. 'Die codex [S.] is eene copie van den eersten [V.], gemaakt (zonder twijfel op last van Bessarion) door een Graeculus, die heerlijk mooi schreef, en vrij sterk was in het ontcijferen van compendia, quibus horrent maxime Scholia, maar die bitter weinig Grieksch kende of liever gedachtenloos en als een ware ezel overschreef, zoodat die varianten bespottelijk zijn. (*Brieven*

¹ i.e. Venetus Marc. 475 usually known as G. Blaydes quotes it as S. Herwerden confuses his readers by quoting it sometimes as G. (e.g. in crit. notes on *ὑποθέσεις*) sometimes as S., sometimes as Ven. 475. He adds to the confusion by calling the Florentine Γ sometimes G. (notes on 682, 752, 948), and sometimes Q. (n. 700).

p. 328). Zacher, while admitting that it contains corrections from the interpolated Parisian group, holds as strongly to the opinion that it is a copy of V. After examining the MS. for a considerable time, I see no reason for rejecting this view. Where S. has a good reading, V. often has the reading, but has been wrongly reported by Bekker. [e.g. *Vesp.* 1107, V. also reads ξυλλεγόντες: *ibid.* 678 V. has σὺ δὲ not σὺ δὲ γ': in *Pax* 932 λέγη is in V. I feel inclined to doubt Blaydes' report of S. in *Pax* 584 where he credits it with the good reading ἐδάμην for the corrupt ἐδάμην]. Nearly all the variants which H. quotes in his excerpts from the Scholia as due to S. will be found to resolve themselves either into readings which are actually in V. but have been wrongly reported or else into misreadings of what V. gives. Instances of the former may be found in H.'s notes *passim*. I will merely quote l. 870 where V. has the note ἐς τὸ ὀχεῖν etc. as well as S., and l. 890 where V. also contains the words μονομαχοῦντι τὴν ἀρχὴν. A striking instance of the ignorant blundering of the scribe of S. in copying V. is to be seen in note on l. 735. Here H. prints, παράβασιν ἐκάλον ἀπὸ τοῦ παραβαίνειν τὸν χορὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νομοισμένης <κομματικῆς addit Ven. 475> στάσεως κτῆ. On turning to V. it is quite clear what has happened. The scribe of V. has written in the left hand margin against 729, where the chorus begins, κομμα(τιον) χο(ροῦ) [see also in R.]. This projects into the marginal scholia and comes between the line of the note which ends with νομοισμένης and the line beginning with στάσεως. The scribe of S. has read the word as κομματικῆς and as part of the scholion.

I think that what I have said will show that there are errors in the critical treatment of the text and scholia. The introduction to the book contains a useful summary of what is known or conjectured about the play. Perhaps undue prominence is given to a refutation of Paley's views about the scenic arrangements. The commentary is certainly too long and contains many notes on the usage of compound words in Aristophanes that anybody could construct for himself with the aid of Caravella's vocabulary.

I should like to take the opportunity of suggesting two alterations in the text of the play which have occurred to me.

ἐξεφύσησεν τοσοῦτον πόλεμον ὥστε τῷ
καπνῷ
πάντας Ἑλλήνας δακρῦσαι, τοὺς τ' ἐκεῖ
τοὺς τ' ἐνθάδε.

612. ὡς δ' ἄπαξ τὸ πρῶτον ἄκουσ'† ἐψόφησεν
 ἄμπελος...
 οὐκέτ' ἦν οὐδεὶς ὁ παύσων, ἥδε δ' ἠφάνι-
 ζετο.

612. ἄκουσ'] codd. except *Parisinus* B which
 has ἦκουσ'.
 ἠχοῦσ' Fl. Christianus. τμηθεῖσ' Reiske.
 ἠβῶσ' S. Widman.
 ἀφθεῖς Blaydes, (adopted by Her-
 werden.)

All these proposals depart too far from the reading in the manuscripts to explain the corruption satisfactorily. All assume that ἄκουσ' is the only corrupt word in the line. The only scholar who has suspected that the corruption has gone further is Richter who proposed ὡς δὲ πῦξ τὰ πρῶτα πληγείσ' or ὡς δὲ π. τὸ πρῶτον ἀλγούσ' 'inepte' according to Blaydes who adds 'sine causa in ὡς ἄπαξ τὸ πρῶτον offendit.' R.'s conjectures were hardly felicitous, but I think he was rightly 'offended' with the phrase ὡς ἀπ. τὸ πρῶτον, which seems as intolerable in Greek as 'when once for the first time' would be in English. I can find no closer parallel to it than the fragment of Sophocles quoted in Plutarch *Q.C.* p. 732 D, ἀπαντα τάγενητα <τὰ γένη τοῦ codd.> πρῶτον ἦλθ' <ἦλθεν codd.> ἄπαξ. Believing τὸ πρῶτον to be corrupt I should like to suggest that the line be read

ὡς δ' ἄπαξ τὸ πῦρ ἀκούουσ' (or ἀκούσας')
 ἐψόφησεν ἀμπελ.

In V. τὸ πρῶτον is usually written τὸ πρ † and more often than not the † is written above the line. A careless or ignorant scribe could easily mistake τὸ πῦρ for this compendium of τὸ πρῶτον, especially as in such handwriting as that of the scribe of the Venetus the letter υ is so closely looped into the letter following that πρ and πῦρ are often hardly distinguishable.

The corruption of ἀκούουσ' or ἀκούσας' to ἄκουσ' will on this view be the result of an ignorant attempt to mend the metre. With this alteration the line becomes as natural as *Acharn.* 923 κείπερ λάβοιτο τῶν νεῶν τὸ πῦρ ἄπαξ.

In 871 *sq.* I should like to suggest an alteration in the *personae* so that the passage should read,

ΤΡΥΓ. ἔθι νῦν ἀποδῶμεν τήνδε τὴν Θεωρίαν
 ἀνύσαντε τῇ βούλῃ—ΟΙΚ. τίς αὐτῇ;
 (Dobree)

< ΤΡΥΓ. > τί φῆς;
 αὐτῇ Θεωρίᾳ 'στυν. < ΟΙΚ. > ἦν ἡμέτερος
 ποτε
 ἐπαίρομεν Βραυρωνιάδ' ὑποπεπωκότες;

F. W. HALL.

SCHOEMANN—LIPSIUS' GREEK ANTIQUITIES.

Griechische Alterthümer von G. F. SCHOEMANN,
 vierte Auflage neu bearbeitet von J. H.
 Lipsius. Erster Band; Das Staatswesen.
 Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
 1897. 12 M.

THIS book is a worthy product of an age of re-editing, of a generation which seeks to save great scientific works from becoming partially obsolete. This process is, for obvious reasons, more necessary in Greek Constitutional History than in most kindred subjects; and all who value Schömann will be thankful that this service has been performed, and should be grateful that it has been entrusted to the hands which produced the second edition of the *Attische Process.* But the problem of re-editing was not quite the same in the two cases. The *Griechische Alterthümer* was a work of a more literary and in the best sense 'popular' character, and it required larger additions

to be made to it—additions which could not well be specified by the sometimes convenient square brackets; hence the alterations in the present work have been incorporated in the text, and the notes have been fused with those of the original author. Only those who have attempted to bring a book 'up to date' know how difficult it is to secure uniformity of style in such a case. This task the editor has most successfully accomplished; the new matter has been skilfully interwoven with the old, and the occasional inequalities observable in the work are due to the fact that re-writing has been indulged in only where it was absolutely necessary. Some of the earlier portions of the book which deal with the general political development of Greece give the impression of not always containing the newest information. An editor may afford to neglect the passing vagaries of the archaeologist, interpreter and emender; but

fresh sources of positive information might have been referred to in notes and appendices. The latter might have been placed at the end of the work and consequently the editor's statement that the first sixteen sheets of the book were in print as early as 1891 furnishes no reason for a treatment of the connection of Greece with the East from sources almost purely mythological and linguistic (pp. 10 ff.), for touching on the art of Homeric times without any reference to its probable prototype (p. 73 ff.), or for discussing the antiquity of writing in the Greek world without any appeal to the startling discoveries of recent years (p. 16). The occasional need of appendices is still more observable in the later portion of the work. As an instance we may cite the treatment of the Draconian constitution, which is drawn from the *Athenaion Politeia*. The editor accepts it in its entirety (p. 339); in a short note he regards it as an afterthought of Aristotle's but as one whose details are sufficiently credible to be inserted without qualification in Schömann's text. Nowhere, however, is there any indication of the reasons for the controversy that has gathered round this suspicious chapter. Occasionally the brevity of the notes makes the editor's reasoning extremely difficult to follow. The discussion of the Athenian *Strategi* (p. 457) is a case in point. The view is adopted that the Athenians sometimes violated their constitution by appointing one 'member of the *collegium*' (presumably, therefore, after election) as its head. Yet the editor employs Beloch's instances, which show several cases of one tribe producing two *strategi*, as a proof that there was no election ἐξ ἀπάντων. If the occasional head was chosen ἐξ ἀπάντων, then these instances are intelligible; they are incomprehensible if he was a member of a *collegium* chosen in the ordinary tribal way. But, apart from such trifling obscurities, which may be merely the result of undue reticence, the work is, so far as I am able to judge, extremely clear and accurate. The only inconsistency which I have observed is the treatment of Draco as merely a codifier in the early portion of the treatise (p. 163), while his πολιτεία is discussed in the later; the only slip (one present in Schömann's third edition of 1871), the attribution of Teleclus' conquest of Geronthrae to the strange date *circa* 700 B.C. (p. 208). The description of the reforming King of Sparta as Agis III. (p. 301) is not quite accurate unless one adds 'of the Eurypontid house.'

The portions of Schömann's work which have attracted most attention and which—although in my opinion they yield in point of perfection to his account of Homeric society—have perhaps proved of most general utility, are the detailed descriptions of the constitutions of Sparta and Athens. Criticism of this new edition is hardly possible with respect to the first of these communities; for, although certain judicious amplifications have been introduced by the editor, I have not noticed any alteration of Schömann's views on the details of the Lacedaemonian polity. His description of Spartan social life is as excellent as before, the constitution he sketches as mysterious as ever. The Kings still preside over the council and share with the Ephors the presidency of the assembly: while the Ephors themselves still wield vast coercive and executive powers unconnected with their dependence on the Gerousia and Apella. But, as a simplification of the Spartan constitution can rest only on conjecture, there is no solid basis for a criticism of views which give us scattered glimpses of uncoordinated powers as the only issue of the evidence available.

With Athens the case is different. One's chief attention is naturally attracted to the mode in which a great student of Athenian constitutional law has dealt with the *Athenaion Politeia*, and to the question how far he has felt himself at liberty to incorporate the information given by this treatise in what was one of the most authoritative accounts of the constitution of Athens. The secret is soon revealed, for the editor's faith in this treatise is unbounded. He accepts even the view that the prae-Solonian Areiopagus was composed of ex-Archons (p. 507); this body he dissociates from the Ephetae and (setting aside the evidence of Pollux) thinks that these judges never sat on the Hill. He holds to the number 6,000 for the dicasts of the fifth century (p. 518) and the sole concession that he makes to Fränkel's discovery is to reproduce Gilbert's view as to the modification in the constitution of these courts which was effected at, or shortly after, the archonship of Eucleides. But, although too much faith may have been at times reposed in what professes to be history but is often reconstruction, the evidence is handled with great critical and literary skill, and it may be interesting—even in cases where the uncertainty is too great for criticism to be possible—to cite some of the editor's views on certain controverted points. Of the alternative accounts of the limitation of the Athenian

monarchy he thinks the Aristotelian theory of 'assessors' the more probable, and he holds that for the posts of Archon and Polemarch all the Eupatridae were from the first eligible (pp. 330 and 336). In treating of Draco's constitution he takes the view that the legislator gave active citizenship to those who could provide themselves with a panoply (p. 339). He does not discuss the moot question of the tense (*ἀπεδέδοτο*, *Ath. Pol.* 4); but, in spite of the form of the expression, he is probably right in his interpretation. The pluperfect implies the first and most fundamental of the changes; 'political rights had been given' to this class—before the other more detailed regulations treated in the chapter were realised. In § 2 of this fourth chapter he reads *διεγγυῶν* and *δεχομένους* and thinks that the passage means that the (*ex-*) *strategi*, *hipparchi* and *prytaneis* had to give a guarantee for their successors, each of the latter having to furnish a security of the same census. It is certainly a singular institution, for there is no evidence that the principal of nomination, which (according to the Roman expression *qui periculo suo nominat magistratum*) would seem to be the only justification for such responsibility, was recognised in the Draconian constitution. In the account of the limits within which the ostracised man might dwell (*Ath. Pol.* 22) it is refreshing to find *ἐντός* restored for *ἐκτός* (p. 426). I have always felt that the motive for the regulation was the danger of communication between the individual ostracised and Persia; the government cared nothing how far West he went. In the account of the admission of classes to the archonship the undoubtedly correct view of the change bought about by Aristides' *psephisma* is adopted, *viz.* that the measure allowed the enrollment of movable property in the census (p. 356). Less certain is the view that it was Aristides who admitted the *hippeis* to the archonship and the *thetes* to the boule; for these changes are less implicitly contained in Plutarch's version of that statesman's measure. But the latter admission would have accorded well with the circumstances of the decree. In the treatment of the revolution of 411 (p. 361) the 5,000 of *Ath. Pol.* 30, who actually appear for a moment on the scene, seem to be identified with the same number which was to be chosen as the privileged class (c. 29), whereas they must have borne a greater resemblance (as Dr. Kenyon and Dr. Sandys have remarked) to οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν of c. 33.

In dealing with recent speculations on points of Athenian history the editor is judiciously conservative. The Asiatic origin of the Ionians, whether as a race or as an aggregate of mixed elements, finds no favour in his eyes, and he will not even derive these late arrivals at Athens—the names of the Ionic *phylae*—from an eastern source (pp. 328–329). It is strange, however, that he should have stated as a fact the extremely probable but quite unprovable hypothesis that the γένη of Athens were composed only of Eupatridae, the Geomori and Demiurgi being outside the clans (pp. 334 and 339). But his most remarkable abandonment of traditional views is found in his acceptance of Wilamowitz's idea that the δωβελία introduced by Cleophon was a gigantic pension scheme giving each Athenian two obols a day (pp. 358 and 477). It may at once be granted that, as two obols were paid by the state at Athens for very different purposes, the word δωβελία has no certain and constant signification. But the least probable of all its meanings is a payment which, as Beloch has shown (*Griech. Gesch.* ii. p. 77), would, on the most modest computation of the number of recipients, have come to 240 talents a year. By the side of such a sum the 16 talents, 47 minae and 87 drachmae spent on the δωβελία in the four prytaneis of 410 B.C. (C. I. A. I. n. 188) would have been a mere trifle. No mention is made, in this connection, of the mystical δωβελία Ἀθηναῖαι Νίκει of three years' later (C. I. A. I. n. 189 a); yet, if that contested reading is correct, we should naturally understand, by this δωβελία at least, a dole for sacred purposes. Beloch's view, that the two obols of the former year were, in the main, jury-pay, is not in itself improbable: for, after the fall of the Four Hundred or of the succeeding government of the Five Thousand, payment may have been made to the dicasts at this rate; but what renders this interpretation of the passage in the *Ath. Pol.* (c. 28) unlikely is that 'the δωβελία now first introduced' is described without any explanation or qualification whatever, as though it were something still in force at the time when the treatise was written; yet the jury-pay of this period was three obols (c. 62). The δωβελία, too, of Aristotle's *Politics* (ii, 7, 19), which is adopted as a means of equalising property and which leads its unworthy recipients to demand still more, rather tends to show that, when the Aristotelian school used this word without qualification, they were thinking of the theoric fund. A. H. J. GREENIDGE.

MANITIUS' EDITION OF HIPPARCHUS.

'Hipparchi in Arati et Eudoxi Phaenomena Commentariorum Libri Tres' ad Codicum Fidem recensuit Germanica Interpretatione et Commentariis instruxit CAROLUS MANITIUS. Lipsiae, in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri. 1894. 4 M.

THIS is an admirable edition of a book which has waited long for its editor. The Commentary of Hipparchus on Aratus claims our attention for many other reasons than because, out of all the works of the great astronomer it alone survives, preserved in the irony of fate by its connection with a third-rate poem. It is interesting as a fine and early specimen of polemical writing, his demolition of the older commentator Attalus showing that Hipparchus not only, as Ptolemy says of him, loved toil and truth, but also delighted in controversy with a zest not unknown to modern science. It has some bearing on the literary, as well as the scientific culture of its day; and the passage in which Hipparchus decides between the two readings, δὲ πλατέες and δ' ἀπλατέες, is remarkable not only astronomically but because the common reading, known to a later scholiast, is neither one nor the other, but ἀπλανές. It has still an interest not purely archaeological for the astronomer; no one for instance, who knows that the star θ Ursae Majoris is ranked to-day among those with an extraordinarily large proper motion can fail to be struck by the remark of Herr Manitius that its position, as given by Hipparchus, appears to be wrong, while those of the stars culminating with it are right. And startling at least is his suggestion that a star in Cassiopeia, called 'bright,' which can hardly be identified with any now visible to the naked eye in that constellation may actually be the famous 'new star' of 1572, which to-day is perceptible only with the aid of a telescope. If so, it had disappeared by the time of Ptolemy. But of course the work is valuable chiefly to the student of astronomical history in general, and of uranography in particular—how valuable may best be seen by applying some of the facts contained in it to the theories of those who have attempted to do without it. No one who has really studied it will have any difficulty, for instance, in appreciating at its true worth such an attempt as Mr. Robert Brown made, a few years back, before the Congress of Oriental-

ists, to find a Chaldean date for the globe of Eudoxus.

The excellent preliminary essay of Herr Manitius on the MSS. of Hipparchus is in Latin, as are also the footnotes referring to the text, and the several indices, while the translation and the explanatory notes are in German. His edition of the text seems to me in all respects satisfactory. A work in which many words, such as the zodiacal names, are constantly recurring at short intervals, gives every excuse to the copyist for occasionally missing out a line or two: on the other hand the context generally makes it clear how the gap thus created is to be filled up, and indeed what look at first sight like audacious interpolations by Herr Manitius turn out on examination to be merely the actual words of Hipparchus introduced from corresponding passages in other parts of the book.

Of the German translation little more need be said—except so far as the identification of stars is concerned—than that it is clear, and will be found helpful in the few cases where the Greek of Hipparchus presents any difficulty. But one complaint must be made against Herr Manitius, and that is for his systematic use of the word 'Mondbreite' to translate the ἡμιπῆχιον which Hipparchus employs to measure small angular distances, as those of culminating stars just east or west of the meridian. His argument is that a 'cubit,' which he takes as equal to two degrees—more exactly, as Schjellerup and Epping have shown, it was two degrees and a third—contained twenty-four "digits," twelve of which were supposed to measure the apparent diameter of the moon. It is indeed highly probable that the Babylonian inventors of this measure made the natural, and at first almost inevitable, mistake of overestimating the apparent size of moon and sun. But it is surely an injustice to Hipparchus, who knew as well as we that the real breadth of the moon is only about half a degree, to represent him as continually using an expression which would imply that he took it to be a whole degree.

With the aid of a globe adjusted to suit the age of Hipparchus, Herr Manitius has attempted the identification of every star, the rising, setting, or culmination of which is given in the book. Many of his results are highly interesting. To take two instances only, it appears clearly that the bright star

placed by the Greeks and Arabs at the end of Eridanus is not, as M. Flammarion, and even so careful a student as Schjellerup, have supposed, the modern α Eridani or Achernar—a southerly star far below the horizon of Rhodes, or even of Alexandria—but certainly, as Ideler discerned and as even Halley rightly conjectured, the third magnitude star now marked in our maps as θ Eridani. To anyone who will carefully compare the evidence of Hipparchus, Ptolemy, Al Sufi and Ulugh Beg, the execution of Charles I. will not appear more certain than that this now feeble luminary was seen by the ancients as a first magnitude star. Again, it comes out that the bright star placed by Hipparchus and the pseudo-Eratosthenes in the forefeet of the Ram—where there are now no stars at all—is not, as Biot would have it, α Arietis, but the star η Piscium, which Ptolemy and all his successors place in the Fishes. It is, perhaps, worth notice that in the Babylonian tablets of the Greek period, translated by Epping and Strassmaier, this star belongs to a different group from those of our Aries. As to the three stars by whose aid Hipparchus indicates the place of the north pole for his time, I cannot doubt that Ideler was right in seeking them among the very small stars at the back of the Little Bear, perhaps the same as those in the catalogue of Heis, supposed by Herr Manitius in the notes. Had they been those bright stars of the Dragon and the Little Bear, supposed by him in the text, Hipparchus would surely have indicated them, in his usual way, by their places in the constellations.

Excellent as are the notes and observations at the end of the volume, they contain some statements which I think should not be allowed to pass unquestioned. Herr Manitius is no doubt right in pointing out that the commentary of Aratus cannot, as has been thought, be the very earliest work of Hipparchus, who actually alludes, in the course of it, to a former book which implies a great deal of previous labour. The most we are justified in saying is that it was written before its author had begun to suspect the precession of the equinoxes, but Herr Manitius seems to me wholly mistaken in assigning the year 134 B.C. as the earliest in which this suspicion can be supposed to have occurred to him. Pliny says that Hipparchus was induced to make his great catalogue of stars by a new and strange celestial phenomenon which convinced him that the heavens were not unchangeable;

and this story, wholly discredited without reason by Delambre, is generally held to be confirmed by the record in the Chinese annals of a new star seen in 134. Accepting it, Herr Manitius proceeds to construct history out of it after this fashion. The new star's appearance, he says, led to the cataloguing, the cataloguing led to the famous discovery that the star Spica had changed its place since the time of Timocharis, this discovery led to the recognition of precession, this to that of the distinction between the tropical and sidereal years, and so on. I do not hesitate to say that, plausible as all this sounds, it is not history, nor even beyond the reach of contradiction. Without disputing Pliny's story, I cannot but think that Ptolemy, a far better authority than Pliny, has shown ample reason why Hipparchus, who divined the precessional movement, and suspected the proper motions of the 'fixed' stars, should have undertaken his catalogue even without the additional incentive of the new star, which very likely would be the only one that Pliny could understand. And it seems to me hardly possible to read the third and seventh books of the *Almagest* without coming to the conclusion that much of the work assigned by Herr Manitius to the years after 134 must have been at least begun before, especially if, as is generally supposed, Hipparchus died about 125. Admitting that the catalogue of stars came towards the end of his labours, I would observe that by fixing the positions of the small stars which had never been catalogued before, Hipparchus might teach the law of precession to posterity, but could not learn it himself. He must have derived it from those conspicuous stars whose places had been already determined, and we know as a fact that he had taken the longitude of Spica as early as 146. Again, he justified his new measure of the tropical year by a comparison of a solstice observed in 280 by Aristarchus with one observed in 135 by himself; and that this latter observation was made for the express purpose of comparison is probable, because we know that he thought it impossible to obtain the hour of a solstice with accuracy, and relied in general on his observations of equinoxes. We are told moreover that his detection of the difference between the tropical and sidereal years threw him into perplexity; which it could hardly have done had he already clearly recognised the precession of the equinoxes, since the latter phenomenon gives the explanation of the former.

After an interesting examination of the

various epithets—*λαμπροί, ἐκφανείς, ἀμαυροί*,—applied to particular stars in this book, Herr Manitius concludes that as yet Hipparchus knew nothing of the classification of the fixed stars by magnitudes 'as he applied it in his catalogue and as it is transmitted to us by Ptolemy.' I should like to point out that, however probable, it is not really certain that the familiar division of the stars into six magnitudes goes back to Hipparchus. We know indeed that he classed them according to their lustre, but we do not know how. And if Herr Manitius means to imply that the magnitudes in Ptolemy's catalogue are simply copied from that of Hipparchus, this, however confidently M. Flammarion may assume it, is only an assumption. There is even some evidence to the contrary. Hipparchus says in this work that to him the brightest star in the Little Bear was that at the end of the tail, which is our present pole-star, α Ursae Minoris. Now Ptolemy, as is well known, ranks this star a whole magnitude lower than β in the same group, which indeed, as the younger Herschel remarked, is variable.

Herr Manitius, following Delambre, makes Hipparchus the inventor of trigonometry, which certainly he employed, and which certainly cannot be much older

than he. M. Tannery has recently tried to deprive him of this glory, partly on the strength of a passage in Theon of Smyrna, which seems to me of little or no importance, but also on the general ground that if we attribute more to Hipparchus than we must, we raise him to a stature something more than human. Indeed the work which we cannot help ascribing to him would seem enough to have fully occupied him during the whole of his laborious days—and nights.

Herr Manitius is not the first commentator to find out that in one or two cases Hipparchus has misunderstood Eudoxus. It may be so, and looks as if it were so; but on the whole I must incline to the opinion of Delambre that Hipparchus probably knew more of Eudoxus than we, who indeed derive our knowledge of him in these matters from those passages only which Hipparchus happens to quote. However if there may be two opinions about the soundness of one or two of the theories held by Herr Manitius, there can be only one as to the excellence and utility of his work. He would be entitled to deep gratitude if he had given us nothing more than his admirable astronomical index.

E. J. WEBB.

ERMATINGER'S *ATTISCHE AUTOCHTHONENSAGE*.

Die attische Autochthonensage bis auf Euripides, mit einer einleitenden Darstellung der Bedeutung und Entwicklung der Attischen Sage bis auf Euripides—von EMIL ERMATINGER. Berlin: Mayer and Müller, 1897. M. 3. 60.

In the preface to his valuable monograph, Herr Emil Ermatinger draws attention to a point of interest beyond the immediate sphere of mythology. The influence, nay the supremacy of Athens over the rest of Greece in the fifth century B.C., is, in the departments of politics, literature, and art, a common-place of criticism, but hitherto no serious attention has been paid to the progress *pari passu* of a like influence in the development of mythology. Mythology is the main subject matter of Greek literature and Greek art, it was by no means without influence on Greek politics. It is really impossible to grasp fully the influence of Athens in politics, art, and literature with-

out some comprehension of the fashion in which she absorbed, moulded, selected and rejected mythical material. Slowly, very slowly, in England we are beginning to realise that mythology is a factor in classical scholarship worthy of serious attention, and the present monograph, dealing as it does especially with the relation of the mythology of Euripides calls for detailed attention.

The monograph falls into five sections, any one of which is fairly complete in itself. In the preface the general programme is set forth in a sketch of the development of Attic saga up to the time of Euripides; the first chapter deals in detail with the special myth of Erichthonios, Erechtheus again up to the time of Euripides; the second treats the figure of Erichthonios in the drama of Euripides, the third of the actual lost drama of Erechtheus and mythical basis, the fourth is devoted to the saga of Ion.

Passing in review in the preface the general history of the development of Attic

saga in general, Herr Ermatinger notes, as every one has noted, the paucity of Attic myth in Homer, but he is strongly averse, and on this point we are heartily with him, to the practice, too fashionable, of explaining every allusion to Attic mythology as an 'interpolation.' If an interpolation is supposed, strong motive for it must be shown. Now, *e.g.*, the Attic hero Menestheus is mentioned *Il.* ii. 352, iv. 327, xii. 331. What possible reason can be alleged for his interpolation? Post-Homeric mythology knows of him as the foe and oppressor of the later Athenian favourite, Theseus—why put the halo of Homer about his head? Motive for suppression is obvious, for interpolation, none that we know of. With Menestheus are named the Athenians, Stichios, Pheidias, and Bias—in later Attic mythology they play no part—the better evidence of their reality, no one would trouble to interpolate these dead heads.

In the 'epic cycle' there is a marked increase of Athenian mythology. Herr Ermatinger gives throughout a careful detailed enumeration of instances, and this in itself makes his book a valuable corpus of references. He goes on through the lyrists, logographers, historians, Attic comedy, works of art, described or extant, and finally arrives at the tragedians. In the Aeschylean *τεμάχη τῶν Ὀμήρου μεγάλων δέιπνων* Attic mythology plays, as was natural, but a modest part. There is something like a reaction to Trojan, Theban, Argive, Argonautic material. All that we can certainly collect is, the Alope of Choriclos, the Satyric Kerkyon of Aeschylus, two kindred myths. In the Eleusinians of Aeschylus, Theseus is introduced to rescue the bodies of the Seven; Aeschylus wrote an *Oreithyia*; the Eumenides is concerned in great part with local mythology, and the Salaminian Women is approximately patriotic. The mention of these lost plays recalls to us, what indeed throughout the book is very sensible, *i.e.* how sadly fragmentary is our evidence, how different might our attitude towards particular myths have been, how altered the perspective of our outlook, had we possessed say the *ᾠραι ἢ Ἐρεχθεύς* of Aristophanes or the *Oreithyia* of Aeschylus. Still the fact remains that for Aeschylus, out of eighty extant titles, six only are of Attic significance. By the time of Sophocles there is a marked advance. Out of 100 titles we have sixteen that are Attic. The cause may be three-fold. Something must be allowed for exhaustion of material, much for the development of

Athenian patriotism. Something, again, for the influence of the younger contemporary of Sophocles, the innovator Euripides. With Euripides, according to Herr Ermatinger, culminates the *οὐκ ἀνευγε* *Θησέως* tendency, and for Theseus we may write also Erechtheus. There is an outburst of autochthonic sentiment. Theseus interpolates himself into Theban, Trojan, Argive, Argonautic sagas, he absorbs Heracles, and effaces him on his own ground in combats with Amazons and Lapiths. Everywhere Athene is champion and protector of the oppressed; from distant lands the cry is heard

τὰν κλεινὰν εἶθ' ἔλθοιμεν
Θησέως εὐδαίμονα χῶραν.

If they may not reach this Mecca in life all fugitives are fain to lay their bones there in death.

In the first, perhaps the most valuable chapter, the author is brought face to face with the crucial question, Are Erichthonios and Erechtheus two or one? On this vexed question he throws much light. In a tabular view we are presented with the various myths with which either or both names are connected, and the general conclusion, unquestionably sound, is that the personalities were originally identical and gradually differentiated. The distinction was emphasized, but by no means invented by Euripides. By the time of the Corneto vase the separation was so complete that the child Erichthonios and the grown man Erechtheus can be represented side by side on the same vase. As regards the derivation of the name, Herr Ermatinger rejects the popular notion that *Ἐρεχθεύς* is connected with the word *ἐρέχθω* in the sense of rending, tearing, as in *ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ἐρέχθων* (*Od.* v. 83, 157), and believes that both names alike start from the idea of *χθών* strengthened by *ἐρι*. This does not imply an 'agrarian deity,' but simply an autochthonic one. This may not be capable of philological demonstration, it certainly is consistent with the mythological content of Erechtheus-Erichthonios. It also receives incidental confirmation from the fact that Erichthonios is a title of Hermes, the chthonic god (*Et. Mag.* 371, 51.) The conclusion arrived at by Herr Ermatinger as to the original identity and gradual differentiation of the two personalities is substantially the same as that of the present reviewer (*Myth and Man, Ancient Athens*, xlvii.-xlix.), only supported by far wider learning and more cogent reasoning.

In a book throughout admirable in its fulness we may note some small blemishes. First and foremost it is remarkable to find any one now-a-days discussing the Ion who has apparently never even heard of Dr. Verrall. The amazing indifference in some English minds to what is done in Germany is not often paralleled by the like ignorance in German scholars. It is time this chauvinism ceased. Herr Ermatinger, like Dr. Verrall, sees in the Ion a 'tendenz' drama, 'alle diese Stellen finden keine genügende Erklärung wenn man nicht aus dem Rahmen des Stückes hinausgeht und eine Tendenz der Dichter's annimmt.' He also sees clearly enough that this tendency is not 'all glory to Apollo.' 'Für Euripides haben eben die Orakel ihre Heiligkeit verloren.' 'Apollo bleibt doch um nichts weniger ein Betrug' 'in Wahrheit aber hat Euripides mit dem Volksaberglauben längst gebrochen' (p. 133), but the tendency he sees is an intense patriotism, a paean of autochthonism. It is worth considering whether this did not go some way towards palliating the 'swinging fallacy of the goddess in the machine.' We should like incidentally to indicate a third possible tendency, the glorification of Apollo as *Patroos*, the patronymic god; here as in the Eumenides paternity with patriarchy covers a multitude of sins, as the Eumenides themselves bitterly felt.

Another point, Herr Ermatinger is not so strong in archaeological as in literary evidence. Dr. Dörpfeld has identified the scene of the Creousan rape, τὰ θεοῦ τὰ φίλτατα,

with the ancient Pythion mentioned Thucyd. ii. 15, 4. The identification, demonstrated to our minds beyond the shadow of a doubt, rests of course on complex archaeological evidence given fully in the *Mittheilungen*. Herr Ermatinger says 'diese Annahme wird durch die Darstellung des Euripideischen Ion direkt widerlegt,' and this simply because Euripides says the scene took place in the Πανὸς θακήματα, a vague appellation for the whole district. If Dr. Dörpfeld is wrong it is not by this sort of argument that his conclusions will be upset. We feel, too, a certain archaeological weakness at times in the discussion of vase-paintings; this weakness comes out in the space given (pp. 125, 126) to the discussion of vases in connection with the Ion saga that have manifestly no bearing on it. Herr Ermatinger knows this, but he seems afraid to leave them out; he does not venture to omit opinions on the matter, now quite out of date, of Welcker Gerhard or Rochette. On the other hand, he completely omits the remarkable and beautiful 'Erichthonios' vase in the British Museum published by Dr. Murray (*J.H.S.* Pl. lxxii. 111.) The design is somewhat enigmatic, but the interpretation supported on it by Drs. Murray and Hartwig well deserves discussion. These are minor blemishes in a valuable and admirable book. Herr Ermatinger's name is unknown to us, but we hope this is only a prolegomenon to further mythological work.

JANE E. HARRISON.

JUNG'S GEOGRAPHY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Grundriss der Geographie von Italien und dem orbis Romanus, von JULIUS JUNG. Zweite umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. München, Berk, 1897. 8vo. Pp. 178. 3 Mk. 50.

BIBLIOGRAPHICALLY this book is the first 'Hälfte' of the third 'Abteilung' of the third 'Band' of the well-known *Handbook* edited by Dr. Iwan von Müller. Practically it is a concise, lucid, and learned account of the Roman world from a geographical and statistical standpoint. The matter is well-selected and clearly put: the references to special treatises are copious and the book as a whole likely to be extremely useful to

students of the Roman empire. It can be bought as an independent work, with its own title page and index. As it will no doubt pass in due course into a third edition, I may perhaps venture to criticise one section which seems to me not to reach the general level of excellence distinguishing the book as a whole. I refer to the five pages devoted to Britain. There is a good deal in these few pages to which exception may reasonably be taken. The sketch of the Roman conquest of the island is not very clear and not very correct, or perhaps I should say in connexion with a difficult subject, not very probable. Thus there is absolutely no reason to think that, as Dr.

Jung says, the Roman invasion had its earliest centres in Winchester and Silchester and there are strong reasons for thinking the reverse. There is no reason to think that Chester was first occupied by Suetonius, or that Agricola built a line of forts, garrisoned by legionary vexillations, between the Wear and the Solway: such a line would be marvellous, even geographically. Again, the section on the towns of the province needs correction. Chester, so far as we know, was certainly not a *colonia*. It is wrong to say that English place names ending in -cester, -chester, or the like, invariably denote Roman settlements. There is no evidence, again, nor any probability that many river names lost their Celtic appellations and came to be called after towns on their banks, or that the many rivers called Colne are traces of towns styled or styling themselves *coloniae*. The literature of the subject again is inadequately given. Not to criticize further, it

appears unfortunately true that here, as in so many German books, the antiquities of our island are unsatisfactorily treated and imperfectly known to the author. I should not dream of suggesting that this lapse relating to Britain damages the general excellence of the book. Britain was not, in most ways, an important province: the space allotted to it by Dr. Jung is naturally and rightly a small space, and the defects which it contains are therefore confined within narrow limits. But the book will, no doubt, reach a third edition, and in an English review it may be permissible to notice what concerns things English (or British) and to suggest some corrections. The rest of the book, as I have said, appears to me to be well done, and its contents to be both accurate and adequate, such as one would expect from a scholar who has done previously such good work as Dr. Jung.

F. HAVERFIELD.

JANNARIS'S *HISTORICAL GREEK GRAMMAR*.

Historical Greek Grammar by A. N. JANNARIS, Ph. D., Lecturer on Post-classical and Modern Greek at the University of St. Andrews. Macmillan. 1897. 25s. net.

THIS is a book which should be in the hands of every one who is interested in the study of later Greek. The object of the writer, as stated in p. x., is to show 'how much of ancient Greek is still surviving in modern Greek, and how much has become extinct, and to indicate the period, cause, process and other attendant circumstances of such a loss or change.' To give precision to his statements he distinguishes seven periods in the development of the language: A. Classical, from B.C. 500 to 300; H. Hellenistic, from B.C. 300 to 150; G. Greco-Roman, from B.C. 150 to A.D. 300; T. Transitional, from A.D. 300 to 600; B. Byzantine, from A.D. 600 to 1000; M. Mediaeval, from A.D. 1000 to 1450; N. Neo-hellenic, A.D. 1450 to the present time.

The book, which is closely printed in small type, and would have easily filled 1000 pages of ordinary type, is made up as follows: Preface, Contents, very full Bibliography, pp. i.-xxxviii.; Introduction and Phonology, pp. 1-101; Morphology, 101-

311; Syntax, 312-504; Appendices on Accent, Quantity, Terminal Consonantism, Future Indicative, the Moods, especially the Infinitive in later Greek, pp. 507-580; Indices, pp. 581-737. The two things which to my mind constitute the special interest and value of the book, are (1) the abundant examples of post-classical forms and uses, and (2) the explanations given of etymological and syntactical growth and decay. The following may be taken as average specimens (slightly abbreviated) of the latter. P. 106 (on the progressive simplification of the Greek declension) 'besides the presence of an identical genitive plural -ων in all declensions, the first and third declensions generally had in the accusative—the most familiar of all cases—the common ending -ας. This coincidence led in the post-classical period to a confusion between them. Such an interchange was to be expected, since, with the retreat of the dative there remained only one varying case, the nominative, which ended in -αι (for the first declension) or -ες (for the third declension). The homophony of αι and ε was in itself suggestive, and the question at issue was, which of the two forms should prevail over the other. It was naturally -ες, since this ending was far commoner, and had also the

advantage of a sibilant close (-s), a sound very popular owing to its presence in most of the other plural cases. Thus we find *γεννάδες, Πέρσες*, etc. in the Transitional Period, and the change is completed by the end of the Byzantine period. P. 504 f. 'the history of the participle affords a parallel to that of the infinitive. As the latter was foredoomed to extinction in consequence of its indefiniteness and want of inflexion, so the participle, in particular the class termed adverbial or circumstantial, did not appeal to popular taste and needs because of its ambiguity and inconvenient inflexion. For apart from its vagueness in regard to person, it did not even specify its own nature and meaning, but subordinated it to the context. Thus λέγων could mean *saying, who says* or *said, if he says* or *said, by saying, in order to say*, etc. To avoid such ambiguities, as well as the mental strain involved by the frequent use of participles, even the classical writers, though fond of a participial construction, often resorted to the expedient of a lengthy but clearer and easier analysis into a subordinate clause, introduced by *εἰ ἐπεὶ ὅς ὅτι* etc. Hence in the Greco-Roman period the place of participles is mostly taken by finite verbs with subordinating particles or coordinating conjunction; and even the more careful and scholarly writers who still affect its use, frequently blunder in their way of using it.'

In p. vii. Dr. Jannaris says that his original plan was to adhere as much as possible to the methods and theories generally received in our leading grammars, adopting even the Erasmian pronunciation (to which he had become a convert when an undergraduate in German Universities), but that he had not advanced far in his research when he began to light on phenomena which would not fit in with the received theories. He became convinced that the true grammar of the Greek language had yet to be written; and particularly blames the conventional grammar of the Western School for doing away with 'the traditional pronunciation, which reflects perhaps the least changed part of the language.' Hence we find him in the section on Phonology maintaining against Blass and Conway, the conclusion that the English *e* represents the true pronunciation of the sonants *η, ι, υ, ει, οι, υι*.

What has been said will be enough to show the general character of the book. Among the innovations on conventional grammar mentioned in the last paragraph may be noted the transference of the subjunctive and imperative from the aorist to

the future. The old classification is, he says, misleading, since from a logical and syntactical point of view we cannot well conceive a past subjunctive and past imperative, such moods, owing to the nature of their special case, always referring to the future (p. 179). Accordingly in p. 555 we find λάβω, ληφθῶ, ἀναβῇ, κατενέγκης, ἀντίειπῃ classed as future subjunctives. Still more extraordinary is the suggestion in p. 434, that καταφθείρω in Gen. 6, 13 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καταφθείρω αὐτοὺς, is fut. subj. Is he not here falling into the same fault which he condemns in the authors of our traditional grammar, and disregarding the fact of morphological connection to suit a preconceived theory? In p. 560 he confesses that the cardinal difference between the indicative mood and the subjunctive and imperative is that the former may refer to all three divisions of time, while the other two refer only to the future, and may therefore be called prospective moods. But if so why are not the *present* subjunctive and imperative also made over to the future tense? Again in p. 486 he allows that the aorist infinitive is often used where we might have expected the future infinitive, yet he does not therefore think it necessary to re-christen it as infinitive future. So far as my observation extends, he ignores the generally received characteristic of the aorist as expressing momentary action.

I go on to notice other points in which I am disposed to question the views propounded. P. 5, 'the colloquial or popular language has left, and could leave, no representative specimens to distant posterity.' The grounds for the assertion are given as follows: colloquial compositions, being of temporary and private character, have all perished in the humid soil of Greece; moreover every scribe in committing his thoughts to writing unconsciously rises to a literary style. But surely Plato and Aristophanes give us specimens, not perhaps of the pigeon-Greek of slaves, but of the ordinary colloquial Greek, just as our dramatists and novelists do of colloquial English. P. 8, 'Christianity originated in Asia Minor': is it then a myth that St. Paul was sent out by the Church of Antioch? P. 34, The Greek definition γραμματικὴ ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεύσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων is translated 'grammar is the knowledge of the usual *subject matter* and diction found in the classical authors': surely τὰ λεγόμενα has nothing to do with the *subject-matter*. P. 101, 'By the end of the fourth century B.C., the dual had entirely

disappeared from the language': this is far too sweeping: the dual is not to be found in the N.T., but it is very common in such a writer as Clem. Al., cf. *Protr.* p. 1, § 1 ἄμφω μὲν ἦσθην ὠδικῶς *ib.* p. 42 ἐγενέσθην καὶ ἄλλω τινὲ δύο Κρητικῶ ἀνδριανοποιῶ... τοῦτ' οὖν δὲ τὰ ἐν Ἄργει τοῖν Διοσκουρίον ἀγάλματα κατεσκευασάτην, also pp. 39, 55, 57, 62, *Paed.* i. p. 98, iii. 276, etc. P. 163, 'The forms του and τω for τινός and τινὲ disappear from the A inscriptions about 300 B.C.' Since A stands for 'classical,' and the classical period (by definition) ends with 300 B.C., A has probably crept in by mistake. To prevent misunderstanding it should have been stated that these forms are found in literature at a much later period, e.g. in Clem. Al. we find ἄλλω τω p. 153, παντὶ τω 54 and 884. P. 165, § 598 on the particle κἄν is misplaced. P. 185, 'No visible augment is taken by verbs beginning with ω': but reference is made just before, and in p. 189 to ἐώθονν and similar forms. P. 321, 'When relative pronouns came to be used for demonstratives (2038), the article naturally found a place before relatives also.' The examples given are such as τῶν ἄπερ ἡβούλεσθε. Turning to § 2038 we read 'the use of relatives in indirect questions brought them into association with the direct interrogatives, and thus rendered them admissible in questions also,' which is illustrated by οὗτος τί ποιεῖς; ὅτι ποιῶ; This of course has nothing to do with the use of the article before a relative clause, and also fails to explain that the ὅτι in ὅτι ποιῶ; retains its indirect force, implying '(do you ask) what I am doing'? P. 421, ἵνα is said to 'stand for modal ἄν' and is illustrated by three quotations from Epictetus, i. 29, 16 Σωκράτης ἵνα πάθῃ ταῦτα ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων; where Schw. translates *siccinne Socrates tractari debuit?* understanding it as a brachylogy for ἔδει οὖν ἵνα; ii. 19, 21 ποῦ γὰρ ἵν' ὑμεῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἴσῃν ὑπολάβητε; which Schw. explains *ubi enim est ut revera vos existimetis?* i.e. *quomodo credam vos etc.*; iv. 1, 142 ἵνα τις... σοι τοῦτο μόνον εἴπῃ; which Schw. again explains by *utinam aliquis adstaret tibi!* No doubt these elliptical uses of ἵνα were partly suggested by the idiomatic uses of *ut*. I do not see that we should get any help in such sentences by the substitution of modal ἄν for ἵνα. P. 398 (repeated in p. 462), 'The monstrous construction ὑπερ ἐγώ in 2 Cor. 11, 23 rests on an itacistic misspelling for εἴπερ ἐγώ.' There is nothing monstrous in the construction, if taken in connection with the preceding words διάκονοι Χριστοῦ εἰναι; ὑπερ standing for ὑπερ-διάκονος; εἴπερ would

make no sense. P. 399, It might have been mentioned that ὡς in the sense of πρὸς was used with the *accusativus rei* in some later writers, cf. Clem. Al. *Protr.* p. 4 ὡς τὸν πρᾶον μετὰ γων ἡμῶς ζύγον, p. 6 προύτρεπεν ὡς τὴν ἀλήθειαν. The daring correction of the text in the case of ὑπερ ἐγώ may be paralleled from p. 478, where the use of εἰ as a direct interrogative particle in biblical Greek (e.g. Acts 21, 37 εἰ ἔξεστίν μοι εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς σε; Matt. 12, 10 εἰ ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασιν θεραπεύειν;) is said to be based on an itacistic misspelling of the colloquial ἦ. Surely Dr. Jannaris cannot expect us to receive this simply on his *Ipse dixit*. The construction is exactly parallel to that of the pleonastic ὅτι with quotations. Is he able to point to any uncertainty in the reading εἰ? Looking through Geden's Lexicon I do not find a single various reading. Or is it the case that ἦ is commonly used as an interrogative particle in the N.T.? On the contrary it is never found. Yet Dr. Jannaris has such a predilection for this unused particle, that he substitutes it for the interrogative ἦ against both reason and MS. authority in Matt. 26, 53; Rom. 3, 29; 6, 3; 11, 2; 1 Cor. 6, 9; 14, 36; 2 Cor. 11, 7; 1 Th. 2, 19; Jas. 4, 5; and with a still bolder defiance of authority, substitutes ἦ μὴν (or ἡμὴν) for ἀμὴν, wherever the latter is found at the beginning of a sentence (cf. pp. 433 and 478). The double ἀμὴν he explains as due first to some Xtian reader who wrote ἀμὴν as an explanation of the obsolescent ἦ μὴν, and second to a second copyist who gave both words in the text, the corruption being completed by a third copyist. It is extraordinary that it should never have occurred to him to ask why this plague of copyists should have been confined to St. John's Gospel, in which alone the double ἀμὴν is found. But it is not merely in the phrase ἦ μὴν that the favourite μὴν finds admission into the N.T.: wherever our present text has οὐ μὴ we are told to replace it by οὐ μὴν (p. 433) (1) because μὴ is here inexplicable and οὐ μὴ cannot be reduced to any principle of the language, (2) because the sense requires everywhere an emphatic asseveration in the negative, such as οὐ μὴν bears in Soph. *El.* 817, (3) because the construction is like that of ἦ μὴν with a prospective mood, and for three other reasons which it is scarcely worth while to repeat. On the strength of this reasoning we are regaled (in p. 555) with such readings as οἶνον καὶ σίκερα οὐ μὴν πῆν (Luke 1, 15), οὐ μὴν ἀπόλωνται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (Joh. 10, 28). One more quotation and I

have done. On p. 562 we read 'As to Biblical Greek there is not one authenticated instance of the use of the secondary subjunctive (the optative) in dependent clauses,' 'the four cases commonly adduced (Mark 14, 10 ἀπῆλθεν ἵνα παραδοῖ, ib. 9, 30 οὐκ ἤθελεν ἵνα τις αὐτὸν γνοῖ...) are obviously scholastic transcriptions of παραδῆ and γνῆ (οἰ=η), which latter are due to the analogy of other forms' (!) Yet in the next page we have a list, said to be 'nearly complete' of 28 examples from the N.T. where the secondary subjunctive is used with indirect questions or parenthetical clauses introduced by εἰ. A similar list is given in p. 474, where again it is suggested that some of the optatives may represent original subjunctives, the homophonous endings οἰ and ἦ having given rise to 'itacistic misspelling.'

Dr. Jannaris takes credit to himself for having devoted to his task more than five

whole years (p. vi.). I wish he had spent at least double that time upon it, and he might then have given us a far more satisfactory book. Still, with all its glaring faults, its unpardonable hastiness and rashness, it remains in my opinion the best book of its kind in English, the most useful help to all students of post-classical Greek. I may mention in conclusion that I have noticed three misprints: p. 216, § 850b, 'Popular speech substituted the sonant -ου- for -ω-, that is -ωμεν for -ουμεν, -ωσι for -ουσι, -ωμαι for -ουμαι, -ωμεθα for -ουμεθα, -ωνται for -ονται,' where it is evident both from the general rule and the examples which follow, e.g. τιμοῦντες, ἡρώτων, that we should read -ουμεν for -ωμεν, etc.; p. 334, § 1292 for 'amuse' read 'accuse'; p. 453, § 1940 for οἶγο read οἴγο.

J. B. MAYOR.

AUDEN'S EDITION OF THE *PRO PLANCIO*.

Cicero Pro Plancio, edited with Introduction and Notes by H. W. AUDEN, M.A., Macmillan. pp. lxxxiv. 150. 3s. 6d.

It is impossible to say there is any real need for this book, for in no respect does it appear superior to Holden's well known edition. By this it is not meant to disparage Mr. Auden's work, which is not without merit, but it seems a pity that he has attempted to do over again what has already been done so well. The introduction is excellent. The summary of the history of rhetoric contains a great deal of information clearly and concisely put. The editor has evidently studied the best books on this subject, and has thus been able to write an interesting epitome. The notes are fairly good and accurate, but in one or two cases there is room for improvement: e.g. in a note on page 57 it is stated that Continentia = Gk. σωφροσύνη 'perfect self-control.' It is more correct to say that Continentia = Gk.

ἐγκράτεια and translate both words by 'self-control,' wherein is implied an effort which is not implied in σωφροσύνη, Latin Temperantia, 'perfect self-control.' On page 62 Medius fidius is explained as 'Medius = me, a demonstrative particle, cf. mehercle mecastor etc., and dius an older stage of deus. If this explanation is preferable to the old one (which the editor seems to adopt on page 125) me deus fidius sc. adiuvet, some more information on the 'demonstrative particle' me might be expected. Scilicet (page 120) is explained as "sci licet 'know, you may do so': thus in general sense the same as scire licet, which the Romans themselves imagined to be the full form of it, cf. videlicet.' In this case I think the Romans imagined correctly. Mr. Auden has qualification for editing a speech of Cicero; and this makes it the more to be regretted that he did not edit one which has not already appeared with English notes.

W. E. P. COTTER.

HALL'S EDITION OF THE FOURTH VERRINE.

The Fourth Verrine of Cicero, edited for schools by F. W. Hall, M. A. Macmillan. pp. lx. 187. 3s. 6d.

Mr. Hall's notes are short, but helpful, and he has wisely avoided encumbering them by

the quotation of a large number of parallel passages. Those he does give are brief, and to the point. In a few cases brevity has been too much aimed at—e.g. the notes on cybaea (chap. 8), divisores (chap. 20), discessio (chap. 65). The derivation of the

first word ought to have been mentioned, and more detailed notes might have been expected in a school edition on such technical words as *divisores* (the note on which is 'bribery agents') and *discessio*. Teachers, however, are not likely to find fault with notes which are short, and accurate, and such Mr. Hall's are. The Introduction is very well written. All that the learner can want to know on the law '*De pecuniis Repetundis*,' and the '*Procedure in a Roman trial*' he will find

clearly stated in sections ii. and iii. Sections v. vi. deal with 'the chronology of the trial,' and 'the Romans and the Fine Arts.' A short account of the MSS. of Book iv. is given in section vii. The Archaeological Appendix will be found useful. The editor has done his work well and as the speech has not yet been edited in English, his book will form a welcome addition to Messrs. Macmillan's Classical Series.

W. E. P. COTTER.

NOTES TO TYRRELL'S THIRD EDITION OF THE *MILES GLORIOSUS*.

THIS admirable school edition has already passed through three editions and three reprints, the last appearing in 1894. In the Preface to the last edition the statement is made: 'I have now, I hope, removed all the errors of the Press which occurred in the earlier editions.' A number of errors, however, still remain, chiefly of a metrical nature. The object of the present paper is to point these out, for the benefit of students who may be using the edition, and with the hope that the corrections may be of service when the time comes for a revision.

THE METRICAL ERRORS are of two kinds:

(a) *The omission of an ictus mark:* of these there are sixty-seven:—

Verses 156, 162, 164, 169, 175, 176, 181, 187, 222, 230, 248, 284, 313, 339, 355, 356, 387, 404, 413, 424, 436, 460, 507, 517, 522, 540, 643, 679, 684, 699, 739, 773, 778, 791, 809, 883, 893, 920, 935, 946, 949, 1004, 1037, 1050, 1145, 1163, 1195, 1200, 1207, 1218, 1307, 1317, 1321, 1327, 1328, 1344, 1345, 1366, 1374, 1386, 1387, 1395, 1396, 1408, 1417, 1425, 1428.

(b) *An excess of ictus marks:* of these there are seven:—

Verses 246, 322, 1003, 1021, 1331, 1402, 1415.

A few minor TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS have been noticed:

Page 53, verse 598: period after *loco* instead of comma.

Page 61, verse 685 is not numbered.

Page 167, verse 296, 'compound' for 'compounds.'

The following statements found in the notes need revision:—

Page 137, verse 7: 'Bx. recognises only

one case of quod.' Bx. *Trin.* 290, however, cites three examples.

Page 144, 57, 'ne = nonne, which is not found in old Latin,' also on p. 169; 'nonne is post-Plautine.' But cf. Brix. *Men.* 283, Schmalz, *Lat. Syntax*, § 157, Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 605.

Page 146, 84: the statement in regard to the occurrence of forms in *-ai* is inexact. It has a wider use than one would suppose from the note.

Page 171, 357: *nunciam* is explained as from *nunci*. But is this view tenable? (Cf. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 610.)

Page 176, 430: 'persectari is ἀπ. εἰρ.' But this word occurs twice in Lucretius, ii. 165 and iv. 1010. (Munro, it may be noted, in his note to ii. 165 says this word 'appears to be peculiar to Lucr.')

Page 185, 587: 'A reference to the crit. note will show, etc.' But where is this note to be found? I have been unable to find it in this edition.

On Page 164, 273 the statement is made that '*Certo* is found only in comic poets and Cic. (chiefly in his *Epp.*).' The same statement occurs in Tyrrell's edition of *The Correspondence of Cicero*, vol. i. p. 60. It probably comes from White and Riddle's Dictionary ['found only in the comic poets, and sts. (most freq. in his *Epist.*) in Cicero'], and seems to be perpetuated not only here, but, implicitly, in the fact that Harper's Dictionary gives examples only from Plautus, Terence, and Cicero. The actual facts are otherwise, however. Georges (sub v. *certo*) cites Apulcius, *nos certo certius dedere quam*, etc., to be found in *Met.* ix. 41 (Hildebrand). To this I wish to add Martial's *certo meruisti*, iv. 75, 7; Val. Maximus, iv. 8, 5, *ut certo constet*; Fronto i. 7 (p. 179, 6, Naber) *certo*

scio; Apuleius, *Met.* x. 5, damnatum iri certo sciebat. Neue, *Formenlehre*, II.³, p. 621, cites Sallust, *Cat.* 51, 16; ¹ *Jug.* 9, 2.¹ As far as Cicero's use is concerned, *certo* occurs thirty-four times in the Letters (cf. Neue II.³ p. 620), fourteen times in the Orations, and five times in the Philosophical

¹ So Dietsch.

Writings (Merguet, *Lexikon*). *Quasi certo* occurs in *Tusc.* v. 81. *Certo scio* also occurs in *Auctor ad Heren.* iv. 56 (Marx).

Of the book, as a whole, it need hardly be added at this late date that it merits only words of praise.

EMORY B. LEASE.

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FUEGNER'S LEXICON LIVIANUM.

WITH the eighth part the first volume of this work, comprising letters A and B, has just been completed. Critics have repeatedly warned the author that he planned his work on too large a scale. The publisher, Teubner, tells us that unless a considerable number of additional subscribers comes forward, he cannot carry the book to an end. The author gives a specimen of articles on a reduced scale, which would allow the completion of the alphabet in four volumes instead of seven or eight. It will be a

great blow to Latin scholarship if the materials, which are ready, must be deposited in some library, instead of passing through the Press for the common good.

The Tacitean Lexicon, by Gerber and Greef, published by the same firm, is nearly complete. New subscribers to Fügner will not long have to bear the burden of the double subscription.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

Cambridge.

A PORTRAIT.

That is his portrait painted by himself.
Look on those manly curls so glossy dark,
Those thoughtful furrows in the swarthy
cheek;
Admire that stalwart shape, those ample
brows,
And that large table of the breast dispread
Between low shoulders: how demure a
smile,
How full of wisest humour and of love,
With some half-consciousness of inward
power
Sleeps round those quiet lips; not quite a
smile;
And look you what an arch the brain has
built
Above the ear! and what a settled mind,
Mature, harbour'd from change, contem-
plative,
Temper the peaceful light of hazel eyes,
Observing all things. This is he I loved,
This is the man of whom you heard me
speak.¹

TENNYSON.

SIC ORA FEREBAT.

ecce virum, sua quem pinxit manus! ecce
virilem
caesariem, crinesque nigros per colla fluentes
sulcatasque genas curarum pondere: formam
conspice robustam et spatia ardua frontis et
inter
summissos umeros latum se effundere pectus.
circum labra viden, sapientia mitis amorque
colludunt, tanquam ipse sua quae mente
laterent
divinaret opes, risu premeretque sereno—
si modo risus erat—quanta cerebrum ecce
columna
pone aurem sese erexit! tum nescia labi
mens contemplatur securo immota recessu
res varias hominum et liquido splendore ni-
tentes
temperat informans oculos: ipsum aspice,
qualem
dilexi, quem te coram sermone ferebam.

E. D. STONE.

¹ These lines, published in the *Life of Lord Tennyson*, are printed here by the kind permission of Messrs. Macmillan.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

TSOUNTAS AND MANATT'S
MYKENAEAN AGE.

The Mykenaeen Age: A Study of the Monuments and Culture of pre-Homeric Greece. By Drs. CHRESTOS TSOUNTAS and J. IRVING MANATT. With an Introduction by Dr. DÖRPFELD. London: Macmillan & Co., 1897. [8vo. pp. xxxi. 417, xxii. Plates, 169 Illustrations in the Text]. 24s.

THE earlier years of prehistoric archaeology in Greece were so closely associated with the name and personality of Dr. Schliemann, that it was natural that the first attempt to review the results in this field of enquiry should take the form of a biographical rather than a purely critical memoir. Dr. Schuchhardt's '*Schliemann's Ausgrabungen*,' both in its original form, and in an excellent English translation, necessarily ignored much that had been done by other hands, even in Schliemann's lifetime. And already before the book appeared, the supplementary excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society at Mykenae itself, and of individual investigators elsewhere, had further modified current opinion on a number of important points.

There was consequently every reason for the publication of a more comprehensive treatise, when, some years ago, Dr. Tsountas, on whose shoulders in the directest sense the mantle of Schliemann fell, was asked to contribute an account of Mykenae to a popular series of 'famous sites' to be published in Romaic, and at Athens. The projected series came to nothing; but Dr. Tsountas modified and amplified his contribution, and published it separately in 1893, under the title *Μυκῆναι καὶ Μυκηναϊκὸς πολιτισμὸς*; a work in which, in spite of the careful recasting which it underwent before publication, the locality of Mykenae exercises almost as disproportionate an influence, as the personality of Schliemann in Dr. Schuchhardt's book.

How the work under review grew out of Dr. Tsountas' original book is explained in Dr. Manatt's preface. As it stands, it is a compilation from a number of sources, and by a number of hands, somewhat lightly compacted by a single editor. Dr. Tsountas has contributed the substance of his original book, apparently with some corrections, and also some additional material, including

what are practically abstracts of Mr. Evans' papers on Mykenaeen writing, of Dr. Dörpfeld's *Troja 1893*, and of M. Staïs' paper on the Attic Salamis in the *Πρακτικά*. He has also seen the proofs 'without taking exception to any point'; but Prof. Manatt expressly releases him from any more direct responsibility in detail. Dr. Dörpfeld has been prevailed upon to write a short Introduction, which is mainly a criticism of some of the architectural views expressed in the body of the book. Appendix B incorporates Prof. Frothingham's summary of M. de Ridder's excavation at Gha, and an abstract of Dr. Noack's paper on the same site. For the remainder Dr. Barker Newhall and Prof. Manatt are mainly responsible, though the name of the former, as draft-translator from the Romaic, does not appear on the title-page.

The book is copiously illustrated; a number of the drawings are new, and the photographic plates are well rendered, with the exception of Pl. iii., a difficult subject, but one in which the middle distance and background which are invisible, would have been even more valuable to the historical student than the foreground. It is a pity, however, that the sources of the remainder of the line drawings have not been indicated, at all events in the list on pp. v.-ix.; if only in justice to the draughtsmen of the new ones. One or two slips may be noted: the line drawings figs. 6 and 135 are referred to in the text as 'photographic views,' which is misleading; after fig. 14, a reproduction of Schuchhardt's fig. 286 seems to be promised, but does not appear; fig. 120 is quoted in illustration of two types of ornament, neither of which appear in it; and the 'Façade of a Beehive Tomb,' fig. 46, might well have been described somewhere in detail, seeing that it represents the notable tomb at the Heraion. The map, Pl. ii., gives the railway and physical features imperfectly, and the modern roads not at all. It is 'based upon Steffen' and preserves *B* and *Gb* along with *Mt*: *Kiatio* should be *Kiato*, and *Pronia*, as in the text (p. 6), *Pronoia*. *Lechaion* is omitted, though there is a prehistoric site there. In pl. viii. the inner portico of the gate fails to correspond with the description in the text, though in pl. vi. it is right. On p. 26, l. 2 from the bottom, and referring to pl. ix., *H* (*η* in *Μυκ.*) should be *G*.

The book is handsomely and carefully printed, and has upon the cover an effective reproduction of the scene on one of the gold cups from Vaphio.

As a popular illustrated handbook to an attractive period of ancient art and civilisation, the work will probably succeed in maintaining itself; but as a working textbook of our present knowledge of the Mykenaeen Age, it is certainly in many respects disappointing, more especially considering the materials more immediately at hand. Prof. Manatt has used his opportunities of remodelling Dr. Tsountas' work either too much or too little. If he and Dr. Newhall had been content with their original project of a translation, revised and enlarged, but still directly *authorised*, of the original essay, the large English-reading public would have been indebted to them for a direct introduction to the maturer views of one of the most industrious and most fortunate of all the first-hand authorities in this field of research; and, with the sixth volume of 'Perrot and Chipiez' at our elbow, we might well have overlooked any lacunae which Dr. Tsountas' pressing duties in the field might have prevented him from filling himself at second hand.

On the other hand, if Prof. Manatt had been prepared to publish a 'Mykenaeen Age' of his own, we should no doubt have had a series of adequate abstracts of previously published work, with systematic references to the original publications of Dr. Tsountas and others; and a certain understanding that where no authority was quoted, Prof. Manatt personally was responsible for the statement. And, as he spent some time in Greece between 1889 and 1893, it is conceivable that such occasions might have been frequent.

In the event, however, he has fallen somewhat between two stools. It is seldom clear, except by comparison with the original Romaic, whether a statement rests on Dr. Tsountas' authority, or on the joint authority of the collaborators, or on that of Prof. Manatt simply. In particular, the familiar 'we,' which in the Romaic was idiomatic and convincing, is far too freely used in a joint work for which apparently neither collaborator accepts definite responsibility; and is distinctly misleading in Dr. Tsountas' original statements, e.g. pp. 150, 270, 284, or interpolated among them, e.g. p. 62; or, worse still, in testimony to discoveries and observations made after Prof. Manatt's departure from Greece; e.g. pp. 135, 261. The absence of a bibliography, and of any

allusion even to Dr. Blinkenberg's detailed analysis of the Cycladic data; the paucity of new references in the footnotes; and the omission of some of the most important references of the original; e.g. Μυκῆναι, pp. 8, 205, add to the uncertainties arising from this avoidance of explicit responsibility. The translation itself, even where it is uninterpolated for any considerable space, is curiously unequal, and contains a number of actual blunders. ἔντυπος (Μυκ. p. 50) does not mean 'incised,' (E.T. p. 76) but 'stamped' or 'impressed': δύο συμμετρικῶν οἰκημάτων... ἐκατέρωθεν (Μυκ. p. 200) is rendered 'a smaller building...alongside of' (E.T. p. 252), without note of a correction: ἡλεκτρον in *Od.* iv. 71 ff. where it stands between 'gold' and 'silver' is rendered 'amber' (E.T. p. 62): αἱ τετραπλημέναι αἰχμαὶ τῆς Ἀμοργῶν (Μυκ. p. 211) appears as 'the old-fashioned spear-heads of Amorgos' (E.T. p. 267): κοιλότητες (Μυκ. p. 38) are not 'grooves' (E.T. p. 60) but 'hollows,' or, more particularly, 'sockets.' The abbreviations ΒΔ and ΝΔ are translated 'eastern' (E.T. p. 7) and ΒΔ and ΒΑ are omitted (E.T. p. 27-8 = Μυκ. p. 15).

Dates are very freely rendered: πέρυσιν means 1892 on p. 168, 1893 on p. 171; and the date of the excavation at Vaphio is differently given in Μυκ. p. 15, E.T. p. 7. 'Εφ.' Αρχ. 1877, in a note on p. 58, should be 1887.

More remarkable are some expressions in the English where no Romaic equivalent occurs in Μυκῆναι. 'Votive' for 'votive offering,' p. 143; 'defense,' p. 15; 'gew-gaws,' p. 226; 'measurably new' p. xiv. (? μετρίως); 'back of that decadence,' p. 4, 'sea-food,' p. 69; may be American idioms. 'The standard stuff' (? ὕλη), p. 223; and 'bloomtime,' p. 220, have a Teutonic air. 'A vacuum of 8-10 inches deep,' p. 31n.; 'ivory trimmings' (κοσμήματα, Μυκ. p. 51 = E.T. 78); 'Palamedes,' p. 6, for the 'Palamidi' of Baedeker, Schuchhardt, and others; 'more or less fearfully and wonderfully garnished,' of a leathern helmet, p. 196; 'cheek by jowl,' of the figures on an ivory mirror-handle, p. 188; and 'the "graffito" method of fresco-painting' (? sgraffito), p. 233; are less explicable. The Trojan idols are not 'chalked' with owl-like features, p. 296, but *incised*; and 'he has chalked out a new chapter of Genesis,' is neither an adequate account of the Pitane-vase, nor an elegant translation of the original French (Perrot-Chipiez vi. 932).

More serious misconceptions are betrayed by the very loose usage, pp. 241, 244-5, of

the difficult words 'glaze' and 'varnish'; the latter being repeatedly used for Furtwängler's *Firnisfarbe*; of 'enameled' (*sic*) p. 202, for the inlaid work on the dagger blades from the shaft graves; and of 'Mykenaeen,' without distinction, of the spoils of Mykenae itself, and of Aegean civilisation in general. Dr. Tsountas always uses *πόρπη* for a *fibula*, and explains it (*Μυκ.* p. 57) by *παπαλάνα* 'safety-pin.' Prof. Manatt confuses this *πόρπη* with the *περόνη* of Hdt. v. 82, 87, a passage which he seems to regard, p. 163, as referring to the mythical age of Greece.

Other points in which revision is required are the interpretation of quite familiar floral '*Füllen-ornamente*' on the golden diadem, pl. xii., as Ψ-like and Υ-like symbols, p. 177; and of the old man's shield on the silver vase, p. 162, with a *χλαῖνα*: the gold-wire theory of spiral ornament, which becomes increasingly difficult in face of Egyptian prototypes in stone; and the allusion to Meriones' helmet (*Il.* x. 362), which is exactly reproduced in the boar-tusk helmet inadequately described in fig. 85. The new painted stele, though it is actually mentioned, p. 153, is nowhere fully described, even in outline.¹ The chapter on 'The Islands as Mediators in Art,' serves to introduce some new data on Amorgos, but is barely adequate as a statement of this important question, and that on the 'Mykenaeen World and Homer,' with which the book ends, is of the very slightest texture.

It is much to be regretted that a book so much needed, and in many ways so elaborately prepared, should have been allowed to appear with these many blemishes upon it; and still more that Dr. Tsountas' work and reputation should have been introduced to what must be a very large circle of readers, in so vague and elusive a costume.

J. L. MYRES.

TWO BOOKS BY M. S. REINACH.

- (1) *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*: Tome I. Clarac de poche, contenant les Bas-reliefs de l'ancien fonds du Louvre et les Statues antiques du *Musée*

¹ On p. 26 the hackneyed and wholly erroneous parallel between the 'galleries' at Tiryns and certain chambers on the Byrsa at Carthage is repeated, though it is rejected by Dr. Tsountas (*Μυκ.* p. 227). When will compilers discover that these notorious structures are of late Roman Imperial date?

de Sculpture de Clarac: Paris, Leroux, 1897. 5 frs.

- (2) *Chroniques d'Orient*: documents sur les fouilles et découvertes dans l'Orient Hellénique: deuxième série, Paris, Leroux, 1896. 15 frs.

THERE lie before me, unnoticed for too long a period, two volumes, published by M. S. Reinach in his great enterprise of making the materials for archaeological and topographical study accessible to ordinary scholars. A large fortune is required to purchase the elaborate and expensive folios, in which the results of travel and excavation are often enshrined—folios in which a comparatively slight text sinks into insignificance in comparison with a stately array of beautiful plates, containing photographic representations of everything important, and of some things that can hardly be called important, that are alluded to in the text. I confess that I feel much sympathy with the vigorous language in which M. Reinach sometimes expresses himself against the unnecessarily expensive character of so many archaeological works; and every one must sympathize with his attempt, carried out with so much knowledge, patience, skill, and research, to counteract that great evil.

The *Répertoire de la Statuaire* is intended to be a collection (complete, or as nearly complete as care and work can make the first essay of such a gigantic scheme) of the types of Greek statuary. The present volume is the first of three, and each volume is to be sold at the ridiculously cheap rate of five francs. It is past my comprehension how a book like this can be produced at such a figure; and, considering what the price is, it also passes my comprehension how any scholar can refrain from purchasing a copy. In this volume we have the whole of Clarac's *Musée de Sculpture*, the one great collection of types, to which everyone must often turn. Naturally the reproductions are not good enough, or on a large enough scale, to show the style and character of each statue; but they are practically as useful as Clarac's, and they are sufficient to be used as a basis for studying the types which were originated in the development of Greek Sculpture, and for acquiring some conception of the variety and locality of the existing specimens of each type.

The second volume is to contain the reproduction of six thousand statues in the Museums of Europe; and the third a description and critical remarks of the whole,

together with a general index. But the first volume has already its own index of forty pages, together with brief *Notices Provisoires*, referring to important publications concerning many of the works reproduced from Clarac.

The difficult problem of arranging on a scientific principle such a vast collection is, of course, not solved in this book, as M. Reinach recognizes in his preface. I do not see how it could be solved without vast expense and much combination of labour; and the only practicable method in a cheap book is a collection roughly classified and accompanied by indexes. If I were a working student, instead of a mere amateur in Greek art, I should keep several copies of the book, to cut up gradually and rearrange on several principles of classification.

An interesting account of the life of Count de Clarac, who ruined himself partly by his great book and partly by his inability to attain satisfaction with the form of his printed works, until he had seen and cut up a score of proofs and revises, is one of those pious duties to a predecessor which M. Reinach performs in so many cases and always with taste, felicity, and care.

(2) The second volume of the *Chroniques d'Orient* contains an account of the discoveries in the eastern Greek world between autumn 1890 and autumn 1895; and I may venture to speak of it, even though M. Reinach has done me the honour to dedicate it to me. The same qualities, with greater experience and wider knowledge, characterize the new volume as the former one (noticed in the *Classical Review*, 1891, vol. v. p. 131). Whenever I have to speak or write about any place in the eastern Greek world, I turn to the Index to the *Chroniques*, and find thereby what has been done, and what discovered in recent years; and even with regard to central Asia Minor I have learned from M. Reinach about various publications and sources of information, which in the far north I might otherwise not have heard of for years. The incisive, but always straightforward and sympathetic, criticisms with which M. Reinach interspaces his record of discoveries, are expressed in crisp, graceful, and delicate style, and make the *Chroniques* everywhere interesting and amusing reading. The volume, containing 662 large and closely printed pages, costs like its predecessor only fifteen francs.

In two *Appendices* M. Reinach reprints his *Mirage Oriental*, and its sequel *Les Déeses nues dans l'Art Oriental et dans l'Art Grec*, in which clear perception of the essential

originality of Greek Art has perhaps led him too far in the direction of denying Greek indebtedness to the east. A pupil may learn much from a teacher, and yet remain essentially original and creative. But the view set forth in these two papers is worth study from many points of view; and is a valuable corrective to an error, sometimes admitted almost unconsciously, that when one has observed an analogy between an Oriental and a Greek type, the origin of the latter is discovered. Even granting that the latter was suggested by the older type (and priority has to be proved), there still remains very much to be added before you have the whole Greek idea.

W. M. RAMSAY.

MACDONALD'S *TITULI HUNTERIANI*.

Tituli Hunteriani: an Account of the Roman stones in the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, by JAMES MACDONALD M.A., LL.D. (Glasgow: Annan). Pp. xii. + 102, 4to.

THE inscribed and sculptured Roman stones in the possession of the Glasgow University were for the most part presented in the eighteenth century (1694–1771) by various Scotch benefactors, who desired to place in safe custody various stones found along the Vallum of Antoninus Pius. When the Hunterian collections were presented to the University in 1783, the Roman stones, some thirty in number, were incorporated with them and acquired the name 'Hunterian' though they had nothing to do with Dr. Hunter himself. Since 1783 over a dozen additions have been made, bringing the number of stones up to forty-five. Dr. Macdonald's Catalogue of them, well printed in a fine quarto and most admirably illustrated, is a most adequate and useful work. It does not, of course, include all the lapidary monuments of the Vallum, for some of these are in the Edinburgh museum and some still in private houses. But it includes enough to give any one a clear idea of what these lapidary monuments are. I must not praise it in detail, as I helped to read the proof sheets, but I may be allowed to point out two good features. Dr. Macdonald has bestowed real care on fixing the proper *provenances* of the stones, rather obscure in some cases, and he and his publishers have provided illustrations in photogravure of every stone. These illustrations are most admirable: I do not

know any epigraphic treatise which is better equipped in this respect. The publication of really scholarly and well-illustrated local catalogues is among the needs of the time: Dr. Macdonald has met this need for Glasgow University.

F. HAVERFIELD.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Savignano, near Rimini. Two large pavements with fine polychrome mosaics have recently been found here. The design on the larger consists of eight octagons surrounding a central one, three of them being now lost. They are divided by cable-patterns, and each contains an elaborate geometrical pattern. Along one side is a border of five circles filled with cable and other patterns. The other pavement is decorated with circles united by intertwining cable-patterns; in the circles are fishes, amphorae, and quatrefoils. The pavements are probably of late date.¹

Barbarano, Etruria. An interesting bronze horse's bit has recently been found here and acquired for the National Museum in Rome. It has a fine patina, and consists of two curved pieces ending in knobs, united by a twisted cross-piece with hooks in the middle; the construction is very elaborate. It belongs to the first period of the Iron Age, contemporary with the Ronzano swords. Bits of similar date and character are discussed by Gozzadini, *Mors de cheval italiques* (1875); there are also examples in the Etruscan Room of the British Museum.²

Sassoferato, Umbria. A very interesting series of terracotta figures has come to light here. They were mostly in fragments, but have been restored and put together to form groups. The first group represents Ariadne sleeping in Naxos, and found by Dionysos with his accompanying *thiasos* of Satyrs and Seileni. A female figure which stands at Ariadne's head has been interpreted as Aphrodite, but from the short chiton (*ἐξομῆς*) which she wears, seems rather to resemble Artemis. One of the Satyrs holds up his hands in the *ἀποσκοπεύων* attitude. The second group is similar, but has four figures as against six. The third group consists of two winged female figures raising heavy drapery between them over their heads; above them in the background is Eros holding out both hands, which appear to have held crowns. A winged youth with a torch (Hymenaeos?) stands by. The subject may be the marriage of Dionysos and Ariadne. These groups may have come from the pediment of a temple; the remaining figures seem to be from a frieze. These latter represent a battle with Gauls, in which Artemis takes part, and there seems every ground for identifying it with the attack on Delphi in B.C. 279 (Paus. x. 20, 3). Two of the Gauls are represented carrying off an amphora and a patera of metal, indicating the spoils of the temple. The figure of Artemis is evidently copied from the frieze of the Pergamene altar.³

Paestrum. Recent excavations have resulted in the discovery of several tombs containing Etruscan and other objects. In one tomb were found a pear-shaped gold bulla, a gold ring with a figure of a

Camillus holding jug and patera, an egg-shaped vase with paintings of two birds on a white ground, and a similar vase with diaper patterns in red and black on white. In another were two crescent-shaped granulated gold earrings of Etruscan type and other ornaments, and a piece of *acs rude* of the third century B.C. In a third were a balsamarium with egg-shaped body and chains attached, set in an open work stand (cf. *Mon. dell' Inst.* viii. 58) and a gilt ivy-wreath.⁴

Benevento. A *cippus miliarius* of local limestone has recently come to light near here, bearing the name of Hadrian, and the distance MP XVDCL (15750 paces). The milestones on the Appian Way were restored by Hadrian in A.D. 123. On the base of the *cippus* is inscribed CLXVIII (169 miles from Rome), and above, V (five miles from Beneventum). Other milestones give Beneventum as 164 miles from Rome, thus confirming this one (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 602, x. p. 700).⁵

Sala Consilina, Lucania. Finds of bronze, silver, and pottery have been made here: in silver, six boat-shaped fibulae, pendants, and ornaments; in bronze, a hydria, an oinochoe with handle in form of a youth leaning back, a phiale of Apulian type on a tripod, a *simpulum*, and a fibula of 'snake'-type. Among the vases are several of Italian fabric with geometrical decoration and patterns of leaves, mostly craters.⁶

Tarentum. Considerable excavations were carried on during 1896, with the following results: A gold ring with paste setting, design of Aphrodite holding out crown to Eros; a terracotta comic actor with basket (a slave returning from market), and another holding a baby, perhaps a *παῖδαγωγός*; a fragment of a Panathenaic amphora inscribed in graffito ΟΝΑΘΕΝ, completing another fragment in the Museum inscribed ΕΘΕΝΑΘΥΟΝ; a marble statue of Herakles reclining, of the type identified by Petersen with *H. Olivarius*; eight fragmentary b.f. kylikes, all of the 'Kleinmeister' type. Two of the last-named bear the signature of a new artist: ΑΝΤΙΔΟΡΟΣΕΡΟΣ, 'Αντίδωρος ἐποίησεν'.⁷

Pompeii. Some interesting wall-paintings have been discovered on the peristyle of a house, in panels on a black ground with red borders. One represents a poetess reciting to a companion, the other, two girls in picturesque attitudes (cf. *Notizie*, 1884, p. 112).⁸

Boscotrecase. Further excavations have taken place on the site of a Roman villa, which consists of two parts divided by a peristyle, the eastern for the proprietor, the western for offices, etc. In the triclinium are paintings, representing landscapes, fishing-scenes and buildings, also a panel with a hoopoe and swallow, and another with a jay pecking at a plant. The *torcularium* is well preserved; in it is a painting of Bacchus leaning on a Seilenos and giving wine to a panther.⁹

Torre Annunziata. An interesting mosaic has been discovered, representing a meeting of philosophers, like Raphael's *Scuola di Atene*. In the background is a rough representation of a walled citadel (the Acropolis of Athens?), and columns surmounted by vases and a sun-dial. One old man of venerable aspect may be intended for Plato; there are seven figures in all.¹⁰

Rome. Much interest has been aroused by a recent discovery in the ruins of the Palace of

¹ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Sept. 1897.

² *ibid.* Apr. 1897.

³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, July 1897.

⁴ *Notizie degli Scavi*, June 1897.

⁵ *Notizie degli Scavi*, May 1897.

⁶ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Aug. 1897.

Tiberius on the Palatine of a *graffito* supposed to represent the Crucifixion. It is in a corner under a gallery made by Caligula to pass from the Palace to the Forum. It represents two high poles united at the top by a long cross-bar, with a shorter bar about one-third of the height down each pole, thus forming a cross of the traditional type. Against each of these cross-bars a ladder is placed, one of which a figure inscribed TERTIVS is ascending; another named PILVS stands on the other cross-bar wielding a mallet. There are traces of a third ladder and a rope in the middle. From each cross-bar hangs a rope held by a figure named respectively FILETVS and NESTIVS. Between them is a man named EVLOGVS grasping another, as if with the intention of removing his garments. Above is the remarkable inscription CRESTVS VIRGIS EXACT * COESVS * SECRETIS MORIS SVPER PALVM VIRVM FIXVM, and the intervening space is filled with an amatory couplet, which has of course nothing to with the design. One other interesting feature may be mentioned; a man ascends the ladder on the right carrying an oblong board, in which it is tempting to see a *titulus*, the 'superscription' of the Gospels. The genuineness of the whole design is said to be quite above suspicion.⁷

SARDINIA.

Cagliari. A new inscription has been found, with a dedication to Domitian of A.D. 83, being a memorial of the public works carried out by the *municipium*. A new procurator's name occurs, S. Laecanius Labeo. This inscription has an important bearing on the Roman administration in the island. It alludes to the laying down of streets and roads and the making and covering over of drains with public and private money, and further it shows that Vespasian had taken away the province from the Senate about A.D. 78, contrary to the view previously held. Under Marcus Aurelius it returned to the Senate, but was finally given back to the Emperor under Commodus or Septimius Severus.⁴

GREECE.

Athens. A series of archaic tombs has been discovered on the Areopagus, in which the bodies had all been burned. They contained vases of the earlier Dipylon style and swords of the same period.⁸

A new inscription has been found during the excavations at the foot of the Acropolis to the north, where the inscription concerning the temple of Athena Nike was previously found. It has been restored by M. Kavvadias. It is a *ψήφισμα* of Alcibiades and concerns events alluded to in Thuc. viii. 23, 5, and 31, 1. In B.C. 412 the Athenians had again occupied the disaffected Clazomenae, while their enemies remained in Daphnus. On a later occasion we hear of an attempt by the Spartan fleet under Astyochoi to take Clazomenae. A

change in Daphnus follows this move, and it becomes the head-quarters of the partisans of Athens, but Thucydides does not make it clear how this happened. The gap in his narrative is filled by the *ψήφισμα*, which is a ratification of the action of the Strategi in the time of anarchy following the revolutionary policy of Pisander.⁹

H. B. WALTERS.

Revue Numismatique. Part iv. 1897.

E. Babelon. 'La Collection Waddington au Cabinet des Médailles.' A continuation of the 'Inventaire sommaire' describing coins of Ionia and Caria, with two Plates.—J. Martha. 'Sur quelques types des monnaies de Brutus.' The types referred to are Apolline and it is suggested that the *gens* Junia had some special connection with Apollo, dating from the time when L. Junius Brutus, accompanied by the sons of Tarquin, consulted the oracle at Delphi. 'Apollo' was the watchword of the Republican army at the battle of Philippi (Plut. *Brutus*, 24).—M. Rostovtsew. 'Étude sur les plombs antiques.'—R. Mowat. 'Les noms de l'impératrice Maesa.' Coins of Ilium inscribed MAMIA MAICA. Unless the first word is a mistake for IOVIA, the full name of Maesa must have been Julia Mamaea Maesa.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part iv. 1897.

W. Greenwell. 'On some rare Greek coins.' The coins are all in Mr. Greenwell's collection. Among them may be noticed:—*Cyzicus.* A new electrum stater with a beautiful head of Demeter (Pl. xi. 1). *Phocaea?* Electrum hecte, early fifth cent. B.C., representing three seals swimming in a circle; also an early hecte with a *fibula*, a new type on coins. *Aenus.* A tetradrachm with the usual reverse, a goat, but with a charming adjunct, a child (infant Dionysos?) holding an ivy-spray to the goat's mouth (Pl. xiii. 3). *Olynthus.* A tetradrachm, before B.C. 433, with the types of Olynthus (free horse and eagle with serpent) but with the inscription *Chalk.* Mr. Greenwell suggests that coin was struck at Olynthus for a confederation of the towns of Chalcidice (cf. the fourth century coins of the Chalcidian league minted at Olynthus).—G. F. Hill. 'Solon's reform of the Attic standard.' An important paper in which 'Aθ. Πολ. c. 10 is considered in detail. G. F. Hill. 'Cartimandua.' On a small hoard found in 1893 at Honley, near Huddersfield, consisting of Roman coins and five silver British coins. The latter pieces belong to the Brigantes, of which tribe only gold money was hitherto known. One coin inscribed CART or CARTI is attributed by Mr. Hill to Queen Cartimandua, *circa* A.D. 69 (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 36; *Hist.* iii. 45).

WARWICK WROTH.

⁹ *Athenaeum*, 5 March 1898.⁷ *Daily Chronicle*, 10 Feb. 1898.⁸ *Berl. Phil. Week.*, 26 Feb. 1898.

CORRECTION TO NOTE ON THE POLYZALOS INSCRIPTION (P. 142).

UNFORTUNATELY, M. Croiset's restoration¹ of the Polyzalos inscription had escaped my no ice, when I contributed a suggestion to the last number of the *Classical Review*. See *C. R. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, xxiv., pp. 214,

376. M. Homolle's communication, to which I referred, was published in the same volume, but I had read it in a *tirage à part*.

J. B. BURY.

¹ Proposed also, independently, by MM. Pottier and Th. Reinach.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN BOOKS.

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- Aristotelis de arte poetica liber*, ed. I. Bywater. 8vo. Frowde. 1s. 6d.
- Theory of Poetry and Fine Art; critical text and translation by S. H. Butcher. 2nd ed. 8vo. 442 pp. Macmillan. 12s. 6d. net.
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The Classical Review

MAY 1898.

AESCHYLEA.

PROM. VINCT.

118. *τερμόνιον ἔκετ' ἐπὶ πέδον.*

594. *πλανᾷ τε νῆστιν*] schol. ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐμοὶ διὰ τὸ νηστεύειν. Read ΝΟΥ ΚΕΝΟΙ? cf. 489 *πλανᾷ*] schol. τὸν νοῦν.

1062 *ὃς ὅδ' οὐ πεπλασμένος*
ὁ κόμπος, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν εἰρημένος·
ψευδηγορεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταται.

M has boggled at the word following *λίαν*, and *εἰρημένος* is written after erasure. We have here a rhetorical formula not hitherto illustrated: Deinarch. 99, 35 οὐ γὰρ ψεῦδος ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἀληθὲς τὸ... Antiphon 123, 15 οὐ γὰρ ἀφανής, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν φανερός... Eust. 459 οὐ παρέργως ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν περιέργως. Lucian iii. 586 οὐ μικρὸν οὐδὲ εὐκαταφρόνητον πρᾶγμα ἀνακνελίς, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν τῶν ἀπορρήτων. Eur. *Alc.* 822-3. It is clear that we want a word in direct opposition to *πεπλασμένος*, meaning *true*, *genuine*, as Plat. *Tim.* 26 E μὴ πλασθέντα μῦθον ἀλλ' ἀληθινὸν λόγον, *Rep.* 485 E μὴ πεπλασμένως ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς, *Legg.* 642 D ἀληθῶς καὶ οὐ τι πλαστῶς, Bato (*Kock* iii. 329) *πεπλασμένως... κοῦκ ἀληθινῶς*, *Isaeus* 70, 9 λόγοις πεπλασμένοις καὶ μάρτυσιν οὐ τἀληθὴ μαρτυροῦσιν: and I do not doubt the word was ἐτῆρτυμος, conjectured already by Hartung.

PERSAE.

In this play there is a point of style which (so far as I know) has hardly been remarked: at any rate I am sure that critics

have not duly appreciated its bearing upon many single phrases. Portraying Persians, and laying his scene in their chief city, Aeschylus has sought to add local colour to his picture by using Ionic words and Ionic forms: e.g. *βαύζειν* 13, *δυσβαύκτον* 577, *σοῦνται* 25, *σοῦ* 665, *σύδην* 483: *στίφος* 20, 20, 369; *ἐχυρός* 79, 90, *ὄρχάμω* 132, *ναμερτῇ* 249, *διαίνεσθε* 261, 1039, 1048, 1065; *θοῶς* 401, *ὑπαντιάζειν* 410, 836, *κόρυμβα* 414, 662; *μάσσων* 443, 710; *θώμυξ* 464, *ἐπέσπε* 555, 39; *διαμυδαλέους* 541, *βαρίδες* 556, 1076, *βάζειν* 596, *βάγματα* 640, *ἔσκεν* 659, *βάλλην* 660, *βάσκε* 667, 675; *ἔθνε* 775, *ἐπίθνον* 862; *πινύσκετε* 832, *ἐγὼν* 934, *ἰάν* 939, *ἀγρέται* 1005. *ἦδὲ* in lists 21, 22, 26, 887, 894, 896, 963, 976, 998; *ἐξεκείνωσεν* 763, verbs in *-οῖατο* 363, 372, 454; genitives in *-οιο* 110, 868,¹ 1571. Constructions: *δέ in apodosi* 418, *ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν* 249, *ὡς ἐγὼ δόκουν ὄραν*, *τεύχειν* 191, *διὰ δ' Ἰαόνων χέρας τυτθὰ δὴ*² *ῥκφυγεῖν* *ἄνακτ' αὐτόν*, *ὡς ἀκούομεν* (this is very frequent in Hdt.) 567, *τόδ' ἴσθι* with infin. 176, 434, 1438; *καὶτὸς δὲ* 265, *κἀγὼ δὲ* 549 being a use so common with Xenophon, I take to be Ionic.

I do not mean, of course, that none of these is found anywhere else in tragedy, though very many of them are, in fact, found nowhere else: my conclusion is established by their multitude; and the occurrence of an Ionicism in the *Persae* is no warrant for admitting it in other plays.

The same thing is to be observed in Trojan plays of Sophocles: in the *Τρωῖλος*, the

¹ The metre of 866 *sqq.* is that of a geographical passage in Stesich. 5.

² As Bothe corrected *τυτθὰ δ' ῥκφυγεῖν*.

βάρβαρον θρήνημα, *iaí fr.* 574, ἀπεσκῆ 569, ὀροσάγγαι 577 and in the Ἑλένης Γάμος *fr.* 184; in the Ποιμένες, 472 ἰὼ βάλλην, 474 βαρίβας, 477 παρασάγγαι: and ἀμφιβώτης is recorded from the Τεύκρος of Ion. The subject will repay further investigation: meantime I may point in the *Supplices* to the Cyrenaic βοῖνιν 134, 784, βᾶρις 849, 885, 893, ἀμίδα or ἀμάδα (*E. M.* 75, 22) 855, 860.

In the *Persae* this principle has important applications. It is plain now why we find the Ionic forms κνάνεον 82, εὐπετέος 97, λιγέα 335 (*cf.* γηραλέα 174, πορφυρέα 320). There need not now be any objection to ἔδν in 13; nor, I think, to ὅταν ἐκσωζόιατο (*in orat. obliqua*) 453: and we see now a design in the frequent omission of augment in narrative, 313, 316, 370, 419, 461, 493, 509. Usually it is Epicism; here it is to help out the suggestion of Ionia; and it is probable that οἴχωκε 13, ὄλλυσαν 464, εὔχετο 501, εὐτύχει 509, οἰακοστρόψουν 769 should not be Atticized.

It is well known that the lengthening of a vowel before τρ etc. was studiously avoided by Aeschylus. But in the *Persae* we find three notable exceptions: 220 αἰτοῦ τῶνδ' ἀποτροπῇ τελεῖν, 765 Ἀσίδος μηλοτρόφου, 784 Ξέρξης δ' ἐμὸς παῖς νέος ἔδν νέα φρονεῖ. This last—where the lengthening occurs between two words—is unparalleled in Attic. But in Ionic it is quite natural; with the old Ionic writers this lengthening is normal, and is not affected by the division of the words. Finding, then, in the same phrase the Ionic ἔδν, I take the whole, νέος ἔδν νέα φρονεῖ, to be an actual quotation—from ¹ Archilochus, most probably. In 765 we have the old Ionic epithet of Asia, Archil. 26 ὁ δ' Ἀσίης καρτερὸς μηλοτρόφου, and 220 I believe to be an established religious formula, since in Eur. *Phoen.* 586 we find ὦ θεοί, γένουσθε τῶνδ' ἀπώτροποι κακῶν.

Finally, the passionate repetition of words 259, 988, 993, 1002, 1056, is a representation of the Oriental style, and is employed for the same purpose by Euripides with ludicrous effect in his admirable burlesque-portrait of the Phrygian, *Or.* 1362 *sqq.* It is just as much dramatic characterization as the dithyrambs of the Asiatic mourners in *Cho.* 422 *sqq.*

243 οὐδαμ', <ἀλλ'> ἔγχη

296 ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη πημονὰς βροτοὺς φέρειν
θεῶν διδόντων· πᾶν [δ'] ἀναπτύξας πάθος
λέξον·

¹ I suspect that *Theb.* 747 is borrowed from a trochaic of Archilochus, — — — μεταξύ δ' ἀλκή δι' ὀλίγον — — —

When a speaker turns and gives an order as the outcome of a reflexion, no connecting particle is used; *Cho.* 708, 903, *Ag.* 1657, ? *Supp.* 489, Eur. *Bacch.* 770, *H. F.* 722, Ar. *Lys.* 424, Herodas i. 79, ? v. 80.

423 ναναγίων τ' ἀνθοῦσα καὶ φόνον βροτῶν

for πλῆθον followed by ἐπλήθυνον? *Cf. Ag.* 664, *I. T.* 292, Nicephorus (*Walz Rhet.* i. 495) νεκρῶν ἅπαν τὸ πεδίον ἀνθεῖ.

THEB.

25 schol. οὐκ ἐμπυρ συρόμενος. Read οὐκ ἐμπυρενόμενος. Verbs were formed at 'will in -εύω, -εύομαι, and another I restore in Aesch. *fr.* 60 τίς ποτ' ἔσθ' ὁ μουνσόμαντις; ἰάλαος, ἀδρατεῦν σθένει (= ἀδρανέων).

100. κτύπον δέδορκα· πᾶταγος οὐχ ἑνὸς δορός.
'—that was never the clash of a single spear!' Among the phenomena of panic terror, which Aeschylus is here portraying, exaggeration was so well recognised that it became a commonplace: see Drakenborch and Heinsius on Sil. Ital. i. 500, iv. 8, Claudian *in Eutrop.* ii. 70, p. 347 Burm. *Cf.* Sallust *Cat.* 31, 58. 2. A spear clanks, and in the disordered condition of their senses (φαντάζονται δὲ ταῦτα πάντα schol. 80) the women imagine that they hear an army.

154 πόλιν δορίπονον μὴ προδόντ-
ες ἔτεροθρόω στρατῶ.
λυτήριοι <ὁ> ἀμφιβάντες πόλιν
δείξαθ' ὡς φιλοπόλεις.

An interrupted sentence: 'show your patriotism by not abandoning the city but protecting it.'

205. The schol. must be punctuated thus: εὐρὼν δὲ ὁ Αἰσχύλος παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ τὸ 'θεῖον δύσονται ἀγῶνα'—παρὰ γοῦν τὸ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀγείρεσθαι 'ἀγῶνα' εἶπεν—τὴν οὖν κ.τ.ε.

230. Lycophr. 1411.

254. ὀλολυγμὸν ἱερὸν ἐμμελῇ παῖνισον (or εὐμελῇ) for εὐμενῇ? *Cf. Pers.* 395 οὐ γὰρ ὡς φυγῇ παῖδ' ἐφύμνον σ' ἐμνὸν Ἑλληνες τότε, ἀλλ' ἐς μάχην ὀρμῶντες εὐψύχῳ θράσει. Eteocles is appealing to the women not to shriek and wail in discordant notes of terror (αἰεῖν, λακάζειν 169, τοιαῦτ' ἐπεύχου μὴ φιλοστόνως θεοῖς μῆδ' ἐν ματαίοις κἀγρίοις ποιφύγμασιν 266), but to raise a decent and harmonious hymn for victory. To the ² *Thesaur.* add Pollux iv. 71. 75.

² Mosch. de pass. mul. p. 24. 12 ἱερώτατα καὶ εὐμελέστατα (cited by Hase) should be εὐμενέστατα, a regular combination.

269 schol. ὥστε εἶναι αὐτὸς ἑβδομος for ἐστίν. Theophr. *Char.* xx. ὕδωρ...λακκαῖον [ὥστε εἶναι ψυχρόν].

273 καὶ φλύειν?

292 schol. Ἄρειον πεδῖον προειρηται. Mention of it has probably dropped out from schol. 102.

292 παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν is a separate gloss on πολίταις.

305 καὶ πόλεως ῥύτορες <ἐστ'>

323 schol. περισσόν.

343 τί ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰκάσαι τέλ ος πάρα; for λόγος? cf. 142.

568 ὥστε περὶ σοῦ λέγεσθαι is a separate gloss on λέγειν: cf. 984 schol.

607 ὅμως δὲ καὶ τῷ? cf. 540.

679 schol. εἰς τὸ αὐτοκτονεῖν for εἰς ταῦτόν οὖν.

711 κατάρas Οἰδιπόδα τὰς περιθύμους τελέσαι βλαψίφρονος.

παιδολέτωρ δ' Ἔρις ἐξ ο τ ρ ὕ ν ε ι,

for δ' ἔρις δ' ὀτρύνει. The correction is the easiest possible in the eyes of those acquainted with minuscule writing: consult Bast. *Greg. Cor.* p. 711, Cobet *V.L.* 68, 219, 224, 236, *N.L.* 120, 289. For the function of Ἔρις see Hom. Δ 439-45, E 517, Λ 73, Υ 48, Σ 535, Hes. *Scut.* 148, 156, Quint. Smyrn. v. 31, vii. 166, Nonn. *D.* ii. 358, and (in reference to our story) Eur. *Phoen.* 351, 800.

752 τ ε λ ε ι α ν γὰρ παλαιφάτων ἀρᾶν βαρεῖαι καταλλαγαί

(for τέλεια*). τέλειαι would necessarily be a predicate.

767 πατροφόνω χερὶ τῶν κρεισσοτέκνων τ' ὀμμάτων ἐπλάγχθη,

804 δυσπότμος: cf. 822, *Pers.* 275.

907 [ὥς] 'ἐρ<ε>ξάτην...' Cf. *Ag.* 381.

910 δυσαίων σφέ γ' ἄ τεκοῦσα?

927 ἀρ<ς> πατρώους τιθεῖς ἀλαθεῖς.

976 The last word may have been *τολμημάτων* (*Phoen.* 1226) or one recorded by Hesych., *ὀτλημάτων*: *κακοπαθημάτων*, and the beginning perhaps *διδῶμα τροπαῖ*.

996 δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξοντ'? Plat. *Phileb.* 12 A ἔμοι μὲν πάντως νικᾶν ἡδονὴ δοκεῖ καὶ δόξει.

SUPPLICES.

Study of the errors in this play—the last in cod. M—has convinced me that it was

copied directly, or certainly at no more than one remove, from an Egyptian papyrus.

79 ἀλλά, θεοὶ γενέται,
κλύετ' εὐ τὸ δίκαιον ἰδόντες·
ἦβα μὴ τέλειον
δόντες ἔχειν παρ' αἶσαν
ὑβριν δ' ἐτύμως στυγόντες
πέλοιτ' ἂν ἐνδικοὶ γάμοις.

Usually a comma is placed at ἰδόντες and πέλοιτ' ἂν translated as though it were πέλοιτε.

123, 134 ἱλεῦμαι.

255 πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀμείβου καὶ λέγετ' εὐθαρσεῖς ἐμοὶ πρὸς ταῦτα in its adverbial use always means 'in face of this,' *τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων*, referring to a case already presented. What we require here is *τούτων ἀμείβου γ' εἵνεκ'* εὐθαρσῆς ἐμοὶ 'for that, you may answer with assurance': see, for instance, Ar. *Nub.* 420-2 Blaydes.

322 τὸ πάνσοφον νῦν ὄνομα <καὶ> τοῦτου φράσον. Cf. 324. πάνσοφον is a complimentary epithet; cf. Plat. *Theag.* 122 D, *A.P.* vi. 357, v. 308, Coluthus 266.

327 δοκεῖτε <γοῦν> μοι possibly. γοῦν is often corrupted through compendium to γε,¹ which would easily have been omitted here.

349 Does not βαρύς γε μέντοι indicate a lacuna before this line?

499 πολλῶν τὰδ' ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἡξιωμένα,
αἰδοῖον εὐ ῥέοντα πρόξενον λαβεῖν.

The point is, I think, a patron who is both gracious to suppliants (*αἰδοῖον προξένων* Hegesipp. *A.P.* xiii. 12) and strong, influential, prosperous—who has at once the will and the power to protect. The reason for the many conjectures is the feeling that, though in *Pers.* 604 we have *ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων εἶροῇ*, 'there δαίμων is not so much a personification as a synonym of *τύχη*' (Paley), and could not be said of a person. In the language of the Stoics however, *εἰροεῖν* *εἶρους*, *εἰροία* were commonly applied not only to things (in which sense *εἰροία* was recognised by Phrynichus, *Bekk. An.* 29. 25 *Εἰροία*: *εὐδαιμονία καὶ εὐτυχία*: *παρὰ τὸ καλῶς ῥεῖν τὸν βίον*), but also to persons (Upton Index to Arr. *Epictet.*); and if the same use be admitted here, there is no need for the compound verb, as will be seen from the two following passages (which should be added to the Lexicons): Theognis 639 *πολλάκι παρ δόξαν τε καὶ ἐλπίδα γίγνεται εὐ*

¹ Restore γοῦν for γ' in Eur. *Heracl.* 998, for τε in Menand. 102 Kock.

ρεῖν ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν. Aristid. ii. 244 ἔθεν δειλία, ζητεῖν, καὶ πότερον ρεῖ τὰ πάντα ἢ οὐ· ἔγνωσαν μέντ' ἀν κακῶς ῥέοντα τὰ πάντα αὐτοῖς.

512 ναύτην ἄγοντας τόνδ'

ναυστήρ' (worshipper) Wecklein; νάστην might be suggested. But I suppose Danaos, who calls himself ναύκληρος 183, to have been presented on the stage ναυκλήρου τρόποις (Soph. *Philoct.* 128), *ornatu nauclerico* Plaut. *Mil.* 1177, where the garb is described.

544 γενοῦ πολυμνήστωρ, ἔφαπτορ Ἰοῦς·

Δῖαί τοι γένος εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι

γᾶς ἀπὸ τᾶσδ' ἐνοίκου

for ἐνοικοί: i.e. ἀπ' ἐνοίκου τᾶσδε γᾶς, 'we claim to be of thine own race, by descent from an inhabitant of this land.' That is what they are claiming as the ground of their appeal throughout this chorus: see especially 588-600. δῖαι (sic) for δίας is Pauw's conjecture.

563 καὶ βαθύπλουτον χθόνα καὶ

τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας πολύπυρον αἶαν.

Schol. 564 Φοινίκην· ἦν ἱερὰν Ἀφροδίτης φησὶ διὰ Βύβλον καὶ Λίβανον—the famous seats of the worship of Adonis and Aphrodite, the Συρία θεός (Hdt. i. 805 Stein, 131, iii. 8, Pausan. i. 14. 6, iv. 31. 2, vii. 26. 7, Sappho *Walz Rhét.* ix. 136): see Lucian *περὶ τῆς Συρίας θεοῦ* 5 and 8, Strabo 755, Eustath. on Dionys. *Perieg.* 912 p. 161 Hudson, *F.H.G.* iii. 30, 569 (Philo Byblius), Nonn. *D.* iii. 108, iv. 80, 243, xvi. 168, xx. 143, xxxi. 126, 202, xxxii. 9, xli. 1 *sqq.*, 107, *A.P.* xii. 131, xvi. 202 (p. 355 Mackail), Themist. xxxiii. p. 301 B, Callisthenes p. 11 Müller, Claudian *de Phoenice* 66 p. 1046 Burn. (where more may be found). Paley is followed in a strange error by Wecklein and Tucker, imagining that βίβλον καὶ λίβανον (sic) refers to βαθύπλουτον.

598-607 are a pair of questions and answers:

στρ. 598 τίν' ἂν θεῶν ἐνδικωτέροισιν

κεκλοίμαν εὐλόγως ἐπ' ἔργοις;

πατήρ φυτουργὸς <αὐτὸς>...

ἀντιστρ. 603

ὑπ' ἀρχᾶς δ' οὐτινος θαύζων

τὸ μείον κρείσσων κρατύνει;

οὐτινος ἀνωθεν ἡμένου σέβει κάτω,

πάρεστι δ' ἔργον ὡς ἔπος

σπεύσαι τι τῶν βούλιος φέρει φρήν.

'Is there none beneath whose rule he sits with power less than a mightier's?' 'None is there upon a higher throne for him to hold in awe, but he may execute forthwith aught that his counselling mind may lay

before him.' Cf. *Pers.* 244-5, *Eum.* 429. This arrangement gives a satisfactory account of 605, which is otherwise sadly tautological, and still more so if κράτη (or κράτος) be a right conjecture for κάτω. The language (βούλιος Auratus for δούλιος) alludes to the functions of the two assemblies at Athens: Aeschin. 71. 21 and the grammarians on προβουλεύμα, προβουλεύειν. Zeus requires no sanction for his policy; he possesses not only the deliberative power but also the uncontrolled executive.

642 τάν τε or γάν τε.

760 Remove the stop at οὐδέν. Danaos interposes, completing the construction (cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 467 A); but the chorus themselves continue their sentence at 763. So also in 767 there should be no stop at ἐπαίοντες, where they are again interrupted by Danaos.

792 ἀλυκτὸν δ' οὐκέτ' ἂν πέλοι <τέλος>
κελαινόχρων δὲ πάλλεται φίλον κέαρ.

801 πρὸς ὄνθ' ὕδρηλὰ

815 Schol. λείπει <ὁ καί>. εὐρω.

817 θεοσεβῆ as Ar. *An.* 897?

819 λυσίγαμ' ἄχειμ' ἔπιδε, πάτερ.

KATABAC EIC

839 αἶθι καββάς ν α ὦ ν

for

KATAKΛCCEIC

αἶθι κακκας νν

Cf. Stesich. 8 δέπας ἐσκατέβαινε χρύσειον 'into the vessel.' (καββάς and καταβάς Paley.)

861 For ησνδουπιατάπιτα

κελεύω βία μεθέσθαι

ἔχαρ φρενί τ' ἄταν

I conjecture

τί σύ, δονπιαχαπίτα;

κέλομαι βοᾶν μεθέσθαι

(τί γάρ;) φρεναπατῶν.

φρεναπάταν had been already discerned by Burges.

876 βαθέα, βαθύμιτρε, κακὰ παθὼν?

888 ὑπέρογχ' ἱλάσκι as μάρπτι 836, or ὑπερογχυλάσκι?

909 δάκος, ἄχ<ος μέγα>

937 should be punctuated ἤκουσα· τοῦπος (δ') οὐδαμῶς φιλόξενον, as the article shows: contrast 475 ἤκουσα μαστικτῆρα καρδίας λόγον, and cf. 465 ἤκουσα· 473 αἰνιγματῶδες τοῦπος.

972 μονορρήθμους δόμους = μονοτρόπους: cf. ἰδιόρρηθμοι(κοινοβιακοί).

1001 τιμίῳ γέρα?

1012 κηπέυματα?

1073 Ζεὺς ἀναξ' ἀποστεροί—
 ἡ γάμον δυσάνορα
 δάϊον, ὥσπερ 'Ιὼ
 πημονᾶς ἐλύσατ' αὖ
 χειρὶ παιωνίᾳ, κατὰσχετον
 εὖμενεί βία κτίσας.

'May Zeus preserve us, even as he delivered
 Io again out of her affliction, after making
 her possessed by kindly violence.' ὥσπερ

is Auratus' correction of ὥσπερ, αὖ mine of
 εὖ, and for κατασχεθῶν Weil restored κατὰσ-
 χετον:—the word must have been an adjecti-
 ve, and no other is textually probable;
 but the sense of it must be κάτοχον. Cf.
Eum. 17 τέχνης δέ νιν Ζεὺς ἔνθεον κτίσας
 φρένα, where the schol. notes that κτίσαι=
 ποιῆσαι is a favourite use of Aeschylus (with
 an adjective, also *Eum.* 717, *Cho.* 1058,
Pers. 292).

WALTER HEADLAM.

(To be continued.)

THE MINOR WORKS OF XENOPHON.

(Continued from Vol. XI., p. 425.)

X. APOLOGIA SOCRATIS.

WE will try this by the same test of
 language which we have applied to other
 disputed works.

The ὥς=ὥστε, which X. alone, or almost
 alone, of Attic prose writers employs, is
 found in 16 (ὥς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μηδενὸς προσ-
 δεῖσθαι). Ἐνθα 'where' occurs in 23.
 ἰσχυρῶς=πάνν, σφόδρα will be found in 5
 (ἰσχυρῶς ἀγάμενος) and 28 (ἐπιθυμητῆς μὲν
 ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῦ): μείον in 24 and 26: σύν in
 24 (Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας καὶ τῶν σὺν τούτοις θεῶν); ἐπεί
 of time 3, 4, 14, 33. We have seen before
 that X. likes a construction such as ἡ ῥᾶστα
 'in the easiest way' (7), where other writers
 usually employ not ἡ but another word:
 and we have had occasion to notice the
 poetical λήγω (8), εὐφροσύνη (8), εὐπάθεια
 (18), κατάδηλος (23), μεγαλύνω (32), as words
 which he rather affects. Δωρεῖσθαι (17) is
 used chiefly by the poets, hardly ever in
 oratory (Isocr. 4. 26), never in comedy or in
 Thucydides, occasionally in X. and Plato.
 Still more uncommon in Attic prose is οἱ
 γεινόμενοι (20) which even Plato does not
 use, but X. *Mem.* 1. 4. 7 does. Ὅμμα is
 often used by Plato, constantly by Aristotle,
 occasionally by X. (e.g. *Symp.* 1. 9: *de Re*
Eq. 11. 9), otherwise uncommon in prose.
 Anyone who observes ὄμμα and ὀφθαλμός in
 Aristophanes and the comic fragments will
 be able to measure the extent to which each
 was in familiar use. Κυδρός (29) is known
 to us chiefly from poets: it occurs however
de Re Eq. 10. 16. The starting-point of the

Apologia is the μεγαληγορία (1 twice and 2)
 of Socrates; the very word is distinctly
 Xn., for X. uses the verb μεγαληγορεῖν three
 times (*An.* 6. 3. 18: *Cyr.* 4. 4. 2: 7. 1. 17)
 and the adjective μεγαλήγορος once (*Cyr.* 7.
 1. 17), while elsewhere it hardly occurs
 (Aesch. *Theb.* 565: Eur. *Heracl.* 356).

I will enumerate a few other uncommon
 words: διασαφηνίζω (1: *Mem.* 3. 1. 11:
R.L. 4. 3). The simple σαφηνίζω occurs
 several times in X., otherwise usually in
 poetry: cf. σαφηνής in poetry and (σαφηνέως)
 Herodotus: διαγίγνομαι with participle (3:
 half a dozen times in X., otherwise rare:
 cf. διαβεβωκέναι with participle just before):
 βιοτεύω (6: *Oec.* 15. 3: 20. 15 and often in
 X.): εὐμένεια (7: εὐμενής rare in prose, often
 in poets and X.): προξενῶ (7: *An.* 6. 5. 14):
 φιλοφρονεῖσθαι (7: often in X. and Plato,
 not common otherwise: X. has φιλόφρων
 also half a dozen times): ἐπίσκεψις (8: three
 or four times in X.): ἐτοιμάζομαι middle (8:
Cyr. 3. 3. 5): ἀμφιλέγω (12. *An.* 1. 5. 11.
 Ἀμφισβητῶ is the usual word. Cf. the Xn.
 ἀμφίλογος): συμβούλευμα (13: *de Re Eq.* 9.
 12: a very rare synonym for συμβουλή):
 ὑπερφέρω (15: *Mem.* 3. 5. 13 and twice in
R.L.): ἐξ ὅτου(περ) since (16 and 27: *An.* 7.
 8. 4: *Cyr.* 8. 2. 15: quite rare): ἰσομοιρία
 (21: *Cyr.* 2. 2. 21, 22): λιπαρητέον (23:
 λιπαρεῖν *Oec.* 2. 16: *Cyr.* 1. 4. 6: *Hell.* 3. 5.
 12): ἐπέπεσθαι, παρέπεσθαι (23 and 27: we
 have seen before that ἔπομαι is not used
 freely in prose, though it and its compounds
 occur often in X. and one or two other
 writers): προσβατός (23: *An.* 4. 3. 12: 8,

9): προσεθίζω (25: *Hipparch.* 1. 17: *Cyr.* 8. 1. 36): ὁμολογουμένως (27: *Oec.* 1. 11): εὐπραγείν (27: εὐπραγία *Oec.* 9. 12): εὐθυμητέον (27: εὐθυμείσθαι, εὐθυμία several times in X.): δουλοπρεπής (30: *Mem.* 2. 8. 4): κακοδοξία (31: κακοδοξείν *Mem.* 1. 7. 2 and 3. 6. 17: κακοδόξος *Ages.* 4. 1: the words are very rare): ἐμαλακίσατο (33. This rare aorist middle instead of ἐμαλακίσθην is only quoted from *Cyr.* 4. 2. 21).

Θανάτου ὑπὸ σοῦ διώκεσθαι (21) is like *Hell.* 7. 3. 6 τουτουσὶ διώκομεν θανάτου, unless περὶ θανάτου is the right reading there: in any case we have ὑπάγειν θανάτου *ib.* 1. 3. 19: 2. 3. 12: 5. 4. 24. In 23 ὅτι δὲ οὕτως ἐγὼ ἐγνώσκει καταδηλότερον ἐγένετο ἐπειδὴ κ.τ.λ. is the irregular imperfect in *oratio obliqua* (for γινώσκω or γινώσκει) which we have seen before to be rather characteristic of X., here facilitated by its coming before the past tense on which it depends. For ἀποκτείνω used of the accuser (26 and 29) cf. *Hell.* 2. 3. 32 (κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς) and 35. Οἱ ἐμοὶ εἰνὸι in 27 reminds us of οἱ ὑμέτεροι δυσμενεῖς in *Hell.* 5. 2. 33. 'Ἐπιθυμητὴς μὲν ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῦ (28) 'a great lover of his company,' is like *Mem.* 1. 2. 60 πολλοὺς ἐπιθυμητὰς λαβὼν (also of Socrates) and *ib.* 1. 2. 5 τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ ἐπιθυμοῦντας. With ἄρρωστος τὴν ψυχὴν (30) cf. *Oec.* 4. 2 αἱ ψυχαὶ πολλὴ ἄρρωστοτέραι γίνονται. The antithesis of ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς and ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς in 18 is found also in *Symp.* 4. 41.

There are a few things that should be pointed out as slightly noticeable and not Xn. There seems no precise parallel anywhere for ἐκλήθη εἰς τὴν δίκην (1) nor perhaps for βραχεία in συνεγενόμην βραχεία τῷ Ἀνίου διῷ (30). I do not know if ἐρρήθη is elsewhere used impersonally (1 οὕτως ἐρρήθη ὑπὸ Σωκράτους), but it is justified by εἴρηται. This impersonal use, though much commoner in perfects and pluperfects, is also found in aorists. We have it again in ἦν νῦν κατακριθῆναι μου (7), with which cf. Plato *Polit.* 299 A ὦν δ' ἂν καταψηφισθῇ. Ἀλγύνω (8) is just such a word as we often find in X., known to us otherwise from the poets, and we actually find in him ἄλγος (*Symp.* 8. 37) and ἄλγιδών (*Mem.* 1. 2. 54): οἰκτίζω (4) is another word of the same kind. X. has not elsewhere εἶναι after ὀνομάζω (13 οἰωνός... ὀνομάζουσι τοὺς προσμαίνοντας εἶναι), but Plato and Herodotus have. *Symp.* 6. 2 ὅταν διαλίπωμεν (i.e. λέγοντες) is practically the same as οὐπόποτε διέλιπον ζητῶν (16). Μεγαλύνειν ἐαυτὸν (32) is usually expressed by μεγαλύνεσθαι. Schneider says ἀξιομακάριστος (34) is not Xn. It is not, but ἀξίεπαῖνος, ἀξιάκουστος, ἀξίεραστος, ἀξιοθαύμαστος, and

half a dozen similar coinages are. In fact he is fond of making up these words with ἀξιο-. Οἰωνιστήριον (12) is probably not found elsewhere in good Greek, but X. has οἰωνίζομαι, a rare verb, two or three times. No other authority than 25 is cited for ἀνδραπόδισις.

There seems to be nothing in the use of particles which is different from Xn. usage, and the absolute disregard of hiatus is quite in accordance with it.

So far, therefore, as the language goes, there is, I should say, nothing against X.'s authorship, and a great deal in its favour. The language, like the spirit, of the work is quite Xn. Nor can I see anything else that need dispose us to doubt. The repetition of a few sections that occur in the *Memorabilia* seems a very insufficient reason. The two books may have been written at different times, and the sections they have in common are only a small part even of the short *Apologia*. Nor are these sections verbally identical: they vary a little in places, and in a way which perhaps suggests the same author writing at different times rather than a copyist, who would probably have varied either less or very much more. Thus it is the *Apol.* which tells us that τὸ δαιμόνιον stopped Socrates twice, when he was going to meditate on his defence, unless indeed δῖς should be added in the *Mem.* So again the words in 4 ἡ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου οἰκτίσαντες ἡ ἐπιχαρίτως εἰπόντας (ἀπέλυσαν) with their unusual but not unexampled construction (cf. *Mem.* 2, 2, 5 and 2, 7, 8) do not seem the work of a mere imitator. Οἰκτίσαντες is not at all an imitator's word: he would have been much more likely to use ἐλεήσαντες. Indeed, as far as these things go, Geel's contention that the passage in *Mem.* was added later from the *Apol.* seems at least as likely as the contrary hypothesis. In any case it is only about a fifteenth part of *Apol.* that is found also in *Mem.*, and the rest of the matter is quite reason enough for separate treatment. We may bear in mind the parallel case of the parts, much more extensive, which the *Hell.* and the *Ages.* have in common. It is, perhaps, not very good work, but the same may be said of portions of the *Memorabilia*; and in spite of Schneider, who finds ineptitude in every second sentence, it does not seem to fall conspicuously below the level of X. In general tone and spirit it agrees perfectly well with the *Mem.* Geel and Cobet (*N.L.* p. 678) seem therefore justified in regarding it as a sort of concluding chapter to that work, if by this expression (*Memorabilium partem ultimam*

Cobet) they mean not strictly a chapter or integral part, but rather a closely connected pendant.

Since the above was written, I have been glad to find Schanz, for the completion of whose critical edition of Plato all Platonic students hope against hope, giving an opinion in favour of the Xn. authorship: see his *Apologia (Platonis)* of 1893, p. 83.

Schenkl, who holds the *Apologia* to be a rhetorical exercise of the second century B.C., has given in the third part (1876) of his *Xenophontische Studien* a useful summary of a collation of the two MSS. on which the text mainly depends.

1. ἐκλήθη εἰς τὴν δίκην should possibly be <προς> ἐκλήθη εἰς. See above.

ibid. πάντες ἔτυχον τῆς μεγαληγορίας αὐτοῦ· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι τῷ ὄντι οὕτως ἐρρήθη ὑπὸ Σωκράτους.

Schneider takes ἔτυχον to mean 'hit,' 'succeeded in representing,' and this is the only meaning it could very well have. But the reasoning would be very bad. 'All writers have succeeded in representing the dignity of his language, and this shows that it really was dignified.' What they really did was somehow to bear witness to it. Some participle or participial phrase has been lost, which went with ἔτυχον ('they all agreed in'), but whether the missing word expressed 'mentioning' or, as others have thought, 'admiring,' or something else, it is beyond our power to say.

5. εἰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ ἐμὲ βέλτιον εἶναι ἢ δὴ τελευτᾶν.

The sense seems to require ἐμοί. 'Better that I should die' might mean 'better for Athens,' etc., not 'better for me.' The words in 33 point clearly to the change, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω τοῦ ἔτι ζῆν τὸ τεθνάναι αὐτῷ κρείττον εἶναι:

cf. 1 εὐαυτῷ ἡγήτο αἰρετώτερον εἶναι τοῦ βίον θάνατον. On the other hand we have the accusative in the parallel place *Mem.* 4, 8, 6 εἰ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ βέλτιον εἶναι ἐμὲ τελευτᾶν τὸν βίον ἢ δὴ. I am inclined to ἐμοί in both places.

9. ταύτην (τὴν δόξαν) ἀναφαίνων εἰ βαρύνω τοὺς δικαστάς, αἰρήσομαι κ.τ.λ. Read βαρύνω.

11. ἐπεὶ θύοντά γέ με...καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες ἑώρων καὶ αὐτὸς Μέλητος, εἰ ἐβούλετο.

Surely εἰ ἐβούλετο implies an ἄν with the verb of the apodosis, 'might have seen me, had he wished.' Κὰν αὐτός seems better than κὰν οἱ ἄλλοι. They did see him and Meletus might have seen him.

14. ἀνείλεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων μηδὲνα εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἐμοῦ μῆτε ἐλευθεριώτερον μῆτε δικαιοτέρων μῆτε σωφρονέστερον.

The conjecture may be hazarded that we should add μῆτε σοφώτερον. Wisdom certainly ought to be specified, and σωφρονέστερον does not express it. In 16 δουλεύοντα ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίαις answers to σωφρονέστερον, ἐλευθεριώτερον and δικαιοτέρων are repeated, and we then come to σοφὸν δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις εἰκότως ἄνδρα φήσειεν εἶναι (where I am not convinced with Hirschig and Schenkl that ἐμέ should be inserted) κ.τ.λ.

20. ἄλλα ναὶ μὰ Δία, ἔφη ὁ Μέλητος, ἐκείνους οἶδα οὓς σὺ πέπεικας σοὶ πείθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς γειναμένοις.

Should ἐκείνους be ἐνίοις?

22. ἐρρήθη μὲν δῆλον ὅτι κ.τ.λ.

Probably μὲν <οὖν>, or δὴ has been lost before δῆλον: μὲν δὴ occurs 31 and 34.

26. Probably οἶδα <δ'> ὅτι.

29. οὗτος ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ νικῶν.

Perhaps ἔσται, 'will prove.'

33. πρὸς τὰλλ' ἀγαθὰ would seem more proper than πρὸς τὰλλα τὰγαθὰ.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

HERODOTUS ON THE DIMENSIONS OF THE PYRAMIDS.

I venture, though neither archaeologist nor Egyptologist, to ask the attention of those who are such to a few remarks on the topic proposed above, because there seems to be at this time some danger that the gain of their rich discoveries may be turned unnecessarily to an indirect loss, in depreciating, or rather destroying at all points, the credibility of an author upon whom, after all, we depend for much information not to be had from hieroglyphs.

The interpretation of what Herodotus says about the size of the Pyramids is disputable; it is perhaps open to fresh light; but of this at least I am sure, that, if we must accept the interpretation, which appears to content some recent investigators, the testimony of Herodotus is universally worthless. He is convicted of that 'crass negligence' which, in its effect upon the value of a witness, is as damaging as deliberate fraud.

Describing first the larger of the two

great pyramids, the Pyramid of Cheops, Herodotus says (2. 125) that 'every way each face of its square is 8 *plethra*', τῆς ἐστὶ πανταχῇ μέτωπον ἑκάστον ὀκτὼ πλέθρα, ἐούσης τετραγώνου. Describing next the smaller of the two, the Pyramid of Chephren, he says (ib. 127) that 'it does not come up to the dimensions of the other's pyramid, for those of this one we¹ measured ourselves' (ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν), and that 'in laying his first foundation (made of variegated Aethiopian marble) Chephren came forty feet short of the other, and then built it so as in the same size to keep near the big one': ὑποδείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου, τεσσαράκοντα πόδας ὑποβάς τῆς ἐτέρης, τῶντὸ μέγαθος ἐχομένην τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδόμησε. The last words are not clear and perhaps corrupt. But they are clear enough for our present purpose; and if we make allowance for a colloquial writer not provided with mathematical science, they may appear not incapable of complete explanation. That ἐχομένην τῆς μεγάλης, *near to the big one*, means something more and other than that the second pyramid stood near the first appears from the relation of these words to the context. The proximity of the two monuments in position is separately mentioned in the next sentence, 'they stand both on the same hill', ἐστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφοτέραι. The nearness marked by ἐχομένην must therefore be a metaphorical proximity, a proximity in size; and indeed, unless we understand it so, Herodotus, after assuring us that he actually took the dimensions of the lesser pyramid, incomprehensibly omits all indication of them, except as to the size of the base. The metaphor seems to be that of a follower, who, starting at a certain distance behind another, ἔχειται αὐτοῦ 'keeps with him', or maintains the same distance throughout. So Chephren, or his pyramid, beginning with a slightly smaller base, 'kept', so to speak 'the same size near to' the model which it followed. The accusative τῶντὸ μέγαθος (if correct) gives the definition or measure of the proximity denoted by ἐχομένην, as when one thing is said τοσούτους πόδας ἀπέχειν, *to be so many feet distant*, from another. That is to say, in such more appropriate and technical language as would be used by a modern writer or a Greek of scientific times, the

two pyramids were similar in figure, but with a difference, relatively small, in scale. If necessary (though I think otherwise), we may suppose that before τῶντὸ μέγαθος, we should insert κατὰ, or make some other correction in the same sense. This question however, for our present purpose, may be set aside. Since at any rate Herodotus notes the small difference of size in the bases, and notes no other such difference, distinct from the difference mentioned and not connected with it, he clearly meant to give upon the whole an impression approximately such as we have deduced, that the pyramids were similar in shape and proportions, and were nearly of the same bulk.

Now in all this, his representation, within such limits of accuracy as he leads us to expect, is true; indeed it has more exactness than, all things considered, we should look for. The use of so large a unit as the 100-foot *plethron* marks at once that Herodotus speaks in round numbers, and makes no pretence to a precision which was probably beyond his means and opportunities. As to the form of the pyramids he is right, and as to their size and scale he is nearly right. To the pyramid of Cheops he gives a base of 800 Greek feet (*i.e.*, about 776 English feet) square; to that of Chephren a base of 760 Greek feet square. The present measurements appear to be, in *English* feet, about 755 and 706 respectively.² At the most Herodotus is out by about 20 feet in '8 *plethra*', and allowing for the uncertainty of restoration, his error may probably be less. So far then, he is at least as good as his promise.

But in the description of the larger pyramid there are three words which we have not yet cited. 'Every way' he says 'each face of its square is 8 *plethra*, and the height equal,' τῆς ἐστὶ πανταχῇ μέτωπον ἑκάστον ὀκτὼ πλέθρα, καὶ ὕψος ἴσον. Taking these last words with the rest of his description, what sense are we to put on them? Recent Egyptology, as represented by the elaborate and useful commentary of Alfred Wiedemann,³ seems content to say that, according to Herodotus, the *vertical height* of Cheops' pyramid was equal to the side of its base, *i.e.*, 800 Greek feet. The present vertical height is given as 481½ English feet, and the original height, in the feet of Herodotus, cannot have much exceeded 500. We are to believe then that Herodotus, while giving

¹ The plural probably includes some guide or companion; of himself Herodotus habitually speaks in the singular.

² Flinders Petrie, *Pyramids of Gizeh*; Wiedemann (cited below).

³ Leipzig, Teubner, 1890.

the measure of the base with fair accuracy, has, roughly speaking, *doubled* the height.

Now the point upon which I would insist is this. If Herodotus meant to combine this statement with the rest of his statements about the matter, then not any statement of his about anything deserves attention in respect of its truth. The objection has been considered by many (Rawlinson, Blakesley, and Stein), but has not perhaps been presented with full effect. As a mere error in judging a great vertical height, the discrepancy would be pardonable, though excessive. We might excuse also, though surely with some difficulty, the utterly false picture of the object, which would result from the proportions alleged. We might perhaps suppose that Herodotus had not formed, and could not form, any notion of how a pyramid would look, if its vertical height were equal to the side of its square base. But what shall we say of his consistency with himself? If he allowed himself to think that the greater pyramid (of Cheops) had 8 *plethra* of vertical height, then *what, in the face of his own words, did he suppose to be the height of that of Chephren?* The two are nearly of the same height, as any observer must see. In fact Chephren's, 'The Great Pyramid,' stands a little the higher by advantage of ground, and only measurement can discover that it is really less, a discovery which the generality of spectators do not make,¹ though Herodotus did. Now he says that he did 'measure the dimensions' of the lesser pyramid, and happens to be supported,² if he needed it, by a statement of Diodorus, that this one was accessible to ascent. The dimensions which he measured, in such fashion as he could, were necessarily the external dimensions, the principal lines of the monument. He knew then approximately, upon his own showing, that its measurement *along the angle, from base to summit*, was what it was, that is to say, *a little less than 800 of his feet*. Yet in the face of this he is to tell us that the *vertical height* of the greater pyramid was 800 such feet; and therefore, that the *vertical height* of Chephren's (being, as he could see and gives us to understand, but little less) was little less than 800 such feet, the rule by which he calculates being apparently that the *vertical height of a climbable hill is about equal to the length of the climb!* What reason have we to suppose, that such was the measure of his intelligence?

Perhaps not many, if the case had been

fully stated, would have been content so to suppose. And even the alleged discrepancy between Herodotus and fact has encountered a fair suspicion. It has been suggested (by Rawlinson, Stein, and others), in order to diminish this discrepancy, that by 'height' he means 'height of the side', *i.e.*, the length of an imaginary perpendicular drawn *upon the face* from summit to base. It must however be admitted that to this, the only conciliation proposed,³ there are serious objections. One, founded upon the 'Greek usage' of the word *ὑψος*, is perhaps answerable; it shall be considered presently. But two others, I think, are not easily answerable. *First*, as a defence of Herodotus, the conciliation is inadequate and scarcely serviceable. Even in 'the height of the side', the pyramid of Cheops did not much exceed 600 Greek feet; and therefore that of Chephren also, in fact and according to Herodotus, was in this dimension not far from 600, and not anywhere near 800. For a length which in any fashion he 'measured', the discrepancy is still gross; and, what to my mind tells more, it is strangely different from his approximations in the measurement of the two bases. *Secondly*, the 'height of the side' is a fictitious line, not suggested by the object itself; and to measure the pyramid by this would be an artificial method, agreeable neither to nature nor to science. Science would measure by the vertical, the perpendicular from the summit to the plane of the base; while to an unscientific observer, like Herodotus, the obvious things to measure were the real, visible, and palpable lines, that of the base and that of the solid angle.

And surely this consideration justifies us in giving the one simple interpretation, which reconciles Herodotus both with himself and (so far as he claims it) with fact, to the words *τῆς ἐστὶ πανταχῇ μέτωπον ἕκαστον ὀκτὼ πλέθρα εὐρύσης τετραγώνου, καὶ ὕψος ἴσον*. By the height 'of the pyramid' Herodotus means the actual ascending line of the pyramid, the line of the solid angle. What he says, translated into later language, is, that the two pyramids are similar, having each a square base and four faces, each face an equilateral triangle, and that the lines of the two respectively measure in round numbers 800 Greek feet and 760 Greek feet. A calculation, which any one can now make from the foregoing *data* (and which even in the fifth century B.C. could have been made by a professional man of science, though by Herodotus possibly not), will show that all this is as near the truth as in such

¹ Wiedemann *ad loc.*

² Steine *ad loc.*, Wiedemann *ad loc.*

³ Wiedemann *ad loc.*

a brief, unprofessional description could be expected; and in fact, for common purposes it might well stand even now. As a fact, the pyramids were apparently not *exactly* and *scientifically* similar, and in neither were the triangular faces *exactly* equilateral, the ascending lines in each being something, but relatively little, less than the base. Taken rigorously, Herodotus must be held to say that in the edge of the lesser pyramid, which he measured, he found 760 of his feet. He should apparently have found less; precisely how much less, in the uncertainty of the most scientific restoration, it is impossible to say. We do not know, for instance, how the pyramid was finished off or crowned. By the most unfavourable assumptions his error of measurement in the angle or edge cannot, I think, be made greater than 50 of his feet; while upon favourable and not unreasonable assumptions it may come but to about 20 such feet. At the utmost the error, for the purpose of picturing the pyramid and forming a conception of the labour spent upon it (and Herodotus, of course, aims at no more), is quite immaterial. All this we may say, if we take him rigorously. But in truth it is not fair so to take him, and he does not commit himself to the assertion that his measurement of the lesser pyramid gave him 760 feet. His whole history of both pyramids, including the description and measurements, is given avowedly from information received, and even written mostly in the form of quotation. The part relating to Chephren runs thus: "It is said that Chephren, as in other things he used the same fashion as Cheops, so likewise he made a pyramid, which does not come up to the dimensions of the other's, for those of the smaller we measured ourselves (nor has it indeed subterranean chambers below it, nor is there a channel from the Nile, bringing a stream into it as into the other, which stream, passing in by a builded conduit, surrounds an island, wherein, as they say, is laid Cheops himself). In laying his first foundation of Aethiopian marble, he came below the size of the other pyramid by 40 feet, and then built it so as [in the same size?] to keep near the big one. Both stand upon the same hill, which is somewhere about 100 feet high." Καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διαχρᾶσθαι τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πυράμιδα ποιῆσαι, ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκονσαν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν· οὔτε γὰρ ὑπεστί οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυξ ἦκει ἐς αὐτὴν ῥέουσα· δι' οἰκοδομημένου δὲ αὐλῶνος ἔσω νῆσον περιρρέει, ἐν τῇ αὐτὸν

λέγονσι κεῖσθαι Χέοπα. ὑποδείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθον Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλον, τεσσαράκοντα πόδας ὑποβάς τῆς ἐτέρης, τὸντὸ μέγαθος ἐχομένην τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδόμησε. ἐστᾷσι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφότεραι, μάλιστα ἐς ἑκατὸν πόδας ὑψηλοῦ. Attention should be given to the manner and place in which the writer introduces the remark that he himself took measurements. So far from founding upon this remark his account of Chephren's building, he does not even attach the remark to the figures. It is remarkably and rather oddly detached from them, and tacked to the limited statement that *the dimensions of Chephren's pyramid are less than the (alleged) dimensions of Cheops'*. Surely the purpose and effect of this arrangement are unmistakable. What Herodotus proved to himself by his 'measuring', the difficulty and imperfection of which, when applied to objects so vast and peculiar, he must have known, was just this, that assuming Cheops' pyramid to be of the size alleged, that of Chephren, *though it looked higher*, certainly was, as it was said to be, somewhat smaller. And for this much his means may well have been sufficient. As to the figures, he doubtless thought it enough if, measuring as best he could, he came pretty near them, and therefore found no reason for not accepting them as round numbers. That the pyramids were exactly symmetrical was naturally the common belief, seeing how little, in proportion to their bulk, they came short of being so. Indeed it is scarcely possible to repress a suspicion, perhaps irreverent, that the builders meant them so to be, and thought they were, but missed the intended perfection by a minute error in the angle of elevation. Herodotus makes them symmetrical, on the authority of his informant, and is as right as he pretends to be, that is roundly and approximately.

It remains to consider whether this interpretation of his meaning, although it makes sense and truth out of self-contradictory falsehood, must be rejected on the ground that to describe the edge of a pyramid as its *ὑψος* is not consistent with the 'usage' of the Greeks, which takes *ὑψος*, as we should in such a case, for the vertical height of the solid. This objection has been brought against interpreting *ὑψος* as the 'height of the side',¹ and might therefore, I suppose, be alleged against referring it to the line of the angle. But I confess that I see no force in it. It depends on attributing to Herodotus and his age a scientific habit of mind and language, which did not belong to

¹ Wiedemann l. c.

them. The authority produced for limiting the use of *ὑψος*, as we in the like case should now, is Euclid. Certainly no scientific writer, such as Euclid, nor perhaps any writer in an age when scientific conceptions were widely diffused, would allow to pass, in a matter of exact measurement, an expression so ambiguous as *height* for the length of a slope. But in the language of popular description, such as that of Herodotus, it is still so used frequently, the ambiguity being determined by the context. 'The *height* of that hill is about half a mile' is surely not a phrase that would surprise our ears. To my ear it is rather more natural than *length*. If Herodotus might not call the length of the pyramid's edge a *ὑψος*, by what term in his repertory was he to designate it? Nor *in this case* would it even appear ambiguous to him. It is so to us only because to us it is natural to think, in such a case, of the vertical height, the perpendicular to the plane of the base. But we think of this, and expect to hear of its measurement, only because we know that it can be easily measured. Herodotus possibly did not know, certainly most of his readers did not, any way in which it could be measured. Why then should he think of it in connexion with measuring, or expect any such connexion in the minds of his readers? Here therefore I see no objection; but even if there be, and if Herodotus is chargeable with an ambiguity which he could and should have avoided, this and no more is the extent of his offence. Of what he means there is not, upon his whole statement together, room for reasonable doubt.

To establish this interpretation however is not our principal object, but rather to deprecate that attitude towards Herodotus which appears in the facile acceptance of the other. In the valuable commentary, to which I have chiefly referred, it seems to

be too often assumed, that (since we know so much better) what Herodotus said or meant is really of little consequence: of course he is wrong, and how far wrong, or with how much or little justification, we need not inquire. And the like spirit has appeared too frequently elsewhere. Even Stein, though on the whole free from prejudice, must describe as 'self-laudatory' (*selbstberühmend*) the author's remark, that of the lesser pyramid he 'actually took measures'; and Stein is echoed by Wiedemann. Yet in what simpler or less pretentious language could he possibly state a thing which, if true, it would have been absurd to omit? The account which he gives, professedly at second-hand, of the works under the pyramid of Cheops, the subterranean moat and the conduit from the river, has perhaps no element of truth, and the modern explorations tend to prove this, though they have not proved it yet. But it is needless and prejudicial to discuss the way in which Herodotus 'may have been led to his idea'.¹ There is nothing to show that it was his idea. He gives it simply as the statement of his informants, which, as the thing was plainly possible, he was entitled, if not bound, to do, without affecting his personal credit. But he was not at liberty so to assert that the pyramid of Cheops had 800 feet of vertical height, because, upon his own statements, he must have known that this could not possibly be true. To some therefore it will be a pleasure to notice that, as a fact, he does not assert this, and generally that his description is not only the best, in spite of its early date, which has descended to us from the Graeco-Roman world, but also, to such a degree as he indicates, true and correct.

A. W. VERRALL.

¹ Wiedemann *l.c.*

A NEGLECTED USE OF THE LATIN SUBJUNCTIVE.

THE purpose of this paper is to call attention to a use of the Latin Subjunctive which seems to me to be very common both in interrogative and in non-interrogative sentences, but which has not, so far as I know, been distinctly recognized at all except in interrogations of a certain type.

And even in these interrogations the use is, as a rule, recognized not explicitly, but only tacitly by correct translations that are vouchsafed for them. Even when it is thus tacitly recognized, it is regarded as a development from a type of question, which, as I believe, is not remotely connected with

the use referred to either in meaning or in origin.¹ The use of the subjunctive to which reference is here made is that which expresses the idea of *obligation or propriety*. This discussion would naturally divide itself into two parts, (1) *the range and frequency of this use*, (2) *the probable origin of it*. The question of the origin of the use has been considered in Part II of my '*Latin Prohibitive*' (*American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XV) and is taken up again in my '*Studies in Latin Moods and Tenses*,' just published in the *Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*. In the present paper I must confine myself solely to the other part of my subject, namely *the range and frequency of this use*.

The type of question which is universally, though tacitly, recognized as expressing the idea of obligation or propriety is that illustrated by *cur non laeter?* It is quite impossible to make any sense at all out of such a question except by translating it 'why should I (ought I to) rejoice?'—that is, except by recognizing the fact that the subjunctive *laeter* deals purely and solely with the idea of obligation or propriety. This use, so far as independent sentences are concerned, is, for some inexplicable reason, supposed to be confined to such interrogative sentences. I say 'for some inexplicable reason'; for there are non-interrogative sentences which seem to me, to show the subjunctive used, beyond all dispute, with exactly the same force—sentences that can not be understood or satisfactorily explained except by supposing the mood to denote mere obligation or propriety. As these are the passages to which I wish to call particular attention, it will be well to group them by themselves and I accordingly divide the instances about to be given into two general classes (a) interrogative sentences, (b) non-interrogative sentences. I have made no systematic attempt to make a collection of the instances under either one of these divisions. Those cited below are merely a few selections from such as I have incidentally come upon and noted down while reading for other purposes. Many others will be found in various lexicons (e.g. Merguet's to Cicero), in Hand's *Thursellinus* and elsewhere (under *cur* and *non*).

(a) *Interrogative sentences:*

These are extremely common. I cite only a few of the many instances and for the most part those accompanied by negatives, as the negative *non* (*neque*) instead of *ne* (*neue*), shows that the mood is not felt by the speaker as involving any feeling of volition. I have elsewhere (*American Journal of Philology* Vol. XV, pp. 314 ff) called attention to the fact that there is in Latin no such thing as a negative deliberative question.

As illustrations of questions that can not possibly be explained, so far as I can see, except by recognizing in the subjunctive the idea of obligation or propriety, may be cited the following:

Plaut. *Stich.* 52 Nequest quor [non] studeam has nuptias mutarier;

Pers. 620 Cur ego hic mirer, mi homo?

Poen. 152 Cur ego apud te mentiar?

Cf. also Ter. *And.* 103 Quid igitur obstat, quor non fiant?

Cic. *Cat.* 4, 1, 2 Cur ego non laeter?

de senectute 19, 67 quid timeam, si aut non miser post mortem aut beatus etiam futurus sum!

Ad. *fam.* 10, 23, 6 Pro urbis uero salute cur non omnibus facultatibus, quas habemus, utamur?

Ad. *fam.* 14, 4, 5 Quid nunc rogem te, ut uenias, mulierem aegram et corpore et animo confectam? Non rogem?

Plaut. *Most.* 454 (455)

Tr. Eho, an tu [te] tetigisti has aedis?

Tr. Cur non tangerem?

Cic. *pro. Cael.* 29, 68 at propinquis placuit. Cur non placeret, cum rem...a te ipsa compertam deferre diceres?

in *Vat.* 2, 4 sed quaero te: cur C. Cornelium non defenderem?

Fortunately, the presence of the introductory word (*cur* or *quid*) in sentences like those just cited makes it impossible to explain the mood by any other interpretation than that for which we are here pleading. But if *cur non laeter?* means 'why should I not rejoice?' without a hint of any other idea than that of obligation or propriety, would it not be very strange, if *non laeter?* without *cur*, could not equally well mean purely and simply 'should I not (ought I not to) rejoice?' i.e. would it not be (or is it not) proper for me to rejoice? A comparison of the questions without *cur* about to be cited with those above must, it seems to me, convince anyone that the mood

¹ Since the above was written, Delbrück (*Vergleichende Syntax*, II. p. 389) has accepted my conclusions reached in '*The Latin Prohibitive*', that questions of obligation or propriety, e.g. *cur ego non laeter? hunc ego non diligan?* represent a development from the Indo-European optative, and are therefore not connected with the volitive subjunctive, as has been supposed.

has exactly the same force in both sets of questions. None of these questions has the remotest possible connection with the expression of anybody's will. I select my instances again from those accompanied by a negative. On the impossibility of explaining questions with *non*, like the following, as deliberative questions, see *American Journal of Philology* Vol. XV, pp. 314 ff.

Cic. *pro Archia*, 8, 18 *hunc ego non diligam? Non admirer, non omni ratione defendendum putem?*

Here the will is not remotely involved, as the context clearly shows, nor is there any idea of deliberation, or even of doubt, as to a course of action. The questions mean 'Ought I not to love this man? ought I not to admire him etc.?' and this is merely a rhetorical way of saying 'Surely I ought to love and admire such a man as this.'

Pro Archia 8, 19 Nos...*non poetarum uoce moueamur?*

Ter. *Hec.* 341-2

So. *Non uisam uxorem Pamphili, quom in proxumo hic sit aegra?*

PAR. *Non uisas? ne mittas quidem uisendi causa quemquam.*

Phorm. 345

Haec quom rationem ineas quam sint suaui et quam cara sint,

Ea qui praebet, *non tu hunc habeas plane praesentem deum?*

Cic. *ad fam.* 14, 4, 5 *Quid nunc rogem te, ut uenias, mulierem aegram et corpore et animo confectam? Non rogem?*

Plaut. *Trin.* 133

Non ego illi argentum redderem? ME. Non redderes

nec qui deterior esset faceres copiam,

'Should I not have given up the money to him (i.e. was not that the proper thing to do)?' ME. 'You should not have given it up, etc.'

With these questions compare those where *deciuit*, *oportuit*, or some similar word, is used side by side with the subjunctive and apparently in the same sense, e.g.

Liv. 42, 41 *Quid tandem me facere deciuit, etc.? Quiescerem et paterer, etc.?* Compare also

Liv. 45, 37 *Non triumphum impedire debuit...sed postero die nomen deferret et legibus interrogaret.*

(6) *Non-interrogative sentences:*

It would seem strange if the subjunctive possessed the power of expressing obligation or propriety in questions without being able to express the same idea in assertions. If *cur non laeter?* and *non laeter?* can mean 'Why should I not (ought I not to) rejoice?' and 'Should I not (ought I not to) rejoice?', there can certainly be no serious objection to supposing that *non laeter* may mean 'I should not (ought not to) rejoice.' As a matter of fact, instances of this use do occur. Indeed they seem quite as frequent in declarative as in interrogative sentences. But while Latinists have no difficulty whatever with the interrogative sentence, at least as far as the translation is concerned, the declarative sentences, which will yield perfect sense if the mood is regarded as having the same force as in the interrogations, are either regarded as unsolved problems or else are explained by distorting the meaning of words or by resorting to impossible theories. This failure to recognize what seems to me to be the clear meaning of the mood in such declarative sentences has been due to the feeling (an entirely unjustified one, as I believe) that the interrogative sentences under discussion must be connected with, and derived from, questions of deliberation. Anyone who has this conviction, when he approaches the declarative sentences referred to, is thereby effectually prevented from reaching the interpretation which alone, of all possible interpretations, yields satisfactory sense. If grammarians will cease to associate the two sorts of questions (and they are wont to be associated without any real reason and in the face of serious objections), then the relationship between the interrogative and declarative sentences, here classed together, will at once be evident.

The subjunctive in most of the following passages can not, I believe, be satisfactorily explained except by supposing it to express the idea of obligation or propriety:

Plaut. *Trin.* 1136

sed maneam etiam, opinor.

'But I'd better (I should) remain awhile longer, I think.'

Cic. *Att.* 9, 6, 2 *sed opinor quiescamus.* 'But I think we should keep quiet.'

Cic. *Att.* 2, 5, 1 *sed opinor excipiamus et expectemus.*

Cic. *pro Murena* 14, 30 *Quod si ita est, cedat opinor forum castris, otium militiae, etc.*

Ter. *Phorm.* 140

GE. In me omnis spes mihi est.

DA. Laudo. GE. Ad precatorem *adeam credo*, etc.

'I suppose I'd better go to some intercessor,' etc.¹

Hale and (apparently) Rodenbusch would explain the mood in all but one of these passages as a subjunctive of resolve (see Hale, *The Anticipatory Subjunctive in Greek and Latin*, p. 14, and Rodenbusch *de temporum usu Plautino questiones selectae*, p. 60.) But this interpretation is open to very serious objections. To say nothing of the uncertainty as to whether the subjunctive was ever used in Latin to express mere determination or resolve, such an interpretation of the passages in question necessitates assigning to *opinor* and *credo* a meaning which, at least so far as I know, these verbs never have. *Credo* and *opinor* indicate literal belief or supposition (in the strictest sense of those words) that some act is, was, will be, would be, ought to be performed, or that some state does, did, will, would, ought to, exist, as a mere matter of truth or fact, which is a very different thing from the meaning of the English 'believe' with expressions of resolve. Professor Hale himself, in the note above referred to, calls attention to the fact that in general 'both Greek and Latin take the same course and come to express resolve for one's action by the future indicative.' Can he, however, find any instance of *credo* or *opinor* used with this future indicative of resolve? Among the seven supposed instances of the subjunctive of resolve which he is able to cite from Latin literature, there are four instances of *credo* and *opinor*. In other words, 57% of the entire number (so far as cited) of supposed instances of the subjunctive of resolve are accompanied by one of these words. Surely, then, among the hundreds of instances of the future indicative of resolve there ought to be, accompanying such expressions, many instances of *credo* and *opinor*. Can any such instances be cited? I certainly know of none. It will not of course be claimed that such passages as that in Ter. *And.* 313 *credo impetram* are instances of such a use. The meaning here is clearly 'I believe I shall prevail upon him' i.e. I believe that he will grant my prayer. Unless the interpretation

in question can be supported by indisputable instances of *credo* and *opinor* with expressions of resolve (which are extremely common), this alone, it seems to me, will prove that this interpretation of the mood in the passages above cited can not be the correct one. And if it is not, what possible interpretation other than the one I am now offering will make any sense whatever? In *opinor quiescamus*, for instance, how can *quiescamus* possibly be interpreted as a volitive without doing violence to the meaning of *opinor*? But my interpretation suits the context perfectly and assigns to *opinor* its usual meaning. Furthermore, what would Hale and Rodenbusch do with the subjunctive in the fourth passage, *cedat opinor*?

The following passages are exactly like those cited above except that they are not accompanied by *opinor* or *credo*. The presence of *credo* or *opinor* in the one set of passages shows that they are not volitive in character; the absence of these words in those that follow should not tempt one to forsake this natural interpretation and adopt in its stead one that involves a use, the very existence of which is admitted, even by its advocates, to be uncertain:

Plaut. *Bacch.* 1058

Tantas turbellas facio. sed crepuit foris :
Ecfertur praeda ex Troia. *Taceam* nunciam.

Here *taceam* seems to mean 'I'd better (I should) hold my tongue.'

Ter. *Heaut.* 273

Mane ; hoc quod coepi primum *enarrem*,
Clitipho ; post istuc ueniam.

'Wait, I'd better tell first what I began to ;
I'll come to that point later.'

Cic. *Verr.* 1, 51, 133 nam mehercule sic *agamus*.

Interesting and important in this connection are translations from the Greek in which *χρή* (with the infinitive) and other expressions of obligation or propriety are translated into Latin by the subjunctive. A collection of such translations would be very instructive and it is hoped some one may be induced to make one. I have incidentally noted two such translations which are in themselves enough to prove that the subjunctive has the force which is here claimed for it :

¹ For another possible interpretation, see note on this passage in my edition of the *Phormio*.

Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 41, 98 *Ne uos quidem, iudices, mortem timueritis*, which is Cicero's translation of Plato, *Apologia Socratis* 33: 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς χροῖ, ὧ ἄνδρες δικάσται, εὐέλπιδας εἶναι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον. Here *ne uos quidem timueritis* is Cicero's rendering of *χροῖ* with the infinitive, and is beyond all dispute used in the sense of 'even you should not (ought not to) fear.' Even if the Greek passage were not preserved to us, other considerations would make it wholly impossible to regard *timueritis* as a volitive subjunctive (see *American Journal of Philology*, xv. p. 320).

Cf. Ter. *Hec.* 342

Non uisas? ne mittas quidem uisendi causa quemquam.

Cic. *de Off.* iii. 21, 82

Nam si uiolandum est ius, regnandi gratia *Uiolandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

This is a translation from the *Phoenissae* of Euripides, vs. 524

Εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρὴ τυραννίδος περὶ
Κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν· τᾶλλα δ' εὖσεβεῖν χρεών.

Here *κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν* and *εὖσεβεῖν χρεών* are both expressions that come under the general head of 'expressions of obligation or propriety.' The first of these Cicero has translated by (*ius*) *uiolandum est*, the second by *pietatem colas*. The subjunctive *colas*, then, is used to express the idea of obligation or propriety conveyed by the Greek; and, as if to make our case all the stronger, is used as a parallel to the participle in *-dus* (cf. *uiolandum est*), which everyone must admit has the force we are claiming for the subjunctive.

There are many other passages that should, it seems to me, be regarded as instances of the same use. Again I cite for the most part only those accompanied by a negative, because these are the most difficult to explain away:—

Scipio apud Gell. 4, 18, 3 *non igitur simus aduersum deos ingrati.*

Plaut. *Bacch.* 476

nec tu creduas.

Ter. *And.* 787

non te credas Dauom ludere.

Cic. *pro Cluent.* 57, 155 Quoniam omnia commoda nostra, iura, libertatem, salutem denique legibus obtinemus, a legibus *non recedamus.*

Hor. *Epist.* i. 18, 72

*Non ancilla tuum iecur ulceret ulla puerue
Intra marmoreum uenerandi limen amici,
etc.*

Hor. *Sat.* 2, 5, 91

Cautus adito,
Neu desis operae, neu inmoderatus abundes.
Difficilem et morosum offendet garrulus;
ultra
Non etiam sileas.

Catullus 66, 91

Tu uero, regina, tuens, cum sidera diuam
Placabis festis luminibus Venerem,
Unguinis expertem *non siris* esse tuam me,
Sed potius largis adfice muneribus.

Here *non* is certainly the correct reading instead of *ne* (see *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xv. p. 319).

Cic. *ad Att.* 14, 13 (A) Patere, obsecro, te pro re publica uideri gessisse similitudinem cum patre eius: *non contempseris* hanc familiam.

Ovid aut *non tentaris* aut perforce. 'You should either not try or else, if you do, effect your object.'

The use of the imperative *perforce* does not make it necessary to regard *tentaris* as a volitive.

Sen. *Q.N.* 1, 3, 3 *non dubitaueris.*

Rutil. *Lup.* ii. 9 *non credideris.*

Sen. *Ep.* 99, 14 *non imperemus.*

Vell. 1, 13, 5 *non tamen dubiteis*, quin, etc.; 2, 12, 6 *non tamen huius consulatus fraudetur gloria*; 2, 26, 3 *non perdat*, etc.

Quint. 1, 1, 5 *non assuescat* ergo sermoni, qui dediscendus sit; 2, 16, 6 *non fabricetur.*

Quint. 7, 1, 56 *non desperemus.*

See other instances of this use of *non* in Hand's *Tursellinus* iv, p. 265 f., and in Draeger's *Hist. Synt.* pp. 312 ff.

The subjunctive is also used to state the existence or non-existence of a possibility in the past, e.g.:—
Plaut. *Trin.* 133

CA. Non ego illi argentum redderem?
ME. *Non redderes,*
nec qui deterior esset faceres copiam.

CA. 'Ought I not to have given him the money?' (i.e. was that not the proper thing to do?). ME. 'You ought not to have given it to him, etc.' (i.e. it was not the proper thing to do).

Ter. *Phorm.* 468

Nam utut erant alia, illi certe quae nunc
tibi domist *consuleres*.

'However other things were, you ought at least to have looked after the interests of that girl, etc.' Cf. *Phorm.* 297, 299, etc.

Numerous passages of a similar character are found in Cicero, with *neque* (*nec*) as a negative. As *neque* (*nec*) is in all probability never used in Cicero with a volitive subjunctive of any sort, and certainly not in prohibitions (see a full discussion of this question in Part II of '*The Latin Prohibitive*,' *American Journal of Philology*, xv), these passages may also be classed here, though many of them are hardly distinguishable from the subjunctive of contingent futurity (translated by 'would'), in which, as I believe, the use we are discussing had its origin.

Cic. *de re pub.* i. 2, 3 Et quoniam maxime rapimur ad opes augendas generis humani studemusque nostris consiliis et laboribus tutiorem et opulentiores uitam hominum reddere...teneamus eum cursum, qui semper fuit optimi cuiusque *neque* ea signa *audiamus*, quae receptui canunt, ut eos etiam reuocent qui iam processerint.

On this passage and others of a similar nature, see *American Journal of Philology*, xv, pp. 313 ff.

de re pub. iv. 6, 6 *Nec* uero mulieribus praefectus *praeponatur*...sed sit censor, qui uiros doceat moderari uxoribus.

pro Planc. 6, 15 *cedat* consulari generi praetorium, *nec contendat* cum praetorio equester locus. With this passage, compare Cic. *pro Murena* 14, 30 *cedat* opinor...forum castris, where it is impossible to regard *cedat* as a volitive.

Acad. 2, 46, 141 *nec putaueris*; *de fin.* 1, 7, 25 *nec dixeris*; *pro Sull.* 8, 25 *neque dixeris*; *Brut.* 87, 298 *nec dixeris*; *de rep.* 6, 23, 25 *neque dederis nec posueris*; *ad Att.* 12, 23, 3 *nec pertimueris*; and elsewhere.

This use is also common in many poets who never use the perfect subjunctive in prohibitions. See the article above referred to.

Finally it is interesting to note that *oportet* (with the infinitive) and the subjunctive seem to be used sometimes side by side as practical equivalents, e.g. Plaut. *Pers.* 123-125

Cynicum esse <e>gentem *oportet* parasitum probe:

Ampullam, strigilem, scaphium, soccos, pallium,
Marsupium *habeat*.

'A parasite ought to be a needy Cynic out and out: he ought to have a flask, a strigil, etc.'

Cf. Liv. 45, 37 Non triumphum *impedire debuit*...sed postero die nomen *deferret* et legibus *interrogaret*.

Ter. *Phorm.* 242-246

Meditari secum *oportet*, quo pacto aduersam aerumnam ferant:

Pericla, damna, exilia peregre rediens semper *cogitet*;

Quidquid praeter spem eueniat, omne id *deputare* esse in lucro.

This *deputare* is commonly explained as being in the same construction as *meditari* and depending upon *oportet*, but the intervening *cogitet* has caused a good deal of trouble among the commentators because it has been regarded as a volitive subjunctive. It will seem less strange, if regarded as a subjunctive of obligation or propriety, equivalent to *cogitare oportet*. Then all three expressions will be of the same character and the idea of *oportet* will remain sufficiently prominent throughout the passage to make it natural enough to make *deputare* depend upon it.

Important in this connection, too, is the fact that a question of obligation or propriety is answered sometimes by the use of the subjunctive, sometimes by the use of *oportet* with the infinitive; e.g. Plaut. *Trin.* 133 CA. non ego illi argentum *redderem*? ME. non *redderes*; Ter. *Adelph.* 214 SA. *Quid facerem*? Sv. Adulescenti morem gestum *oportuit*. (Cf. Liv. 42, 41 *Quid me facere decuit*? *Quiescerem*?)

The fact that such questions as *quid faciam*? (here represented, from a past point of view, by *quid facerem*?) may mean either 'what shall I do?', expecting some expression of the will in reply, or 'what ought I to do?', expecting in reply some expression of obligation or propriety, does not prove that the subjunctive of obligation or propriety is an offshoot of the volitive subjunctive. Anyone who would upon such grounds form such conclusions would, to be consistent, have to argue that the volitive subjunctive was developed from the subjunctive of contingent futurity (or *vice versa*) on the ground that *quid fiat*? may mean either 'what shall be done?' or 'what would be done?' or that *dicas* may mean either 'tell me!' or 'you would say.' There is no

objection to supposing that *quid faciam?* may be used in both senses, representing at different times entirely distinct uses of the subjunctive mood. But the question of the

origin of this use has been discussed more fully elsewhere.

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ON THE QUANTITY OF NAMES IN *-ινης*.

ON p. 20 of the *Classical Review* for February, Professor Gilbert Murray discloses his reasons for marking the penultimate of *Λεπτίνης* long. These reasons are (I) the fact that Fick, in his *Personennamen* (not '*Eigennamen*' as quoted) gives *-ίνης* (marked long) as a parallel form to *-ίνος*, and 'quotes fourteen names in *-ίνης*', and (II) the 'usage' of Rhianus.

(I) The 'usage' of Rhianus is confined to a single passage in an epigram preserved in *Anth. Pal.* xii 93, where the editors print ἦν δ' ἐπὶ Λεπτίνεω at the beginning of a hexameter line. Now, (1) *Λεπτίνεω* is not the reading of the MS, but a conjecture for *Λεπτήνεω*; (2) even assuming the conjecture is correct, it is a solitary instance, and it is only found in a poet of the Alexandrine age; and (3) it is not conclusive, since *Λεπτίνεω* may be scanned as four syllables, which was the view held by an eminent scholar who will be quoted below.

(II) The names quoted by Fick are Ἀλκίνης, Δαίνης, Ἐλπίνης, Καλλίνης, Κροκίνης, Λευκίνης, Μυρίνης, Πρατίνης, Πυθίνης, Πυρρίνης, Σμικρίνης, Τηλίνης, Φιλτίνης. Most of these names occur only in solitary instances in Greek inscriptions which give no clue as to the quantity of the penultima. But they cannot be accepted as '14 names in *-ίνης*.' One, at least, of them *Μυρίνης* (the name of a wine) certainly has the penultimate short in Poseidippus and Diphilus, as quoted by Athenaeus p. 32 b, 132 d; and another *Σμικρίνης* has the same syllable short in Meineke's *Com.* vol. iv p. 120. As Prof. Murray himself has observed, neither *Αἰσχίνης* nor *Λεπτίνης* is included in Fick's fourteen names. The quantity of the former is determined by Theocr. xiv 2, which refutes the blunder of the Byzantine Christodorus, who makes the penultimate long; and any difficulty that may be felt about *Αἰσχινάδης* in Aristoph. *Pax* 1154 disappears, if we accept in its place either *Αἰσχυνάδου* or *Ἀρχινάδου*.

But Fick cannot really be quoted at the present date as holding that the penultimate of such names is long. We need only turn

from his first edition of 1874 (the work quoted by Prof. Murray), to his greatly altered second edition of twenty years later, to find that in 1894 the termination *-ίνης* gives place to *-ίνης* in the simple and unimpeachable statement:—

'Aus Verbindungen mit dem *i*-Suffixe entstehen die Formen auf *-ίνος* wie *Καλλίνος*, und *-ίνης* wie *Αἰσχίνης*, *Καλλίνης*' (p. 28).

There is nothing to prove the quantity of *Καλλίνης*, but the fact that *Αἰσχίνης* is mentioned just before suggests that Fick had given up the view that *i* in *-ίνης* was long. In any case *-ίνης* has disappeared.

If we now turn from Fick to a scholar whose minute knowledge of all the by-paths of Greek grammar is still unrivalled in Europe, we find Lobeck in his *Pathologiae Sermonis Graeci Prolegomena*, p. 214, clearly distinguishing Greek names ending in *-ίνος* with the penultimate long, from names ending in *-ίνης* with the penultimate short. After pointing out that, in the names of certain foreign rivers (e.g. Ἀκείνης and Βαρδίνης) the penultimate is long, he continues: *sed Graecorum penultima brevis est*.

As examples he gives *Σμικρίνης* (Meineke l.c.), *Κρητίνης* (Scymnus fragm. v 212), *Αἰσχίνης* (Theocr. xiv 2).

In the passage of Rhianus, quoted above, he holds that all the vowels of *Λεπτίνεω* should be pronounced separately, as in *ἀχαινέω* at the end of a pentameter in *Anth.* vi 165, and in *κεγχρίνεω* in Nicander, *Ther.* 464. *Λεπτίνης igitur pronunciationis media correpta*, et similiter alia quibus poetae abstinent, Ἀψίνης, Ἐλπίνης, Μικίνης, Τηλίνης. The short quantity of the penultimate in proper names in *-ίνης* is illustrated by the short quantity of the penultimate in adjectives of the same termination, e.g. *δρυίνης*, *κεγχρίνης*, *ὀξίνης*, *ἐργατίνης*, *τυρακίνης*, all of which have that syllable short in the poets. Metre and accent alike prove the quantity in *κεντρίναι* (Oppian, *Hal.* i. 378); accent alone is enough in *κανλίναι* and *σπαθίναι*.

The terminations *-ίνος* and *-ίνης* are clearly distinguished by Blass in his edition of

Kühner, vol. i 2, p. 280, where the examples given are Φιλίος, Κρατίος, and Αισχίνης, Λεπτίνης. (Πρατίος and Πράτιος may thus exist side by side as parallel forms with penultimate syllables of different quantity.)

English scholars who, in dealing with Demosthenes, have hundreds of times said

Leptines, may rest assured that in that pronunciation they have the approval of Lobeck, as well as of Blass, and may confidently continue to say *Leptines* for the future.

J. E. SANDYS.

PLATAEA.

IN reply to Mr. Grundy's note in the last number of the *Classical Review* (April 1898, p. 161 *sq.*) I most willingly acknowledge that in his monograph on Plataea (p. 7 *sq.*) his reference to the rock-cut graves does not, strictly interpreted, bear the construction which I put on it. There is nothing in Mr. Grundy's language to show that he supposed the graves in question to be those of the men who fell in the battle. I was therefore wrong in assuming that he thought they were so, and I beg him to accept my sincere expression of regret at having attributed to him an opinion which, it appears, he does not hold.

On all other points Mr. Grundy's explanations fail to convince me that I have misapprehended him, or that my attitude, not certainly of incredulity, but of criticism and reserve, towards his topographical theories was other than well founded.

(1) As to the supposed 'Pass No. 2' over Mt. Cithaeron, Mr. Grundy is mistaken in saying that the Austrian map shows a road going over Cithaeron from *Vilia*. His eye has deceived him. The line which he takes to be a road is merely the upper part of a stream which comes down from (but naturally does not cross) the mountain. The stream, Mr. Grundy will observe, is continued below the village and forms a tributary of the *Kokinopotamos*. Its line is quite distinct from that of the road which is shown running, as Mr. Grundy correctly says, from a point south of Eleutheræ to *Vilia*. If on looking again at the map Mr. Grundy still feels any doubt about this, his doubt will be at once dispelled on consulting the larger and far better map of the French Survey, where the stream is indicated in a way not to be mistaken. In its bed a spring (*Source*) is marked, and an aqueduct is indicated by a dotted line coming down from the spring to the village.¹

¹ In case Mr. Grundy should imagine that this dotted line marks a road rather than an aqueduct, I

But in the French, as in the Austrian, map there is no trace of a road crossing the mountain at this point.

Why, by the way, does Mr. Grundy speak of the Austrian map as 'the map of the Austrian survey'? Such language, he will admit on reflexion, might easily mislead readers who do not know that there never has been any survey of Greece as a whole except the French one of 1829-1831; that the map based on that survey (*Carte de la Grèce*, Paris, 1852) is still the only fairly trustworthy one that we possess; and that the Austrian map is substantially a reduction of the French one, embodying, it is true, some new material, but marred by such monstrous blunders (Locris, *e.g.* is called Phthiotis, Eleusis appears in Boeotia, and, *incredibile dictu*, Delphi in Attica) as to render its testimony always open to suspicion except where it either follows the French map or is confirmed by independent evidence. It is surprising that in his recent note as well as in his monograph on Plataea (p. 45) Mr. Grundy should have thought it worth while to refer seriously to this untrustworthy map without checking it carefully by a comparison with its French original. In the present case, though the Austrian map happens not to be incorrect, the larger scale of the French map would have saved Mr. Grundy from the mistake into which he has fallen.

The 'tracks of wheels deeply worn in the limestone rock' which Mr. Grundy describes as visible 'a little to the west of *Kriekouki*' may or may not be good evidence of the existence of the pass for which he contends. Not having seen them I cannot pronounce an opinion. That they exist as Mr. Grundy will ask him to notice, (1) that the line begins at the spring and ends at the village; (2) that roads on the French map are regularly represented by continuous, not by dotted, lines; and (3) that on the same section of the map a similar dotted line in the neighbourhood of Eleusis is identified as an aqueduct by the legend *Aqueduc*.

describes them I have no doubt; but as they are admittedly near *Kriekouki*, it seems quite possible that they belong to an ancient road which crossed Cithaeron, not by Mr. Grundy's supposed 'Pass No. 2,' but by the well-known ancient pass of Dryos-Kephalai, the modern highroad through which actually traverses, as Mr. Grundy is aware, the village of *Kriekouki*. Even if, as Mr. Grundy thinks, the wheel-marks point into another pass to the west of Dryos-Kephalai, it would still have to be proved that this rather than Dryos-Kephalai is the direct route from Athens to Plataea.

A better argument, perhaps, in support of 'Pass No. 2' might have been derived by Mr. Grundy from Baedeker's small map of Greece published to accompany the 1893 edition of his *Griechenland*. Here the road, which the Austrian map shows running from near Eleutherae to *Vilia*, is represented as continued further to the west, then crossing Cithaeron and bending back eastward so as to join the Dryos-Kephalai road above *Kriekouki*. As Baedeker's guide is in general eminently trustworthy (the late admirable German scholar H. G. Lolling, who was mainly responsible for it, probably knew Greece better than any man of our generation), this route has accordingly been marked on my own maps of Attica and Boeotia, but I cannot vouch for it from personal knowledge. If the road is correctly indicated, it may cross Cithaeron either by Mr. Grundy's 'Pass No. 2' or by his 'Pass No. 3'; the map is on too small a scale to admit of certainty on this point. It is to be wished that some classical student in Greece would visit this part of Cithaeron and clear up the matter. He should ascertain not only whether 'Pass No. 2' exists, but further whether, supposing it to exist, the nearest road from Athens to Plataea goes by it rather than, as I incline to believe, by the pass of Dryos-Kephalai.

(2) As to the question of the 'Island' I see no reason to modify in any respect what I have already written on the subject. My difficulties in accepting Mr. Grundy's theory were and are two. The first is that the streams which flow on either side of the supposed 'Island' do not meet until far down in the plain, and that therefore the resemblance of the place to an island is not striking. That

the streams do not meet until far down in the plain, or at least that they did not do so when he saw them a few years ago, is admitted by Mr. Grundy himself, but he suggests that they may have met further up at an earlier time. Leake's map of Plataea, he says, 'shows that these streams did join one another in his time close to the foot of the *νήσος* indicated.' Here again I am reluctantly obliged to differ from Mr. Grundy. In Leake's map the streams appear to me to meet clearly and indubitably, not at the foot of the ridge which Mr. Grundy identifies as the 'Island,' but far down in the plain. Even if it were otherwise I should attach but little weight to the circumstance. Leake spent only part of two days at Plataea, and his map, which covers a great area, cannot pretend to accuracy of detail.

My second objection to Mr. Grundy's 'Island' is that the ridge which he would identify as such is twice or thrice as far from the Asopus as Herodotus says the 'Island' was. (By the Asopus I mean of course the stream which, as Mr. Grundy says in his monograph, p. 45, 'is conspicuously the main stream,' and which was invariably pointed out to him by the natives as the Asopus.) The truth of this objection is not disputed by Mr. Grundy. His present proposal to take the name Asopus from what, in his own words, 'is conspicuously the main stream' and to transfer it to a tributary which would suit his theory better, is not one that commends itself to me.

(3) To Mr. Grundy's theory that only the north-west corner of Plataea—the corner now cut off by an inner fortification-wall—was the city besieged by the Peloponnesians in the fifth century B.C., I have objected that this inner wall is later than the fifth century, indeed later than almost all the rest of the walls. Mr. Grundy assents, but argues that this late wall may perhaps occupy the site of an earlier one. No doubt it may, but the reason Mr. Grundy gives for thinking that it does so (namely that the wall is of the same thickness as the others) seems to me far too slight to allow any stress to be laid on it.

J. G. FRAZER.

THE DATE OF THE TEMPLE OF ASCLEPIUS AT ATHENS.

It seems to me impossible that Aristophanes in the *Plutus* can be speaking of the Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἐν ἄστει, but I have never seen any objection made to that interpretation, and I find that Dr. Frazer in his great work on Pausanias accepts it. It may at any rate be worth while raising the question.

In the *Vespae* 121 we are told that Bdelycleon took his father across to Aegina to place him in the temple of Asclepius, whence it may be inferred that there was no Asclepieum in Athens or Peiraeus for the reception of patients when that play was written. In the *Plutus* 655 sq. the words

πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἤγομεν...
ἐπειτα πρὸς τὸ τέμενος ἤμην τοῦ θεοῦ,

surely imply a neighbourhood to the seashore which can only indicate the temple at Peiraeus. The deductions would be that in 422 B.C. there was no Asclepieum either at Peiraeus or Athens; that the temple at Peiraeus was built between 422 and 388, and that the Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἐν ἄστει was built at some date after 388, though there may have been a smaller shrine and a sacred well earlier, to which possibly the passage in the

Memorabilia (iii. 13, 3) may refer. If this conjecture is right it will not controvert the evidence from style and material which are said by Dr. Frazer to suggest a date for the latter temple 'not earlier than the fourth century.'

There is another bit of circumstantial evidence which tends to support my contention that the temple is later than the date of the *Plutus*. It is said in an inscription (*C.I.A.* ii. 1650, noticed by Dr. Frazer) to have been founded by a Telemachus; and from 1649 and 1442 this Telemachus seems to belong to Acharnae. In fragments of Timocles, of the Middle Comedy, a Telemachus of Acharnae is more than once mentioned:

ὁ δ' Ἀχαρνικὸς Τηλέμαχος ἔτι δημηγορεῖ,
Koch, ii. 454,

cf. 459, 461. [For these references I am indebted to Dr. Rutherford.] If Telemachus was founder of this temple, and also a contemporary of Timocles, it is not likely that it was founded until several years after the date of the *Plutus*.

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NOTE ON PINDAR *PYTHIAN* II. 161 sqq.

χρὴ δὲ πρὸς θεὸν οὐκ ἐρίζειν,
ὅς ἀνέχει ποτὲ μὲν τὰ κείνων, τότε αὐθ' ἐτέροις
ἔδωκεν μέγα
κῦδος. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταῦτα νόον
ιαίνει φθονερῶν στάθμας δέ τινος ἑλκόμενοι
περισσὰς ἐνέπαξαν ἑλκος ὀδυναρὸν
ἔᾳ πρόσθε καρδίᾳ,
πρὶν ὅσα φροντίδι μητίονται τυχεῖν.
φέρειν δ' ἐλαφρῶς ἐπαυχνιον λαβόντα ζυγόν
ἀρήγει· ποτὶ κέντρον δὲ τοι
λακτισδόμεν τελέθει
ὀλισθηρὸς οἶμος.

It is difficult to get any suitable meaning out of ll. 166–170 if στάθμη is taken as = γραμμή, the line across the stadium at the starting or winning place (Fennell), and as Mr. Fennell says 'dragging at a measuring-line is not satisfactory.' But what is a measuring-line or plummet? A rope with one end weighted, μολιβαχθῆς στάθμη

(Anthol. P. 6, 103). It seems no undue stretch of language to apply this word to the halter of a horse as used at the present day: it too is a rope with a weight at the end, στάθμη τις. The unweighted end of the halter is passed through a ring at the manger and attached to the stall-collar of the horse. As the animal moves he pulls at the rope and the weight rises or falls according to his movements. If he strains at the rope the stall-collar would naturally gall his chest and inflict a ἑλκος—πρὶν ὅσα φροντίδι μητίονται τυχεῖν. Thus the lines would form part of the equine metaphor which follows and all abrupt change of metaphor is avoided. Besides the idea of unduly straining after the impossible to one's own hurt is thoroughly in keeping with the preceding lines and with the general drift of the ode.

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NOTE ON ARISTOPHANES, *WASPS*, 107—110.

ὥσπερ μέλιττ' ἢ βομβυλίδος εἰσέρχεται,
 ὑπὸ τοῖς ὄνυξι κηρὸν ἀναπεπλασμένος.
 ψήφων δὲ δέισας μὴ δεηθεῖν ποτέ,
 ἦν' ἔχοι δικάζειν, αἰγιαλὸν ἔνδον τρέφει.

Is it possible that the *bee* simile is continued in ll. 109—110? Aristotle *H. A.* 9, 40 says of bees:—

ὅταν δ' ἀνεμος ᾗ μέγας, φέρουσι λίθον ἐφ'
 ἑαυτοῖς ἔρμα πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα.

So too Vergil *Georgics* iv. 194 *sqq.*

(Apes) saepe lapillos

Ut cumbae instabiles fluctu iactante sa-
 burram

Tollunt, his sese per inania nubila librant.

This use of ballast by bees seems to have been accepted as a fact by ancient popular science, and a reference to it in the mouth of the quick-witted Xanthias need not surprise us, though it might be out of place if it came from his duller companion Sosias. Similarly cranes were supposed to swallow stones for ballast, as we know from Aristoph. *Birds* 1137 and 1429.

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PARALLELS TO VIRG. *ECL.* I. 5 AND JUV. VIII. 20.

VIRG. *Ecl.* i. 5

resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.

The commentators do not (so far as I have noted) quote, as parallels to this passage, the following lines from the Spanish poet Garcilaso:—

Elisa soi, en cuyo nombre suena
 Y se lamenta el monte cavernoso—
 Y llama á Elisa: Elisa á bona llena
 Responde el Tajo.

with these words compare Cervantes *Don*

Quijote part i. cap. 51 (ad fin.) in the Goat-herd's story.

Juvenal viii. 20

nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.

Compare of course Tennyson's well known 'tis only noble to be good'; and see, for an almost exactly similar passage, Cervantes *D.Q.* part i. cap. 36 (in Dorothea's beseeching prayer to Don Fernando). Bacchylides (i. 22 ed. Kenyon) has *φαμί καὶ φάσω μέγιστον κῦδος ἔχειν ἀρετῶν*. Cf Dante *Convito* (Trat. Quart. 101-2).

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ON THE WORD *προσελοῦμεν* (AR. *RAN.* 730).

THE only other authority for this peculiar word is Aesch. *Pr.* V. 438 where we have *προσελούμενον*. The reading in each case is due to Porson, the MSS. having *προσελοῦμεν* and *προσελούμενον*. L. and S. give for the simple verb **φσελεῖν*, a form which they do not deign to support or indeed explain. **ἐσελεῖν* and **ὀσελεῖν* are no better. So *προσελοῦμεν* which Porson restored is nothing more or less than a fabrication metri gratia.

Now Stobaeus 241, 37 (Meineke, vol. 2, p. 84) in quoting Aristophanes writes *προυγελοῦμεν*, and Hesychius has *προυγελεῖν ἰβρίζειν*. Following this clue I suggest that the true form of the word is *προσποδοῦμεν*, a compound of *σποδεῖν* not hitherto found. The

force of the preposition is illustrated by *προπηλακίζειν*, which indeed is also used by Hesychius to gloss *προυγελεῖν*.

Compare ΠΡΟΣΠΟΔΟΥΜΕΝ

with ΠΡΟΟΓΕΛΟΥΜΕΝ.

We must suppose that the corruption in the texts of Aeschylus and Aristophanes set in very early. It is certainly curious that in each case it took the same form, omitting Π and changing ΟΔ to ΕΛ.

Finally, *σποδεῖν* is common to Aeschylus and Aristophanes: *κατασποδεῖν* occurs once in each and nowhere else: the analogy seems to favour *προσποδεῖν*.

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CRITICAL NOTES ON BACCHYLIDES.

To the very great number of corrections proposed by English and foreign scholars I add the following observations:

iii. 43. Perhaps:—θεότιμο]ν ἄστυ. Cp. xi. 2, ix. 98.

57. ἄπιστον οὐδὲν ὅ τι θεῶν μέριμνα | τεύχει. I prefer the subjunctive τεύχῃ as in the similar passage xvii. 117 ἄπιστον ὅ τι δαίμονες | θέλωσιν (no change is needed) οὐδὲν φρενοῦράις βοροίσις.

69. Possibly: [θεοφι]λῇ φίλιππον ἄνδρ' ἀρήιον (this with Headlam). Θεοφιλῆς is a very apt epithet for Hieron, whom the poet compares with the θεοφιλῆς Croesus.

76. ὁ δ' ἀναξ—εἴπε Φέρη[τος υἱ]. Rather: ὁ δ' κτέ. *Quod—dixit.*

87. εὐφροσύνα δ' ὁ χρυσός. These words without αἰεῖ offer no sense whatever, and the same objection can be made against Prof. Housman's εὐφρόσυνος δ'. One expects something like οὐ φθόριμος δὲ χρυσός, without the article. Χρυσοῦ οὐχ ἄπτεται ἴος. However, the article seems to be chosen in reference to vs. 17, and therefore I conjecture with the slightest change: οὐ σάπετ' ὁ (=αἰε) εὐφροσύνα δ' ὁ χρυσός. 'Αέ is a Pindaric form. The sense would be *perennis fons laetitiae*.

v. 48. ἔται (rather ἔται) νεόκροτον | νίκαν Ἰέρωνι—τιτύσκων. Instead of the obscure νεόκροτον I propose νεόκριτον. Cp. fr. 12, 6. Possible also is νεόκτιτον. Cp. xvii. 126.

65. οἶά τε φύλλ' ἄνεμος | Ἴδος ἀνὰ μηλοβότους | πρῶνας ἀργηστὰς δονεῖ. The metre favours rather more this reading: οἶά τε φύλλα πνέων—Ἀργηστὰς. The subst. ἄνεμος could be a gloss.

106. Perhaps: ἐς καλλίχορον Καλυδῶν', <δς> | ἔνθα πλημύρων σθένει κτέ.

146. Write ἐξεναρίζων for ἐξαναρίζων. Cp. xiii. 118 and Pindar N. vi. 57.

200. τοὺς—Ζεὺς ἀκινήτους ἐν εἰρήν[α φυλάσσει]. Rather φυλάσση.

viii. 6–9. I propose: οὔτις ἀνθρώπων κ[λεεν] | νᾶς <τοῦδ'> ἐν ἄλικι χρόνῳ | παῖς ἐὼν ἀνήρ τε π[οσὶ] στεφάνους πλεῦ | νας ἐδέξατο κτας, admitting the correction κλεεν-νᾶς for κλεεννᾶς and the insertion ποσὶ κτέ. of Prof. Platt.

ix. 35, 36. αἰθέρ' ἐκ χειρός, βοάν<τ'> ὤρινε λαῶν | ἢ τελευταίας ἀμάρυμα πάλας. For ἢ there is proposed δὴ or οἱ or καὶ, but the H of the MS. signifies ἦ. Cp. Pind. O. xiii. 63 and Bergk's evident correction of N. iv. 64. The addition of τ' and the reading ὤρινε

instead of ὤτρινε (the same has occurred to myself) are due to Prof. Housman.

ix. 55, 56. In regard to the metre I should prefer μέγ[ιστον] | [Ζηνὸς ἃ πλαθείσα λέ]χει το ἃ Διὸς πλαθείσα λέχει, proposed by Prof. Blass and other critics.

63. Perhaps κ[ήνδαλ]ς αἴτ' ἄλλαι θεῶν. Cp. xiii. 63. In the preceding verse Aegina seems to have been mentioned, as in the other passage.

96. Possibly: [κ]αὶ Διων[ύσοι] ἱερὰν θεοτίματον πόλιν. Cp. ii. 2, x. 34, 35.

101. Perhaps: [ὄτ]τι καλὸν φρ[ονιμὸν τ'].

102. αἰνέοι τῖμῳ [— — —] Mr. Kenyon edits. But the iota in τιμῇ and its composites being long, τι and μο ought to be separated.

x. 20. [ἔνθα προῦφηνας] Ἑλλασιν κτέ. Write προῦφαναs.

23. ἐστα[.....] δ' αὐτῇ θεατήρων ἐλαίφ. The reading of the first hand θεατήρων can be defended by θάσθαι, ἄσαι and similar Aristophanic forms. Cp. θαητός and θαέομαι in Pindar.

48. ἄνδρα πολλῶν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων πολυζήλων ἔμμεν. This single verse corresponds with the last two verses of the strophe. Therefore I conjecture:

48. ἄνδρα πολλῶν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων

<—————>

48b. <—————> πολυζήλων ἔμμεν.

The first hemistichion can have been for instance: ἀγασθέντ' ἀμφὶ νίκας.

xi. 26, 27. δίκας κέλευθον εἰ μὴ τις ἀπέτραπεν ὀρθᾶς. A most awkward and unnatural expression! Read δίκαν κέλευθον κτέ., and all will be right.

69–72. λίσσοντο δὲ παῖδας Ἄβαντος | γὰν πολύκριθον λαχόντας | Τίρυνθα τὸν ὀπλοτέρων | κτίζειν. Perhaps λαχόντα. However, the plural may be right.

85. τὸν δ' εἶλεν ἄχος κραδίαν, ξείν | α τέ νιν πλάξεν μέριμνα. The accent of ξείνα is added by Mr. Kenyon, who compares Aesch. Prom. 707, where nevertheless ξένος has the usual signification of *strange*. I don't hesitate a moment to correct: δεινὰ τέ νιν πλάξεν μέριμνα.

xiii. 17–20. [οὐ γὰρ] δαμασίμβροτος αἰθων | [χαλκ]ὸς ἄπλάτων θέλει | [πεῖρε]ιν διὰ σώματος.

Better would be, I think: [χωρ]εῖν διὰ σώματος.

77–80. Perhaps: ὀπότε Π[ηλείδας] | [ἀν]ά- [να]τ' ἀ[λκὰν κῆρ τε μ]ᾶνιν | ὠρίνα[το, Δαρδανί-

δαν] | τ' ἔλυσεν ἄ[ταν]. To Prof. Platt are due ἡνάνατ' (but Baech. and Pind. are using the Doric augment) ἀλκὰν and ἄταν, to Profs. Blass and Jebb μᾶνιν. The reading of the MS. ὠρέινα... is the orthography of the imperial era, like τειμά, etc., not of the fifth century B.C. The inverse error Ποσιδᾶν for Ποσειδᾶν has sometimes been corrected by the editor, often not.

150-153. σὺν εὐ | κλεία δὲ φιλοστεφ[άνω] | πόλιν κυβερνᾷ, εἰνομία δὲ σάοφρων.

Rather εἰνομία τ' εἰ σάοφρων.

xiv. 23. Possibly :

ὃς φιλοξείνου τε καὶ ὀρθοδίκου |
[πατρὸς πέφυκεν (οἱ πεφυκὼς)]...

xvi. 6. δολιχαύχενι κυ[κνω] [ὅπῃ ἡ]δεῖα φρένα περπόμενος. The poet wrote κυ[κνον], using the notorious *transpositio epithetorum*, and [ἀ]δεῖα.

xvi. 34. ὅτ' ἐπὶ ποταμῷ ῥοδόεντι Λυκόρμα. After first reading this passage, I proposed to Mr. Kenyon ῥοθέοντι or ῥοθόεντι, and he answered me that ῥοδόεντι might be defended by ἀνθεμόεντα Ἑβρον v. 5. Wild flowers on the banks of a river are not unusual, but roses, I think, very uncommon. Now Prof. W. Christ has also proposed the last conjecture ῥοθόεντι; this offers the smallest change, but because this word is found nowhere, ῥοθέοντι may seem still more probable.

xvii. 41-45. οὐ γὰρ ἄν θέλοι | μ' ἀμβρότοι' ἔρανν' ἄο[ις] ἰδεῖν φάο[ς], ἐπεί τιν' ἦθε[ω]-
| σὺ δαμάσειας ἄεον | τα.

I should like to read: ἰδεῖν φάο[ς] ἔτ', εἴ τιν' κτέ.

77-80. Κρονί[δας] | δέ τοι πατὴρ ἄναξ τελεῖ | Ποσειδᾶν ὑπέροταν | κλέος χθόνα κατ' εὐδενδρον. The metrical correction of Mr. Kenyon, ἡνδενδρον, is very unsatisfactory, because this is a most awkward epithet of the earth. If I don't deceive myself, the reading ΕΥΔΕΝΔΡΟΝ is a corruption of ΕΥΡΥΕΔΡΟΝ, χθόνα εὐρύεδρον, as the poet wrote in imitation of his greater uncle Simonides, cited in Plato's *Protag.* 345 C εὐρυεδοῦς ὅσοι καρπὸν αἰνύμεθα χθονός, exactly as he imitates the same xiii. 72 by writing πανδαμάτωρ χρόνος.

xvii. 129. ἦθει δ' ἐγγύθεν | νέοι παιάνισαν ἔρατᾷ ὅπῃ.

I am at a loss to understand what ἐγγύθεν means here. Could it be said in opposition to the widespread and distant sound of the waves: ἔκλαγεν δὲ πόντος, or is the word the corruption of some other, for instance δὲ κηρόθεν (= ἐκ καρδίας) or δὲ πάντοθεν? For the metre cp. 62, 63. But a more probable

correction seems to be δ' ἐνδοθεν, said in antithesis to the waves out of the ship.

132. ὅπαζε θεόπομπον ἐσθλῶν τυχάν. I don't believe that ἐσθλῶν is defensible, and should like to read ἐσθλάν.

xix. 9. ὕφαιné νυν ἐν ταῖς πολυηράτοις τε κλεινὸν ὀλβίαις Ἀθάναις.

With Prof. Tyrrell I prefer the reading of the first hand, καινόν. Cp. Horat. *Carm.* iii. 26, 13; iv. 2, 10. The novelty of this poem was perhaps the celebration of Io in her quality of προμήτωρ of Dionysos.

29-36. εἴτ' οὖν—Ἄργον· ἡ ῥά—, ἡ—ἀνά-
πανσιν. These words contain a triple supposition of the poet, and therefore ought to be written: εἴτ' οὖν—, ἡ ῥά—, ἡ—.

Fragm. 46, 6. ἐν δὲ σιδαροδέτοις πόρπαξιν αἰθᾶν | ἀραχνᾶν ἱστοὶ πέλονται. Are not Soph. *fr.* 264 (Nck.²) πέλτα δ' ἐρίθων ἀραχνᾶν βρίθει and Eur. *fr.* 369 κείσθω δόρυ μοι μίτον ἀμφιπλέκειν ἀράχνας to be considered as imitations of this passage? V. 12 παιδικοί θ' ὕμνοι φλέγονται. Bergk's correction φλέγοντι seems indubitable.

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i. 6. ἀχρεὶ ολοῖ μάχας.

If the letter before ολοι is β the word cannot well be anything but συμβολοῖ. Mr. Kenyon says the first letter in the line is 'perhaps cancelled' and I believe Mr. Nairn was on the right track in proposing χρεία or something of the sort. Possibly χρείαισι συμβολοῖ, adopting the same scholar's beautiful θυμὸν ἔχων ὅποτε in the line before. The number of letters is just that marked by Kenyon, if we count ι and σ as half one each, which they about are. But χρείαισι is not quite satisfactory, I think, though I do not believe anyone would have challenged it had it been found in the MS.

iii. 33. ἔνθα σὺν ἀλόχῳ τε κεδνᾷ
σ[ὶν] τ' εὐπλοκάμοις... θυγατράσι.

The facsimile shows that there is not room for ντ' in 34, and Mr. Kenyon confirms my opinion. We must read then σὺν εὐπλοκάμοις, the construction being σὺν τε—σὺν=σύν τε—καί. So at 15 of the same ode we have βρύνει μὲν—βρύνουσι=βρύνει μὲν—δέ. For illustrations of both see *C.R.* vol. x. p. 381.

iii. 55. Ζεὺς ἐπιστάσας μελαγκυθὲς νέφος
σβέννυνε ξανθὰν φλόγα.

This detail of the cloud and rain which extinguishes the pyre of Croesus shows that already in Bacchylides the myth appears in a contaminated form. If Apollo carried Croesus off to the Hyperboreans it could not much matter whether the fire were put out or not. As both the poet and Herodotus agree in this detail, it is likely to be original, and perhaps the common foundation of the two different accounts was a story that Croesus was about to burn himself when a storm of rain came on and put out the fire and that Cyrus thus took him alive and treated him kindly. The natural ornament would be to ascribe the deliverance from death to the god Croesus had so munificently honoured, and thence diverged two distinct legends.

The words ξανθὰν φλόγα suggest that we should read βόας οἱ φλόγ' ἀπὸ ξανθὰν (ξανθὰν vulg.) γένων πνέον at *Pyth.* iv. 225. If one thinks of it, ξανθὰν γένων is an odd phrase, especially of the fire-breathing bulls. Cf. also Bacch. frag. xli. 4.

iii. 92. τρέφει seems too short; rather τράφει.

v. 8. δεῦρ' ἄθρησον < σὺν > νόφ.

No doubt νόφ was in the papyrus and Mr. Kenyon's σὺν is technically very good, but I think B. more likely wrote εἰνός. A poet does not say to a king 'attend if you can,' he asks him to listen graciously. Cf. *Pyth.* ii. 69.

16. αἰνεῖ Ἱέρωνα first hand, rightly I suspect; the whole passage has got into such confusion that one cannot guess how it stood at first. Besides the metrical impossibilities, and κλεινὰν and κλεινὸς close together, surely γάρων ἐκ στηθέων χέων is a bald sort of phrase.

56. [τλῆναι] would be a better supplement than [καὶ μάν]. The first hand wrote ἐρεψιπύλαν corrected to ἐριψιπύλαν; was the correction meant for ἐρεψιπύλαν? Fick would restore ἀνθρώπων in Homer. If so it would mean 'he who carried off or tore away the gates.' More probably however the corrector was confusing the word with ῥίπτω (cf. L. and S. s.v. ἀνείρομαι). It is curious that at *Septem* 867 the Medicean has ἐρριψίταχοι corrected to ἐρριψίτοιχοι. For the meaning of the epithet see Mr. Leaf on *Iliad* E 395; Heracles broke open the gates of Hades.

ix. 35. βοάν τ' ὤρινε (Housman) λαῶν
ἢ τελευταίας ἀμάρτυγμα πάλας.

The subject to ὤρινε (or ὥτρυνε either)

ought to be Automedes. To say that the *wrestling* roused the spectators to enthusiasm calls away our attention from the athlete himself to the struggle. This objection is obviated no doubt by Mr. Housman's οἱ for ἦ, but do you like οἱ? I should prefer his καί. There is not much transcriptional probability about ἐς but it would give better sense, 'to the very end of the wrestling,' and also gives much more force to τελευταίας, which is plainly weak if it only mean that the wrestling came last in the pentathlon. Perhaps, however, the sense I desiderate can hardly be got fairly out of τελευταίας πάλας.

- x. 15 ὁσσά<κισ> Νίκας ἕκατι
ἀνθεσιν ξανθ[αν] ἀναδησάμενος κεφαλὰν
κῦδος εὐρέαις Ἀθάναις
θήκας, Οἰνείδαις τε δόξαν
ἐν Ποσειδάνος περικλειτοῖς αἰέθλοις,
20 ας Ἐλλασιν ποδῶν ταχέαν
ὁρμάν.
. ροισιν ἐπὶ σταδίον
θερμ πνέων ἄελλαν
ἔστα δ' αὐτὴ θεατήρων ἐλαίῳ
φάρε ν ἐμπίπτων ὅμιλον.
25 τετρ νεπεί
καμ μον Ἰσθμιονίκαν
δίς ν ἀρυσαν εἰβούλων
ων προφάται.

This passage is perhaps the most tantalizing in Bacchylides; it looks as if it could be filled up *somehow* with ease, and yet when one tries one is met by a veritable hedge of obstacles. I despair of making a satisfactory whole, but am in hopes of having at least made some way towards a restoration. Let us begin by distinguishing between the practically certain and the merely probable or purely speculative, though one cannot lay down strict bounds between them.

Certain then appear to me to be the following points. First, we must put a full stop at the end of 18. It is impossible to suppose that the poet, when beginning a catalogue of the victor's successes at many games all over Greece (19—35), started by saying 'how often he won victories at the Isthmus.' He said of course: 'We will sing how many crowns he has won. First, two at the Isthmus' and so on. That ὁσσάκισ (Tyrrell, Wilamowitz and myself) is right in 15 appears clear, but whatever you read there the general sense is the same. The second thing that appears almost certain, and for this I am indebted to Mr. Housman, is that in 21 we must accent ἐπι and suppose . . . ροῖσι to be a dative governed by it, τέρμασιν or the like being in the

lacuna. Mr. Jebb's *κούρουσιν* looks very plausible at first sight but his restoration makes the victor run *behind* his competitors. And *ἐπὶ σταδίου* is at least very strange. Thirdly in 23 we are bound to suppose δ' (if for δὲ and not the last letter of some other word) to be the second word in its clause, for Bacchylides scarcely ever puts it third; and when he does, it is in a very mild way, as at x. 46, xviii. 53. Therefore we must supply a verb before it, and this verb must have been something like *ράινεν* or *μίανεν*. Ridiculous indeed it appears to me to say that the victor 'rushed into the throng of the spectators and smeared their garments with oil,' but there seems no help for it. Fourthly in 24, as *ἐμπίνων* cannot govern an accusative (at *Nem.* vii. 31 *ἐν=ἐς*), we must begin the line with *φάρε' ἐς*. Then 25 must begin with *τετράκι* and must go on with a connecting particle, for otherwise we have no connexion in the whole passage. In 27 *νιν* (Kenyon) and *ἀγκάρυξαν* (Jebb) are clearly right, and in 28 I have before observed that we must read *ἀγωνάρχων* or something of the kind.

We have now got a considerable framework into which to fit some more guesses. At 20 we seem compelled to accept *προῦφνης* (Kenyon) or some other second person. The difficulty is that we have got to shift from the second to the third somewhere for in 27 we have the third and apparently also in 25. And the transition seems very abrupt wherever we put it. The only natural place for bringing in the third person seems to be this very line; hence I long tried to get some word in *-ασε (-ας')* but can find none that will do, and besides the papyrus so regularly marks elisions that it is great odds there was no elision here. The transition must be made then at the epode (21). In 21 I think *τέρμασιν τ'* (or δ' or even γ') *ἄκροισιν ἐπὶ σταδίου* extremely probable; compare *Pyth.* ix. 114, *τέρμασιν ἀγῶνος*, 118, *ποτὶ γραμμῇ τέλος ἄκρον*. In both these lines appears the verb *ἔστασε* which reminds one of the *ECTA* here, but it seems impossible to get an accusative in if we read *ἔστασ'* or *ἔστασε(ν)*. And another curious parallel between the two passages is Pindar's *ψαύσειε πέπλοις* (120) beside the *φάρεα* which the hero of Bacchylides apparently besmirches; and again we have *ὄμιλον* directly after in both poets. Had Bacchylides got the whole passage of Pindar in his head? If so the ode would probably have been written soon after 478.

In 22 the only thing possible seems *ἀπο-*

πνέων. I had thought of *ἔθει πνέων*, but the next line seems to bar that. In 23 *faute de mieux* I propose *ἔστα μίανεν* (or *μίανεν*). If we accept δ' *αἶτε*, the reading of the third hand, and I think we are bound to do so, and if we look at the way *αἶτε* is used by Pindar, it is clear that we want some contrast of *time*; the meaning then would be: 'At the goal of the course, with hot tempestuous panting, he stood (a moment), and then again dashed into the throng of the spectators, smearing their dresses with oil.' We often do see the winner of a race stand thus for a moment and then turn and run off among the spectators or to the dressing-room. And in the circumstances of Greek running a man might well amuse himself by scattering the spectators in their clean new cloaks, all of them flying right and left to escape his greasy body; nor is it inconceivable that a poet might deign to commemorate the jest. The picturesqueness of the description is like the manner of Bacchylides. But *μίανεν* is hardly the right word—if I could get it in I should prefer *χραῖνεν*. Possibly *ἔστας, ἔχραινες*. Cf. v. 44.

For the rest I will simply write out the passage in the form I have got it into:

- 15 ὅσσά<κισ> Νίκας ἔκατι
 ἄνθεσιν ξανθὰν ἀναδυσάμενος κεφαλὰν
 κῦδος εὐρείαις Ἀθάναις
 θήκας Οἰνεΐδαις τε δόξας.
 ἐν Ποσιδάνος περικλειτοῖς ἀέθλοις
 20 πᾶσι προῦφνης Ἑλλασιν ποδῶν ταχεῖαν
 ὁρμάν.
 τέρμασιν τ' ἄκροισιν ἐπὶ σταδίου
 θερμὴν ἀποπνέων ἱελλαν
 ἔστα, μίανεν δ' αἶτε θεατήρων ἐλαίῳ
 φάρε' ἐς ἀγλαὸν ἐμπίντων ὄμιλον
 25 τετράκι δ' — — ἐπεὶ
 κάμψας δρόμον, Ἴσθμιονίκαν
 δῖς νιν ἀγκάρυξαν εὐβούλων — — — προ-
 φᾶται.

We might also begin 20 with *νῖν γε*. To follow up τ' by δ' is common enough to need no apology. I am not aware of any evidence for a race of the length implied by *τετράκι κάμψας δρόμον*, but it would be hard to say why such a distance should not be run sometimes. In 25 I can think of nothing better than δ' *ἄνεν*, which seems too long for the gap and is the wrong tense; δ' *ὥκ' ἐν* looks harder still to get in.

Mr. Jebb defends Mr. Kenyon's *χαρίτων* in 28, as more poetical, and thinks it is Dorian verse. He says truly that *-ων χαρί* is a dactyl, and *-των προφᾶται* a second epitritus. But — — — | — — — | — — — | being what he

says and what I thought, the question is: Can this figure stand in a Dorian rhythm? Let him quote an example from Pindar or Bacchylides and I give way, but there is none unless in the corruption of some fragment. (*Nem.* x. 1 is of course not to the point; Pindar has other instances of a short introduction something like it, as in *Pyth.* ix., and the two short syllables before the dactyl seem essential). 'Αεθλάρχων he says is too long, but χαρίτων is manifestly too short¹; considering the small space occupied by ε, θ, ρ, I think αεθλάρχων might go in; I certainly have much doubt whether αγωνάρχων could. To say that αεθλάρχων προφάται is too prosy is to appeal to taste; I appeal to Pindar who talks of the Έλλανοδίκας giving the prize at *Olymp.* iii. 12, and says Πυθιάδος κάρυξ ἀνείπει νιν in *Pyth.* i. 32. Doubtless αεθλάρχων προφάτης is more prosy than these, but not much; it stands to them as B. in general does to Pindar. And what were the λευκίππων Μυκηναίων προφάται in Pindar, frag. 216? If εἰβούλων is not the prosiest word to apply to the Graces which any poet could have found by trying, it is hard to say what would be; Mr. Kenyon saw this and therefore forced the interpretation 'favouring' upon it. But I wish someone would hit on a better supplement than mine.

x. 41. ἡ τινα θενπροπιάν εἰδός.

Spoilt from *Iliad* Λ 794, Π 36. There it is apt, because it is a question of a single oracle; here a single oracle would be nonsense, and the word must mean prophetic skill, the τινα being a meaningless echo of Homer.

xi. 77. τεῖχος δὲ Κύκλωπες κάμον.

Mr. Jebb objects to κάμοντ' that the middle use of it in Homer precludes its use here, where the middle is inappropriate. But the Homeric use is not so very clear. At Σ 341 no doubt καμόμεσθα means 'we won for ourselves by toil,' but at ι 130 the use is plainly different, for ἐκάμοντο there does not mean 'for themselves'; on the contrary σφιν is added, meaning 'for the Cyclopes.' And surely the real middle force of the verb consists in its meaning *for oneself*. The old explanation of νῆσον ἐϋκτιμένην ἐκάμοντο was 'tilled the fertile island' and I believe it is right. (Eust.

¹ Of this an easy demonstration may be obtained by taking the measure of the same word lower down in the column and comparing it with the gap here. By similar measurement of αεθλ and αρχ in other passages it appears that αεθλάρχων will just go in.

1619, 49 apud Ebeling). Ebeling says further on: οἱ κέ σφιν νῆσον ἐκτιμένην ἐκάμοντο i.e. κάμνοντες ἐποίησαντο.' This predicative use of ἐκτιμένην looks more Virgilian than Homeric; however, let it be predicative, still if, as great authorities say, ἐκάμοντο = κάμνοντες ἐποίησαντο, it is evident that κάμοντο exactly suits the sense in Bacchylides.

Or again let us admit for a moment that Mr. Jebb is right in saying that ἐκάμοντο in the *Odyssey* means 'won.' Well, in Apollonius it certainly does not. And Bacchylides is half way between the two. And why should he not have mistaken the meaning of Homer's word as much as Apollonius, who was much more of a Homeric scholar in all probability?

Hence it seems that κάμοντ' does not involve any serious difficulty. Whereas κάμον does, for it involves such a piece of scansion as _ _ _ _ = _ _ _ _ in Dorian rhythm.² And it does not correspond to the third epode any better than to the first, for in the third we have _ _ _ _ !

xi. 119. 'γονός (cum γόνυ componit Doed. Gl. 1011 cf. Curt. Et. 170) locus editus. I 534 Σ 57 438 γονῶ ἄλωῃς—sch. A Σ 57 τῷ γονίμῳ τόπῳ τῆς γῆς, ἢ τῷ ὑψηλοτάτῳ, μεταφορικῶς ἀπὸ τῶν γονάτων τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἅπερ ἐξέχει et: τῷ γονίμῳ, τινὲς δὲ τὸ γεώλοφον κ.τ.λ., α 193 ἀνὰ γουνὸν ἄλωῃς οἰνοπέδοιο sch. Q. τὸν γονιμώτατον τόπον, melius sch. A (La Roche) τὸν ὑψηλὸν τόπον ἢ τὸν τραχύν, cf. λ 193 h. Merc. 207, λ 323 ἐς γουνὸν Ἀθηναίων cf. Apoll. Lex. 55, 20, Eust. 23, 28. 772, 28, Hes. utramque expl. habet E. M. 239, 4 et 12 (Herodian.), Or. 38, 6. 39, 5. (Γονόεσσα?).' Ebeling.

Why one should not make an ἄλσος in front of a hill as much as beside a river I do not see.

xiii. 94. Possibly ἀναπαλλομένων or -οις, 'rocked in the cradle of the deep.' The plural refers to ναυτίλους (Blass) in 91. At 97 I agree with Blass and Housman in thinking that the MS. had δ' ἐκόλπωσαν. Or rather δὲ κόλπωσαν, as elision is almost always marked, and there is no mark here. And Bacchylides does not trouble himself about augmenting gnomic aorists.

xv. 57. ἃ δ' αἰόλοισι ψεύδεσσι καὶ ἀφροσύναις ἐξαισίους θάλλονοι' ἀθαμβίης

² Better to say the last syllable of κάμον is lengthened by metrical ictus (I do not believe in it myself, but see Gildersleeve on *Pyth.* iii. 6). Of course the second syllable of πρόγονοι could not be so lengthened in any case. But I hope to say more on the metre on a future occasion.

ἔβρις, ἃ πλοῦτον δύνανμι τε θοῶς
60. ἄλλότριον ὥπασεν, αὖτις
[δ'] ἐς βαθὺν πέμπει φθόρον.
κείνα καὶ ὑπερφιάλους
γᾶς παῖδας ὤλεσεν γίγαντας.

The trouble of this passage is caused by the relative ἃ followed by δ', to obviate which I proposed σφ' in 61. But it certainly seems, as Mr. Jebb remarks, that δ' was the reading of the MS. I now suspect that δ' ought simply to be omitted, not merely because it introduces a construction foreign to our poet, but on metrical grounds. We learn from the only other surviving epode that lines 61 and 62 are not in reality two, but one. And hence one is naturally inclined to suppose that the true division of lines is this:

ἃ δ' αἰόλοις ψεύδεσσι καὶ ἀφροσύναις ἐξαισίους
θάλλουσι θάμβησιν
ἔβρις ἃ πλοῦτον δύνανμι τε θοῶς ἄλλότριον
ὥπασεν αὖτις
[δ'] ἐς βαθὺν πέμπει φθόρον. κείνα καὶ ὑπερ-
φιάλους
γᾶς παῖδας ὤλεσεν γίγαντας.

For though there is the highest uncertainty about it, yet this arrangement seems to me at any rate far more reasonable than any other. But if so, δ' or σφ' would either of them be very dubious. Pindar indeed, does not mind beginning a line with an enclitic or a particle like δ'; Bacchylides I believe never does such a thing,¹ being by nature an easy-going man averse to any sort of boldness or harshness. Thus on converging evidence of grammar (somewhat strong) and metre (in itself most uncertain) we are led, it seems, to conclude that δ' should be struck out.

xvii. 43. ἰδεῖν MS., ἐσιδεῖν Housman *metri gratia*. I should prefer ἐπιδεῖν, 'I should not care to live to see to-morrow dawn.'

51. I should have expected δὲ for τε. Minos was angry, *but* instead of showing it, tried to catch Theseus in a trap.

56. *πυριέθειραν ἀστραπὴν* can hardly mean anything but a meteor. Hyginus (Kenyon p. 155) speaks of *tonitrum et fulgorem caeli*, Bacchylides says *ἄστραψε* at 71 which by itself would naturally mean lightning, but an explosion often attends the fall of a meteor, and lightning and meteors are popularly confused even now.

Frag. xiii. 6. Probably ἐσπέραν.

9. [ἀ]ν[δ]ήροις ἁλός. I should be glad to

¹ There are apparent but only apparent instances in the papyrus, as x. 36, 46, xi. 18.

restore this beautiful word to a more respectable poet than has hitherto guaranteed it.

Frag. xlii. (Bergk 3).

παύροις δὲ θνατῶν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῷ
δαίμονι δῶκεν
πράσσοντας ἐν καιρῷ πολιοκρόταφον
γῆρας ἰκνεῖσθαι, πρὶν ἐγκύρσαι δύα.

The rhythm of the first line is very suspicious to say the least, and the sense still more so if any sense there be. Read δαίμων ἔδωκεν and all is smooth. Cf. frag. 50. Nor does ἐν καιρῷ seem right in connexion with τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον; perhaps ἐγκαίρως (ΕΝΚΑΙΡΩC for ΕΝΚΑΙΡΩΙ).

The case for digammati*ng* ἰάνω is greatly strengthened by Mr. Richards' reference to Hesychius. There is perhaps an instance of it in Pindar. In the older editions *Ὀλγμρ.* ii. 13 runs thus: ἀέθλων τε κορυφὰν πόρον τ' Ἄλφεοῦ, ἰανθεῖς ἀοιδαῖς. In the modern the line is divided after Ἄλφεοῦ, and so in all the other strophes. The only reason, I suppose, for this division is the hiatus after Ἄλφεοῦ, but if ἰανθεῖς was digammated there remains none at all. It is true that it upsets the colometry, as arranged by J. H. H. Schmidt, to go back to the old division of lines, but then the colometry of a Paeonian ode is another name for a kaleidoscope.

Talking of the digamma, Böckh observed truly that this letter never makes position in Pindar, neither does it in Bacchylides; hence I retract *μεγαλήντος Ἰέρων* at iii. 64.

After working out the colometry of Bacchylides I am more convinced than ever of the futility of that pleasing pastime. It is extremely easy in a way no doubt, but there is hardly a strophe in which there are not obvious alternatives between which it is absolutely impossible to choose with any sort of certainty. The following points are the only ones of much interest which I raised in the inquiry. The third line of the strophe in ode xiii. is not to be scanned as I proposed in the February number, but as _ _ | _ _ _ | _ _ . For this remarkable colon cf. the first line of the strophes of the eighth Nemean, the only other instance of it with which I am acquainted. (Even here the colometry is not decisive, but I do not think my former proposal will do any way; to discuss the question fully would take more space than it deserves.) At xvi. 19 as usual there are several possibilities,* but I think that μέλλε is right; the second period of this strophe beginning at 17 and being 555.

4. It is the division of lines 19 and 20 that is wrong; they form of course one line in reality and if divided anywhere should be so after κόρη. At xvi. 30 there is a very beautiful effect of a kind not uncommon in Greek verse, the first $\tilde{\alpha}$ being double the value of the second; the most splendid of all such effects is probably εἴη Ζεῦ τιν εἴη ἀνδάνειν in *Pyth.* i. 29, the first εἴη filling two bars and the second only one. In xvi. 35 I believe πάρ (first hand) to be right; the period begins at 31 and runs 4 3 3 4 3 3; hence the last line breaks rhythmically in the middle, whereas if we read παρὰ it breaks after the the second foot.

ARTHUR PLATT.

FIRST let me restore to their rightful owners four conjectures which I published after they had been published by others: i 8 καλὼν Blass, iii 63 γε μὲν Blass, vii 10 Ἀριστομένειον παῖδ' Wilamowitz, xvii 58 καὶ σέ Platt.

v 8-16. δέῃρ' ἄθρησον σὺν νόῳ, | εἰ σὺν Χαρίτεσσι βαθυζώνοις ὑφάνας | ὕμνον ἀπὸ ζαθέας | νόσου ξένος ὑμετέραν | πέμπει ἐς κλεινὰν πόλιν. | χρυσάμπυκος Οὐρανίας | καὶ νὸς θεράπων ἐθέλει | γάρνυ ἐκ στηθέων χέων | αἰνεῖν Ἴερωνα. In 12 I have written ἐς κλεινάν (ἐς θείαν Richards) for κλεινὰν ἐς, since πέμπει must not be altered. Then in 14 I have written καινός for κλινος. This is Bacchylides' first ode to Hiero; and he begins 'You, Hiero, must be, if any one is, a judge of poetry: look hither and see if the Graces had a hand in the verse which a stranger sends from Ceos to Syracuse. A new poet would fain sing Hiero's praises; and a world-wide field for him they are.' The metrical superabundance of 11, 14, 26, 29, is due to a scribe whose ear was displeased by the catalexis: when he came to the second strophe he desisted in despair.

v 129. Ovid *Met.* viii 304 has nothing to do with the name Aphareus or Aphares in this passage. It is true that the best MSS and most modern editors read 'duo Thesiadae, proles Aphareia, Lynceus | et uelox Idas'; but when you come to 434 and 440 *sq.* you find that the Thesiadae are not Lynceus and Idas, but Plexippus and Toxeus: therefore Heinsius is right as usual in following those MSS which give *prolesque*.

v 184. My conjecture (p. 706) should be printed

[ἦλλο]εν Φερένικο<ς ἐ>ς εὐπύργους.

It is merely CCCC for CC.

xi 118-120. Write

ἄλσος τέ τοι ἱμερόεν
κάπευσαν εὐδρον πρὸ γου-
νοῖ ἑσσάμενοι, Πριάμοι' ἐπεὶ κτλ.

κάπευσαν scripsi, κάσαν παρ' MS. πρὸ γουνοῖ Platt, πρόγονοι MS. The scribe glanced from the first *εν* to the second and wrote *καπευδρον*: then he added overhead the omitted *σαν*, but forgot by a natural inadvertence to add also the other *εν*: then *σαν*, wrongly inserted, gave *κασανπευδρον*, and *π* was expanded to *πάρ*'. Certainly *κάπευσαν* and *εὐδρον* go well together: compare the *ἀκήρατος λειμών* of Eur. Hipp. 78, which Αἰδῶς ποταμίαισι κηπεύει δρόσοις: Pindar *Ol.* iii 24 calls the *ἄλσος* at Olympia a *κάπος*. Our *ἄλσος* was in front of a *γουνός* (=ὕψηλός τόπος: the word has no other authenticated meaning), i.e. between the hill and the sea.

'Palmer's von Kenyon aufgenommene Correctur scheint unmöglich' says Blass; '119 steht πρόγονοι ἑσσάμενοι wider die Construction und wider das Metrum, von Palmer unglücklich behandelt' says Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. So far so good: but they both propose the violent alteration *προγόνων ἑσασμένων*, in which *-ον προγόνων* corresponds to *-ες κάμον ἔλθ-* at 77 and would fain correspond to *-οι βροτῶν ἄμ-* at 35, *---* to *---*; and on this I have to make the following remarks.

No type of lyric metre is better known to metrists than the dactylo-epitrite: its nature is simple and its relics are abundant: they form more than half of Bacchylides and Pindar. This correspondence, *--- = ---*, is so extraordinary that Christ, *Metrik* p. 93, declares that he knows no example of it. Crusius, in the paper on Bacchylides with which he has filled twenty-four pages of the first part of this year's *Philologus*, adduces one instance, the last line of the strophes of Alcman's *Parthenion*, frag. 23 Bergk: that poem is not written in this metre, and even that instance is disputed by Bergk iii p. 27. As for the examples which can be quoted from the MSS of Bacchylides and Pindar, they resemble in nature and in number the examples of an anapaest in the third foot of the iambic senarius which can be quoted from the MSS of the Attic tragedians; and if anyone is in danger of heeding them I advise him to write them out on a sheet of paper, look at them, read Porson's preface to the *Hecuba*, and look at them again. When I say that in two out of the scanty sum the short syllable which

should be a long one is the first syllable of Ὀλυμπος, that fact is φωνᾶν συνετοῖσιν. There are perhaps a couple of instances which cannot easily be corrected; but hear Porson: 'loca, quae huic doctrinae aduersantur, tam pauca sunt, tam facilia emendatu pleraque, ut si unus et alter forte supersint, quibus nos mederi nequeamus, non ideo sana iudicanda sint.' In the present case however the question hardly arises: other things being equal, a conjecture which makes 119 tally with the normal metre of 35 will be preferred before a conjecture which makes it tally with the abnormal metre of 77, even supposing 77 to be incorrupt. Moreover there is another way of scanning 77 to match 35: not indeed a legitimate way, but at any rate a less outrageous one. It is to reckon the -ον of κάμον as long. The hypothesis that a short final syllable can be lengthened even at a point which is not the end of a measure has a larger number of MS corruptions to support it, and will help you to defend not merely κάμον at 77 but also πόλιν at 114, μεγαίνετε at iii 64, ἀπωσάμενον at v 189, and ἐσθλόν at xiv 3, where the other theory will prove a broken reed.

xiii 97. The MS, as I said on p. 140b, must have had οὔριαι νότον δ' ἐκόλπωσαν πνοαί]. But the position of δέ is improbable and the change of subject in ἐκόλπωσαν and ἐξίκοντο is awkward; therefore Bacchylides most likely wrote

στόρεσεν δέ τε πόντον
οὔρια, νότον δ' ἐκόλπωσαν πνοαί
ίστίον κτλ.

and the scribes mistook ΠΝΟΑΙ. Compare Meleager in Anth. Pal. ix 363 9 *sq.* quoted in the lexicons. Ludwich (February) has proposed ἐκόλπωσεν πνοά, but that will not account for the οὔριαι of the MS.

xiv 1-7. Write

εἶ μὲν εἰμάρθαι παρὰ δαίμονος ἀν-
θρώποις ἄριστον
συμφορὰ δ', ὃν ἔθελ' ἀμαλδῦ-
[ναι β]αρύτατος μολῶσα,
[θαητ]ὸν ἰδ' ὑψιφανῇ τε[ύ]-
[χει κ]ατορθωθείσα. τιμὰν
δ' ἄλλος ἀλλοίαν ἔχει.

τεύχει Platt and Wilamowitz (February). In 3 the accent on the last letter looks to me like a circumflex, so I write ἀμαλδύναι rather than ἀμαλδύνειν. I have altered ἐσθλόν to ὃν ἔθελ': as ΕCΘΛΩΝ at x 47

stands for ΕCΘΛΩΝ, so here does ΕCΘΛΩΝ stand for ΕΘΕΛ'ΟΝ, though Bacchylides hardly put the words in that order. The stop at the end of 4 marks off, as in many other places, the relative clause from the main part of the sentence. For the metre see iii 83 and xiii 31; for the sense Hor. *serm.* ii 7 86 *sqq.* 'in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus...in quem manca ruit semper fortuna,' where Bacchylides will defend *quem* against Lucian Mueller's *quo*. The μέν of 1 is answered by the δέ of 7: 'it is first and best to be a good piece of God's handiwork, and then disaster does but exalt the man she meant to ruin; but there are more sorts of worth than one.' I have given this paraphrase because, in the other conjectures which I have seen, I do not understand what is supposed to be the connexion in meaning between lines 3-6 and the preceding and following context.

xvii. Μὴ ἐσιδεῖν for ἰδεῖν at 43 becomes quite unnecessary if *φερτάτοι* (Platt and Wilamowitz) is read at 20; for the last four lines of the strophe, 20-23, 43-46, 86-89, 109-112, can then be scanned thus (see p. 136):

ν ~ : ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ | -
φ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ | -
χ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ | -
ψ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~

The penultimate of πατρός in 109 must still be reckoned long, to avoid the concurrence of five short syllables. Then the following alterations will be made in the table of equivalents on p. 137b:

ξ ριγ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
ξυφ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
ηξτυ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

and the equivalent ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ will disappear.

On this hypothesis Mr Pearson's τά[φ]εν will be metrically admissible at 86; and it, like τᾶ[ξ]εν, gives such a sense as the context demands. The purport of this simple tale is so much misunderstood that I must try to explain it, though I do not know how I am to succeed where so lucid a writer as Bacchylides has failed. Minos was sailing before a fair wind from Athens to Crete with the youths and maidens on board, and smitten with love he laid hands on Eriboea, who called to Theseus for help. Theseus cried 'Hold: if you are Zeus' son, I am

Posidon's; and sooner than suffer this I will stand up against you and fight, let come what may.' The seamen were astounded at such audacious words from a stripling to a warrior king: Minos was angered, as anyone would be; but he did not draw sword on the meddlesome youth, nor knock him overboard, nor even have him laid by the heels: he mastered himself and ὑφαίνε ποταινίαν μῆτιν. 'Zeus,' said he, 'if I am your son, show me a sign from heaven,'—and immediately it lightened,—'and Theseus, if you are Posidon's, fish me up this ring out of your father's realm.' He believed of course that Theseus was the son of Aegeus, and expected him to shrink from the test: the young braggart, abashed by detection, would then sit still and hold his tongue. What other motive for the stratagem is conceivable? But Theseus plunged forthwith into the sea, and the heart of Minos was molten in his breast: Posidon's son or not, thought he, this is a brave lad. Eriboea was clean forgotten: we hear her name no more: the return of Theseus finds Minos not pursuing his amour but sunk in thought. No correction of τά[.]εν will be even sufferable unless it signifies some strong revulsion which put Cypris and her gifts altogether out of his head. He accordingly did not order the ship to sail on, which she was doing already without his orders, but he ordered her to be stopped, κέλευσεν ἴσχειν vâa: therefore κατ' οὖρον in 87, as I said on p. 139b, is corrupt, and must either be made

into κάρουρον agreeing with vâa or else into some substantive like ἐπίουρον or ἀκάρουρον (= ναύκληρον) as object of κέλευσε. He gave orders, I say, to stop the ship; but fate ordained another course. The Greek word ὁδόν, between the words ἴσχειν vâa and ἱεροδόν, means the course of the ship. How did fate prevent the stopping of the ship? well, the simplest way of ascertaining is to read what Bacchylides has written. Compare Cowper, *Castaway* 19-24:

He shouted; nor his friends had failed
To check the vessel's course,
But so the furious blast prevailed,
That, pitiless perforce,
They left their outcast mate behind,
And scudded still before the wind.

On therefore they sailed, the youths and maidens trembling and weeping; but Theseus meanwhile was borne by dolphins to the palace of his father, and graced with gifts by Amphitrite, and lo, he reappeared of a sudden by the vessel's side. Ah, in what a train of thought did he arrest the king of Cnossus! The sea-nymphs lifted up their voices, the youths and maidens sang in answer, and all was joy; for the Minotaur, as Wilamowitz-Moellendorff observes, is thrown far into the background. So runs the story. The question is whether you will amend κατ' οὖρον and so remove the single incongruity which breaks its tenour.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

LUTOSLAWSKI'S ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF PLATO'S LOGIC.

The Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic, with an account of Plato's style, and of the chronology of his writings, by WINCENTY LUTOSLAWSKI. Longmans, Green and Co. 1897.

IN this elaborate and learned work Mr. Lutoslawski fulfils the promise made in his tract *Sur une nouvelle Méthode pour déterminer la chronologie des dialogues de Platon* (Paris 1896) and in the *Classical Review* for July 1897 pp. 284-286. A preliminary essay on the same subject had been printed in the *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 1895, pp. 67-114, and the substance of a considerable portion of the work has already appeared in the author's native tongue. English scholars may consider themselves

fortunate that a writer who seems equally at home in all civilised languages should have selected English as the best medium in which to publish the first complete account of his investigations.

In an introduction of sixty-three pages the author gives an able survey of earlier investigations into the logic of Plato and the chronology of Plato's dialogues. The progress of this discussion affords an opportunity of examining the tradition about Plato's sojourn at Megara, which is accepted by Zeller and other Platonic scholars. Mr. Lutoslawski attempts to disprove the story, but (as it appears to me) without success. Hermodorus, according to Diogenes Laertius (ii. 106) 'says' (φησιν) 'that after the death of Socrates Plato and the other philosophers

visited Euclides of Megara, dreading the cruelty of the tyrants.' The Hermodorus in question was Plato's pupil (see Zeller⁴ ii. 1. 402 n.), and his testimony is therefore entitled to consideration. Mr. Lutoslawski attempts to invalidate this evidence by remarking that Diogenes' statement is given 'not as an unquestioned fact, but as an opinion of Hermodorus' (p. 43). It is however a *statement* (φησίν), and not a mere *opinion*, of Hermodorus, and it is precisely because the statement is attributed to Hermodorus, and not given as 'an unquestioned fact' *without* authority, that it deserves to carry weight. Mr. Lutoslawski asserts that Cicero 'contradicts' the testimony of Hermodorus. The only passage which he cites in support of this contention is *De Rep.* I. x. 16 'audisse te credo Platonem Socrate mortuo primum in Aegyptum discendi causa, post in Italiam et in Siciliam contendisse ut Pythagorae inventa perdisceret.' It is surely incorrect to say that Cicero means to indicate Egypt 'as the first place to which Plato travelled after his master's death.' Cicero is not professing to give a complete account of Plato's absences from Athens; and 'primum' merely balances 'post.' A visit to Megara would hardly seem to Cicero a case of foreign travel, like a voyage to Egypt or Sicily. Mr. Lutoslawski further argues (with reference to the passage already quoted from Diogenes) that 'it was not the "tyrants" whom Plato had to dread, but the democracy as revived after the expulsion of the Thirty.' This difficulty, which Stein had already raised, has in my judgment been disposed of by Zeller, whose explanation of this matter is altogether ignored by Mr. Lutoslawski. The words δέσαντας τὴν ὁμότητα τῶν τυράννων are clearly taken from Hermodorus, and neither Hermodorus nor any other contemporary of Plato used οἱ τύραννοι as a designation for the Thirty, who were known simply as οἱ τριάκοντα down to the time of Diodorus (Peter's *Chronological Tables*, E.T. p. 81n. 153. Aristotle *Rhet.* II. 24. 3 is no exception, for τριάκοντα τυράννους is quite different from οἱ τυράννοι. The word τυράννους in this passage of Aristotle is only a figure of speech; otherwise there is no point in Polycrates' *bon mot*). The words τῶν τυράννων are therefore metaphorical, and may well refer to the rhetoricians and demagogues to whom Socrates' condemnation was primarily due: compare *Gorg.* 466 C ἀποκτινύσας οἱ ῥήτορες οὓς ἂν βούλωνται, ὥσπερ οἱ τυράννοι, καὶ χρήματ' ἀφαιρῶνται καὶ ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὃν ἂν δοκῇ αὐτοῖς, and other passages cited by Zeller (l.c.).

Many writers on the chronology of Plato's dialogues have treated Plato's sojourn in Megara as an argument in support of an early date for the *Theaetetus* and other dialogues. Mr. Lutoslawski is convinced that the *Theaetetus* is late, and accordingly thinks it incumbent on him to prove that the 'Megara period in Plato's life' is a 'myth.' But Plato's visit to Megara need not be in any way connected with the composition of the *Theaetetus*; and Mr. Lutoslawski appears to me only to weaken his case by attacking so well-established a tradition.

The body of the work falls into two parts—one critical and preparatory, the second dogmatic and expository.

In the first, Mr. Lutoslawski attempts to establish the order and date of Plato's dialogues on the now well-known 'stylistic' method. From a review of forty-five publications on Plato's style the author establishes a list of five hundred peculiarities, more than two hundred of which were observed by Campbell. Mr. Lutoslawski does not claim to have made any observations himself, or to have verified those already made, but he attempts to improve the method of stylistic investigation and make it available for determining the chronology of an author's works. His procedure is as follows. Four kinds of peculiarities are distinguished, viz. (1) accidental e.g. 'words or idioms occurring only once in a dialogue' (2) repeated (3) important (4) very important. Each 'repeated' peculiarity is counted as equivalent to two, each 'important' to three, and each 'very important' to four 'accidental' peculiarities. By this means the relative importance of different peculiarities is estimated—a point which had received insufficient attention at the hands of previous investigators. A standard of comparison, however, is still wanted. This Mr. Lutoslawski finds (for the next latest five dialogues) in the *Laws*, which is admittedly Plato's latest work, and (for earlier works) 'in the group of the six latest dialogues, *Sophist*, *Politicus*, *Philebus*, *Timaeus*, *Critias*, *Laws*.' By measuring equal samples of text with one another according to these principles, Mr. Lutoslawski arrives at the following conclusions: (1) 'The latest works of Plato are the *Sophist*, *Politicus*, *Philebus*, *Timaeus*, *Critias*, *Laws*:' (2) 'the latest group is preceded by a middle group, consisting of *Republic* B. II.—X., *Phaedrus*, *Theaetetus*, and *Parmenides*:' (3) 'the middle group is preceded by a first Platonic group, consisting of three dialogues, *Cratylus*, *Symposium*, and *Phaedo*:'

(4) 'among the Socratic dialogues, the *Gorgias* appears with probability to be the latest.' As to the order of the dialogues within each group, Mr. Lutoslawski regards it as certain on the evidence of style 'that the *Phaedo* is later than the *Symposium* and *Cratylus*, the *Parmenides* later than *Theaetetus* and *Phaedrus*, the *Philebus* later than the *Sophist*.' He admits that 'the relative position of *Republic*, *Phaedrus*, and *Theaetetus*, of *Politicus*, *Philebus*, and *Timaeus*, cannot be decided on the above observations alone.'

So much for Mr. Lutoslawski's conclusions. To those who have followed the course of recent Platonic criticism, they will not seem startling; but many even of those who are disposed to agree with the author's chronological theory, will be unable to accept the arguments by which he endeavours to justify it.

The fundamental principle of this new science of Stylometry, for which, 'if properly directed,' Mr. Lutoslawski claims infallibility, is thus enunciated: 'Of two works of the same author and of the same size, that is nearer in time to a third, which shares with it the greater number of stylistic peculiarities, provided that their different importance is taken into account and that the number of observed peculiarities is sufficient to determine the stylistic character of all the three works.' Is this an *infallible* canon? Surely a great literary genius can, within limits, vary his style at will. Is it certain that Plato never did? And will not such 'stylistic peculiarities' as vocabulary, for example, differ according to the subject matter of which an author is treating? Nor is it difficult to imagine a variety of accidental circumstances which may easily interfere with the operation of such a law. 'The peculiar method of research' says Mr. Lutoslawski, 'used in the present work is a result of the author's previous study of natural sciences and mathematics.' So likewise, as it seems to me, is the author's 'Law of Stylistic Affinity' itself. But it is by no means obvious that mathematical principles and methods are applicable either to style in general, or to Plato's style in particular. Plato himself, at all events, took the greatest pains to distinguish between mathematical and dialectical reasoning, nor would he, I think, have subscribed without demur to the fundamental canon of Stylometry.

Mr. Lutoslawski's principle would undoubtedly (as he himself allows) carry more weight if it were successfully tested 'on the

writings of a great modern writer like Goethe,' the date of whose works we know. Something of this sort has lately been attempted by Zeller, who investigates the punctuation of D. F. Strauss's writings, and finds that it has little or no bearing on their chronological order (*Archiv für Gesch. der Philos.* 1897, pp. 1—12). Or does Stylometry refuse to recognise a 'progress in punctuation' as well as in style? In point of fact, many of the stylometric observations on Plato's writings deal with idioms hardly, if at all, more important, than punctuation is in a modern writer.

If, however, Mr. Lutoslawski's fundamental principle be provisionally accepted, it is open to doubt whether he fully conforms to the conditions which he has prescribed.

The number of observed peculiarities which he takes into account is five hundred. Is this sufficient to 'determine the stylistic character' of twenty-two of Plato's most important dialogues? Perhaps it is enough to raise a strong presumption, provided that each of the peculiarities is significant. But the majority of English scholars will not, I think, see any special significance in many of Mr. Lutoslawski's 'peculiarities.' A large number consists of rare or semi-technical words, most of which are rendered necessary by the ideas which the author wishes to express. Evidence from vocabulary is, on the whole, perhaps the weakest evidence of date, unless we can show independently that the word in question came into vogue at such and such a time. I can see no significance, for example, in the following (among many other) 'peculiarities' of this kind: nos. 6—11 (pp. 78—79) nos. 28 (πολιός *Parm.* 1 *Polit.* 1 *Tim.* 1), 254—278 (adjectives in -είδης and -ώδης) and many of those contained in nos. 458—500. The fact that a particular word occurs *once* (or twice) in each of two or three dialogues is surely too insignificant to count as evidence of affinity. Several of Mr. Lutoslawski's instances are of this kind e.g. nos. 459, 461 (ἰστίον *Parm.* 1 *Legg.* 1) 464 (μόνος *Parm.* 1 *Tim.* 1) 466 (παντοδαπῶς *Parm.* 1 *Legg.* 1) 485 (οὐκ εὐκόλος = difficult *Rep.* 1 *Parm.* 1 *Legg.* 2). The same kind of reasoning would establish an affinity between dialogues which Mr. Lutoslawski separates widely from one another e.g. the *Cratylus* and the *Timaeus* and *Laws*: for ζέσις (according to Ast) occurs only once in the *Cratylus* and once in the *Timaeus*, and ἡρωικός, only once in the *Cratylus* and once in the *Laws*. Mr. Lutoslawski argues that

the *Parmenides* is late because it contains some forty-two words which occur mostly in the later group of dialogues. (A majority of these words, however, are found also in the *Republic*, which he regards as earlier than the *Parmenides*.) But has he ever investigated how many words are common to the *Parmenides* with so-called earlier dialogues, and not found in the latest group at all, or rarely? Till this is done the evidence from vocabulary is altogether one-sided. We ought not to pronounce sentence before hearing both sides of the question. No sound conclusions can be drawn from evidence of this kind until the vocabulary of *all* the dialogues has been examined with the same care as Campbell bestowed upon that of his latest group.

Mr. Lutoslawski's observations on the usage of particles, formulae of replies, inflexions, prepositions etc., are (in my judgment) sometimes significant, but more often not. That *καθάπερ* gradually replaces *ὥσπερ* in a large group of dialogues (no. 199) is, I think, evidence of affinity; and so perhaps are the following viz. nos. 223 (*τοιγαροῦν* replacing *τοιγάρτοι*), 307 (the gradual recession of *μέντοι*), and doubtless others. But what shall we say of nos. 184—198 (various forms and usages of the dual, asserted by Mr. Lutoslawski to be 'peculiarities of later style,' but happily not so styled by Roeper, who observed them), 207—222 (where for example *ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη* is a mark of later style, because Jecht found it only in *Theaet. Polit. Tim. Legg.*—once in each of these dialogues, and *ἤδη* with the pluperfect is similarly so regarded, because it occurs *five* times altogether in *Polit. Tim.* and *Legg.* and only *four* times altogether in *Euthyphr. Prot. Crat. and Rep.*), and other instances, which any reader will at once detect? Can it be seriously argued that the following perfectly natural collocations or expressions are proofs of the later origin of dialogues in which they occur? *ἔτι δὴ τοῖνυν* (286), *πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν* (288), *μὴ τοῖνυν* (294), *ἦτοι—ἦ* (300), *τοῖνυν* more than four times oftener than *μέντοι* (306—as if *τοῖνυν* and *μέντοι* had the same meaning), *εἶπες, εἰρηκας, ἐπέλαβες* in answers (347—348), *πάν ζῶον* meaning 'every animal' (364)? These are only typical examples, and a careful study of Mr. Lutoslawski's lists—see for example 389 to 447—will furnish many more of the same kind.

It seemed necessary to give a few specimens of the sort of stylometric observations on which Mr. Lutoslawski attempts to determine the order of Plato's writings. 1

gladly allow that such broader considerations as are embodied in nos. 12—20 are highly important. But many of the particular observations which have hitherto been made certainly tend to shew that Stylometry is still in its infancy. At present it savours too much of *μειαγωγία τῆς τραγωδίας*. If we may judge of Plato's sentiments by the characteristic remark *ἔστι δ', ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐ περὶ ὀνόματος ἀμφισβήτησις, οἷς τοσούτων περὶ σκέψις ὅσων ἡμῖν πρόκειται* (*Rep.* 533 D), he would have sympathised with Aeschylus when Euripides proposed to apply stylometry to his tragedies.

- AI. καὶ γὰρ ταλάντῳ μουσικῇ σταθμήσεται—
 ΞΑ. τί δέ; μειαγωγήσουσι τὴν τραγωδίαν;
 AI. καὶ κάνοντας ἐξοίσουσι καὶ πήχεις ἐπὼν
 καὶ πλαίσια ξύμπηκτα—ΞΑ. πλινθεύσουσι
 γὰρ;
 AI. καὶ διαμέτρους καὶ σφήνας· ὁ γὰρ Εὐριπίδης
 κατ' ἔπος βασανιεῖν φησι τὰς τραγωδίας.
 ΞΑ. ἦ πον βαρέως οἶμαι τὰδ' Αἰσχύλον φέρειν.

But it is time to pass to the second part of Mr. Lutoslawski's work. In this he attempts to give an account of Plato's logical theories and their development, in accordance with the chronological order of the dialogues, occasionally supplementing the evidence of stylometry by a comparison of the contents of Plato's works, and such other indications as are available. The whole of this discussion is full of interest, and abounds in acute and judicious criticism: I may refer in particular to pp. 327 note, and 393—394. The author's conclusion is well expressed in the following passage, which may serve also as an example of his clear and vigorous style: 'The system of latest Platonism is no longer a system of ideas, but a system of souls, of different and increasing perfection, from the lowest soul of a plant to the souls of stars which are termed gods. Above all rises the ruling soul of the universe, the world's maker and ordainer, a divine providence, which places each soul in the right place, and allots it its proper task in a series of successive lives extending over millions of years, probably without beginning and without end. Knowledge is acquired by each soul through its own exertions, increased by constant exercise and imparted by teaching. Ideas exist only in souls—they are eternal and unchangeable because their first model is created by God in his own thought. Thus ideas are the patterns of reality, and their existence in souls is named true Being.

But they are not now suddenly perceived in ecstatic visions, as in the period of Middle Platonism. They must be created and elaborated by each soul in its own turn, and sought for by the logical exercises of classification, generalisation, and division' (p. 523).

Mr. Lutoslawski can hardly bring himself to admit the independence of the Ideas even in middle Platonism: 'the separate existence of Ideas outside any mind is a poetical absurdity which could subsist only for a very limited time in the imagination of a thinker like Plato, and which has never been expressly affirmed in clear words by him—because the poetical metaphors of the *Phaedrus*, *Republic*, *Phaedo*, and *Symposium* cannot be taken as literal expressions of abstract truth' (p. 447). Such an interpretation is not new, and will always commend itself to a certain school of critics. To me it appears to carry allegory much too far. Speaking of the *Phaedrus*, for example, Mr. Lutoslawski declares 'that "beyond the limits of the stars exist pure ideas without shape or colour, intangible and invisible, not fixed in sensible particulars, but free and independent" means only: that pure concepts of reason are never fully realised in the things to which they apply, as for instance, absolute equality is never found identical with physical equality' (p. 340). If Plato meant *only* this, and nothing more, why did he take such pains, not merely to conceal his meaning, but to suggest a wholly different view?

In later Platonism, Mr. Lutoslawski emphatically declares, there is no trace of a 'separate existence of ideas.' 'We challenge our readers and critics to point out in works written after the *Parmenides* a single passage supporting the assumption that ideas exist outside every soul, or contradicting our view that ideas are perfect notions of a perfect Being, natural kinds of particular things in agreement with the thoughts and aims of their Creator' (p. 448). What of *Timaeus* 52 A τὸ κατὰ ταῦτα εἶδος ἔχει, ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀνώλεθρον, οὔτε εἰς ἑαυτὸ εἰσδεχόμενον ἄλλο ἄλλοθεν οὔτε αὐτὸ εἰς ἄλλο ποιεῖν, ἀόρατον δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἀναίσθητον, τοῦτο δὲ δὴ νόησις εἴληχεν ἐπισκοπεῖν? Others may be more fortunate, but for my own part I cannot interpret Plato's language in this well-known sentence except as indicating that the ideas are transcendental and independent, the eternal self-existent *objects* of all thinking, but themselves *distinct* from thought (δὲν νόησις εἴληχεν ἐπισκοπεῖν). In any case, if we are to

deny the self-existence of Ideas in later Platonism, it would be more reasonable to deny it throughout, as some writers have done. The allegorical method of interpretation may as well be applied consistently, if at all.

To Aristotle, as everybody knows, the separate existence of Ideas is a fundamental axiom of Platonism. On any other hypothesis his criticism of the Ideal Theory is altogether misdirected. Mr. Lutoslawski, accordingly, appears to throw Aristotle overboard (p. 525). But is it credible that Aristotle should have misunderstood his teacher so grossly, and that on a point of such vital importance? Let us allow, for the moment, that Mr. Lutoslawski's interpretation of the Platonic Idea correctly represents the element of permanent philosophical value in the Theory of Ideas. Are we justified in assuming that everything which Plato said was of permanent *philosophical* value? The poetical and mystical elements in Plato's nature were hardly less remarkable than his scientific enthusiasm and insight. The doctrine of transcendent self-existent Ideas is a creation of the poet Plato and has a permanent poetical, if not philosophical, value. It is the most powerful stimulus to the artistic imagination which Philosophy has ever supplied. Mr. Lutoslawski's characterisation of it as a 'poetical absurdity' appears to me a singularly narrow and one-sided piece of criticism, even from the philosophical point of view. The χωρισμός of the Ideas is 'poetical,' perhaps, but not 'absurd.'

The exposition of Plato's logic which fills the second division of the volume touches on many other questions which have long been debated among Platonic scholars. Mr. Lutoslawski's treatment is frequently incomplete and inconclusive, as could only be expected on so wide and thorny a subject. It is impossible, for example, to settle the disputed question of the connexion between the *Ecclesiastusae* and the *Republic* in a single page. Many of the author's combinations and conjectures are plausible and interesting: I may refer in particular to much of what he has to say on the *Phaedrus* (pp. 326—362). Others are improbable or trivial, as for example when Plato is himself declared to be the 'charmer' in *Phaedo* 78A! To my mind such a piece of self-advertisement in one of the noblest and most touching passages of all literature is utterly incredible in the most self-effacing of all ancient authors. Other examples will be found on p. 355 lines 2—10, and

p. 502 n. 269. Nor is the author's scholarship always sound. Thus on p. 293 the words *σαφέστερον τὸ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἐπιστήμης τοῦ ὄντος τε καὶ νοητοῦ θεωρούμενον* (*Rep.* 511C) are paraphrased by 'this knowledge of ideas is even much clearer than the ordinary knowledge based on perception,' but what Plato says is that the superior *νοητόν* is clearer than the inferior *νοητόν* (ἢ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν καλουμένων κ.τ.λ.). The words *διὰ τὴν τοῦτου σαφήνειαν κ.τ.λ.* in *Rep.* 524C are thus explained: 'We owe it to the clearness of numbers that we distinguish things which to our senses appear confused' (p. 299). The meaning of course is 'but with a view to clearing up this chaos of sense' (τοῦτου sc. τοῦ συγκεχυμένου) etc., as Jowett and Campbell correctly explain. The most serious slip which I have observed is on p. 288, where the author remarks:—'This' (Krohn's view that the theory of Ideas does not occur in the early books of the *Republic*) 'would leave no room for—καλὰ ἦθ' ἐν τῷ εἶδει ὁμολογοῦντα ἐκείνοις καὶ ξυμφωνοῦντα, τοῦ αὐτοῦ μετέχοντα τύπον, as a κάλλιστον θέαμα τῷ δυναμένῳ θεᾶσθαι (*Rep.* 402D). This power of superhuman vision here invoked is certainly the same which we know from the *Symposium* and *Phaedo*.' What Plato says is *ὅπου ἂν ξυμπίπτῃ ἔν τε τῇ ψυχῇ καλὰ ἦθ' ἐνόντα καὶ ἐν τῷ εἶδει ὁμολογοῦντα ἐκείνοις κ.τ.λ.* What he means is simply that the combination of a beautiful soul and a beautiful body is the

fairest sight for him 'who has eyes to see,' and *εἶδος* means of course 'personal appearance' and not the 'Idea,' whatever view we may take of τὰ τῆς σωφροσύνης εἶδη just before.

To sum up, Mr. Lutoslawski's main thesis as to the development of Plato's teaching may or may not be true, but in my opinion he has failed to demonstrate it. Alike in the stylometry of Part I., and in the dogmatometry—*sit venia verbo*, for such it is—of Part II., his arguments too often suggest the special pleader, and frequently ignore, or insufficiently refute, rival views. It is said that Chrysippus on one occasion impatiently exclaimed to his teacher Cleanthes 'Give me your *conclusions*, and I will find the proofs' (*Diog. Laert.* vii. 179). A perusal of Mr. Lutoslawski's work may recall this anecdote to the minds of some readers. But Mr. Lutoslawski has done a real service to Platonic scholarship by collecting and classifying the valuable stylistic observations hitherto made on the text of Plato, and enabling scholars to estimate their bearing on the chronology of the dialogues. His results may not be convincing: work of this sort seldom is. But he is always interesting and suggestive, and few men know the literature of their subject so well. Mr. Lutoslawski has amply earned the gratitude of all students of Plato, and his further studies on the author he loves so well are sure of a hearty welcome wherever Plato is read.

J. ADAM.

BURY'S *PHILEBUS*.

The Philebus of Plato. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices, by R. G. Bury, M.A. Demy 8vo. Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.

In this edition Mr. Bury has mentioned a vast number of perhaps ingenious but certainly unnecessary alterations of the text (this does not apply of course to all that are noticed) and a vast number of perhaps ingenious misinterpretations, collected from the writings of various commentators and essayists. It is true that he is judicious enough to reject nine out of ten of them, or nineteen out of twenty, or a greater proportion; but he would have done better service to the public, I think, if he had speeded, at least not retarded, all this mischievous or useless ingenuity on its course to oblivion.

The following criticisms may be offered:

(1) Note 8 on 13 A tells the student that a mistake which Protarchus made was a hasty generalization. The mistake of Protarchus consisted in assuming that generic similarity negatives specific dissimilarity. This is surely not hasty generalization.

(2) *περὶ τούτων τῶν ἐνάδων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἡ πολλὴ σπουδὴ μετὰ διαίρεσως ἀμφισβήτησις γίγνεται.* 15 A.

The text seems really to require the emender's hand. Dr. Jackson in the last number of the *Journal of Philology* proposes to read: *ἡ πολλὴ σπουδὴ, ἡ...* But then it is not easy to say what meaning can be assigned to *πολλὴ σπουδὴ* to make it a good antithesis to *ἀμφισβήτησις*.

Mr. Bury proposes *ἡ πολλὴ σπουδὴ... which is good as far as it goes, but ἡ πολλὴ σπουδὴ seems decidedly better.* Controversy in real

earnest is contrasted with other controversies which have been pronounced to be frivolous. Translate: 'Such Henads are the subject of really earnest controversy and division into adverse camps.' The use of the technical term *διαίρεσις* in a non-technical sense could be easily paralleled in these dialogues.

(3) εἴ τις τρόπος ἔστι καὶ μηχανὴ τὴν μὲν τοιαύτην παραχὴν ἡμῖν ἔξω τοῦ λόγου εὐμενῶς πως ἀπελθεῖν, ὁδὸν δὲ τινα καλλίω ταύτης ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον ἀνευρεῖν, σὺ τε προθυμοῦ . . . οὐ γὰρ σμικρὸς ὁ παρὼν λόγος. 16 A.

Mr. Bury annotates: 'Protarchus speaks as if παραχὴ were a goddess to be propitiated, in possession of the λόγος, a fort to be captured and a strong fort too.' This is inexact. The confusion deprecated by Protarchus is confusion not inside but outside the fort, in the ranks of the assailants. The word λόγος is used at first to mean discussion or argumentation, and confusion is here deprecated: twice afterwards it means the problem to be solved, or, if we use Mr. Bury's metaphor, the fort to be captured.

(4) καὶ οὐδ' ἐν ἑτέρῳ γε τούτων ἔσμέν πω σοφοί, οὐθ' ὅτι τὸ ἄπειρον αὐτῆς ἴσμεν οὐθ' ὅτι τὸ ἐν. 17 B.

Mr. Badham says that the Greek for: 'neither of these things makes us scientific,' is: οὐδετέρῳ τούτων ἔσμέν πω σοφοί, and accordingly rejects οὐδ' ἐν ἑτέρῳ . . . which I had discovered to be the reading, overlooked by Gaisford, of the Bodleian MS. Dr. Jackson in the last number of the *Journal of Philology* expresses his hearty concurrence with Badham. But is it not fallacious, from the datum that in certain circumstances the simple dative may be coupled with ἐπίστασθαι and similar verbs, to infer that no other form of construction is legitimate? It is not always easy to find a quotation as apt as that which Dr. Jackson adduces for the use of the simple dative, to oppose to a hastily erected and false grammatical canon; but the first book I turn to gives the following expressions:—

(a) φανερόν ὅτι ἀδύνατον τῷ αἰσθάνεσθαι ἐπίστασθαι τι τῶν ἀποδεικτῶν. *Anal. Post.* 87 B.

(b) φανερόν ὅτι οὐδ' ἐπίστασθαι δι' αἰσθήσεως ἔστιν. *Ib.*

These show that to express an adequate ground of science the construction with a preposition is just as good Greek as the construction with a simple dative. Indeed Badham according to his own principle and his habit ought to have improved the latter part of the text by rewriting it as follows: οὔτε τῷ τὸ ἄπειρον αὐτῆς εἰδέναι οὔτε τῷ τὸ ἐν.

I therefore adhere to the Bodleian text and translate: 'neither of these pieces of knowledge is—amounts to—or, constitutes—science.'

Dr. Jackson's suggested emendation here is not so happy as some of the others which he proposes in the same number. He would read οὐδ' ἐν ἑτέρῳ, and translate: 'by neither separately.' It would be surprising if he found any scholar to agree that such a combination was possible, or, if possible, could bear such an interpretation.

Mr. Bury here truly observes that the tmesis of οὐδέτερος was probably confined to a few stereotyped prepositional phrases, and proposes οὐδὲ δι' ἑτέρον: but no change of preposition is necessary.

The preposition ἐν is often used to indicate the cardinal point—the point on which a result hinges—the pivot in quo res vertitur, as in the following sentence: οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἔστι τὸ πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τὸν ἀποκρινόμενον ἔχειν πὼς πρὸς τὰ δεδομένα. *Sophistici Elenchi* 170 B. i.e. 'the question, whether an argument is addressed to the thought of the answerer, does not depend on the argument but on the thought of the answerer.' And ἐν is not of necessity ousted from its office even when it happens that the same meaning might be given, not perhaps quite so emphatically, by some other turn of expression; when, as in the present case, for instance, the criterion of science—the title to the name of scientific—might be indicated by a simple dative.

(5) Συμμίγνυ δέ γε εἰς αὐτὴν τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν αὐτοῦ πέρατος γένναν. Πρῶ. ποῖαν; Σω. ἦν καὶ νῦν δὴ δέον ἡμᾶς καθάπερ τὴν τοῦ ἀπείρου συνηγάγομεν εἰς ἓν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν τοῦ περατοειδοῦς συναγαγεῖν, οὐ συνηγάγομεν. ἀλλ' ἴσως καὶ νῦν ταῦτον δράσειν τούτων ἀμφοτέρων συναγομένων καταφανῆς κἀκείνη γενήσεται. Πρῶ. ποῖαν καὶ πὼς λέγεις; Σω. τὴν τοῦ ἴσου καὶ διπλασίου καὶ ὀπόση παύει πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰναντία διαφόρως ἔχοντα, σύμμετρα δὲ καὶ σύμφωνα ἐθέτιστα ἀριθμὸν ἀπεργάζεται. 25 D.

Any reader has good cause to be surprised at the statement of Socrates that the character of τὸ πέρας has not been reduced to a generic formula; for had he not recently said: οὐκοῦν τὰ μὴ δεχόμενα ταῦτα (τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἥττον) τούτων δὲ τὰ ἐναντία πάντα δεχόμενα, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἴσον καὶ ἰσότητα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἴσον τὸ διπλασίον καὶ πᾶν ὅτιπερ ἂν πρὸς ἀριθμὸν ἀριθμὸς ἢ μέτρον ἢ πρὸς μέτρον, ταῦτα ξύμπαντα εἰς τὸ πέρας ἀπολογιζόμενοι καλῶς ἂν δοκοῖμεν δρᾶν τοῦτο. 25 A. ? However, it now appears that Socrates is dissatisfied with this description, perhaps because part of it is merely negative, and

moreover a negation of the element inferior in excellence (τὸ ἄπειρον); while the more positive part (τὸ ἴσον, etc.) is rather a subdivision of the class than a statement of its generic formula. How then does Socrates supply the omission? The commentators quoted by Mr. Bury seem all to have overlooked the fact that Socrates, whose cue it was to represent Law (πέρας) as akin to Reason and therefore a very luminous subject of conception, throws in without further fuss or ceremony, and without, as it were, stopping to draw breath, the required definition of ἡ τοῦ πέρατος or τοῦ περατοειδοῦς γέννα, in the words: ὁπόση παύει πρὸς ἄλληλα τάναντία διαφόρως ἔχοντα, σύμμετρα δὲ καὶ σύμφωνα ἐνθεῖσα ἀριθμὸν ἀπεργάζεται. This is a new and extraneous idea, entirely independent of the former conception. The conjunction of the two terms, quantitative determination and concord of contraries, if they were united in a proposition, would not be, to use Kantian language, analytical but synthetical: and it would be difficult to find a better general formula for τὸ πέρας or τὸ περατοειδές, particularly if we wished it to imply the Pythagorean identification of τὸ πέρας with τ' Ἀγαθόν.

To remove an ambiguity in the word ἐκείνη, Dr. Jackson, followed by Mr. Bury, would transpose the sentence where it occurs, and bring it in after ἐνθεῖσα ἀριθμὸν ἀπεργάζεται. Perhaps, if Plato had foreseen what alacrity of misunderstanding would be displayed by his modern readers, he would have assented to the transposition; but it is not absolutely necessary. No more is the change of συναγομένον into συμμειζομένον, also recommended by Dr. Jackson, on the ground that Socrates was thinking of Mixture rather than of Generalization, for either thought fits sufficiently into the context. Nor does there seem to be any valid reason for questioning Stallbaum's interpretation of ταῦτ' ὡς δρᾷσι: 'it will do as well.'

Mr. Bury devotes an appendix to this passage, and the result of his inquiry seems to be that Socrates intended the following analogies:—

- | | | |
|-------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) Ἐν | : Πολλά | : Ἀπειρα |
| i.e. Genus | : species | : individuals |
| (2) Ἀπειρον | : Μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον | : Θερμότερον καὶ Ψυχρότερον, &c. |
| (3) Πέρασ | : Περατοειδές | : Σύμμετρα, &c. |
| | i.e. mathematical ratios | |

This arrangement of terms is sufficiently neat, but breaks down on examination.

Not to insist that περατοειδές is probably only a synonym or alternative expression for πέρας; τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον are certainly not subdivisions or specific kinds of τὸ ἄπειρον, but its generic character. Cf. ἐπισφραγισθέντα τῷ τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐναντίου γένει ἐν ἐφάνη. Indeed Socrates does not treat τὸ πέρας and τὸ ἄπειρον in the way which he said was the only way of science: i.e. continuous and exhaustive subdivision. Such a dissection of nature and her laws perhaps seemed to present too formidable a problem even to the self-confident infancy of philosophy; nor was it required for the purpose of this dialogue.

(6) A note, p. 45, on 26 B. surely requires revision. 'Ἀρετὴ is a συμμετρία arising from the infusion of the πέρας ἔχον, which is τάξις, into the ἄπειρον, which is ὕβρις.' According to this statement Virtue would be regulated Vice; which sounds somewhat unorthodox as an ethical doctrine.

(7) ἡδονὴ καὶ λύπη πέρας ἔχοντα, ἡ τῶν τὸ μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἥττον δεχομένων ἐστών; Φι. Ναί, τῶν τὸ μᾶλλον... Σω... τοῦτο δὴ σοι τῶν ἀπεράντων γεγονός ἐστω. 27 E.

Mr. Bury agrees with Paley in interpreting the last words to mean, not that Pleasure must be placed in the class of ἄπειρα, but that the point may be taken to be as yet undetermined; and he discovers a joke in the use of the word ἀπείραντον.

Socrates does conscientiously admit, 52 C., that pure pleasures possess ἐμμετρία, and that only the mixed belong to the class ἄπειρον; but at the close of the dialogue Protarchus is allowed to forget this, and to say: ἡδονῆς οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἀμετρώτερον εἶρεῖν ἂν τινα 65 D: so that the point—the class to which Pleasure is to be assigned—was really determined by the admission of Philebus in 27 E. Moreover other passages, strangely overlooked by Mr. Bury perhaps from too exclusive an attention to grammatical problems, leave not a shadow of doubt that the classification of Pleasure is henceforth treated as a discussion that is closed: καὶ μὴν ἡδονῆς γε ὥσαύτως πάλοι τὸ γένος ἐφάνη... μεμνώμεθα δὴ ὅτι ἡδονὴ ἄπειρος ἦν... 31 A. οὐκοῦν καὶ τόδε εἴρηται καὶ συνωμολογημένον ἡμῖν ἐμπροσθεν κέεται... ὅτι λύπη τε καὶ ἡδονὴ τῶν ἀπειρῶν εἶτην. 41 B.

(8) πότερον... τὰ ξύμπαντα... ἐπιτροπέειν φῶμεν τὴν τοῦ ἀλόγου καὶ εἰκῇ δύναμιν... ἢ τάναντία, ... νοῦν... διακυβερνᾶν; Πρω. Οὐδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν. 28 D.

For the last words, which are obscure, Mr. Bury proposes eight different emendations, all improbable. May not οὐδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν be equivalent to πᾶν τοῦναντίον, i.e. to an em-

phatic acceptance of the second alternative offered by Socrates—*τάναντία*?

(9) οὐ γάρ που δοκοῦμέν γε...τὰ τέτταρα ἐκεῖνα, πέρας καὶ ἄπειρον καὶ κοινὸν καὶ τὸ τῆς αἰτίας γένος ἐν ἅπασι τέταρτον ἐνόν, τοῦτο ἐν μὲν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ψυχὴν τε παρέχον...τῶν δ' αὐτῶν τούτων ὄντων ἐν ὅλῳ τε οὐρανῷ...καὶ προσέτι καλῶν καὶ εἰλικρινῶν...ἐν τούτοις δ' οὐκ ἄρα μεμηχανῆσθαι τὴν τῶν καλλίστων καὶ τιμιωτάτων φύσιν. 30 A.

Here the word *εἰλικρινῶν* (if we may devote a few lines to an interesting recommendation of Dr. Jackson) recalls to our mind the word *εἰλικρινές*, which had been recently used, 29 B, in connection with the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water, and suggests that Plato was now thinking of this quaternion rather than of the quaternion of Kinds, Limit, Limitless, Product, Cause. Dr. Jackson would accordingly omit from the beginning of the sentence: τὰ τέτταρα ἐκεῖνα πέρας καὶ ἄπειρον καὶ κοινὸν καὶ, as an erroneous interpolation, and leave only τὸ τῆς αἰτίας γένος ἐν ἅπασι τέταρτον ἐνόν. Ἐν τούτοις would then only refer to the four material elements; and this would be a natural and habitual use of the preposition. Against accepting the emendation, however, are the considerations (1) that the elementary quaternion is a subsection of the *ἄπειρον* and might present itself to our thoughts whenever the larger class came under review; (2) that Socrates would certainly not have considered τὸ πέρας or *περατοειδές* as a dispensable condition of the evolution of life and consciousness. This consideration seems absolutely to prohibit any change of the text that should omit this factor from the list of potentialities that Cause had at its or his command.

(10) Ἐν γὰρ τούτοις οἶμαι...εἰλικρινέσι τε ἐκατέροις γιγνομένοις, ὡς δόκει, καὶ ἀμίκτοις...ἐμφανές ἔσεσθαι τὸ περὶ τὴν ἡδονήν, πότερον ὅλον ἐστὶ τὸ γένος ἀσπαστόν, ἢ τοῦτο μὲν ἐτέρῳ τινὶ τῶν προειρημένων δοτέον ἡμῖν γενῶν. 32 C.

Mr. Bury misses what seems the simplest interpretation of this passage and most in accordance with what follows, viz.: (1) that τούτοις refers exclusively to the second *εἶδος* of pleasures, the expectations of good; (2) that the words *ὡς δόκει* are meant to impute error to the opinion that these pleasures are unmixed with pain; (3) that the *ἕτερον γένος* is not τὸ κοινὸν or *μικτόν*, but the class of Reason and Knowledge. Cf. τὰς τέχνας πάσας ἀβλαβές τε καὶ ὠφέλιμον ἦν ἐπίστασθαι. 63 A.

(11) Μνήμη δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἄρ' οὐ διαφέρουσιν λέγομεν; 34 B.

Mr. Bury annotates: '*ἀνάμνησις* differs from *μνήμη* in that it is a purely and independently mental action; while in *μνήμη* is involved *αἴσθησις*, and therefore bodily *κίνησις*.' This is altogether wide of the mark. Memory only involves past sensation, and may be called purely mental. Recollection or Reminiscence involves in its middle terms or successive stages many more past sensations than Memory or Remembrance, and is no more independent of bodily impressions than they are. It results in Remembrance; but is something more; viz. the law of Association engaged in resuscitating Remembrance. There is no reason for altering, as Mr. B. wishes to do, the words καὶ ταῦτα *ξύμπαντα ἀναμνήσεις καὶ μνήμας* που λέγομεν, but he is perhaps naturally surprised that Badham 'overlooked the (?) difficulty.'

(12) τὴν ἄρα ἐπάγουσαν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιθυμούμενα ἀποδείξας μνήμην ὁ λόγος ψυχῆς *ξύμπασαν* τὴν τε ὁρμὴν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ζῶον παντός ἀπέφηνεν. 35 D.

A note of Mr. Bury observes: '*μνήμην* and *ψυχῆς*, the emphatic words, are centralised.' If so, the sentence is a monstrosity, to be pointed at as a piece of bad workmanship, probably unparalleled in all the remainder of Greek literature. But on examination it shows very markedly its obedience to the fundamental law of inflected language. *The* emphatic word of the first clause is *ἐπάγουσαν*, for the subject of the sentence is the *ἀρχή* τοῦ ζῶον, and *ἐπαγωγή* is *ἀρχικόν τι*. *Ἐπάγουσαν*, accordingly, occupies the first place; and from it ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιθυμούμενα cannot be separated, forming with it, as it were, a single word. *Μνήμην* lays claim to the second degree of emphasis; but, to avoid a gross ambiguity, which would arise if it preceded *ἀποδείξας*, must allow this one word to take precedence of it. *Ψυχῆς*, far from occupying a central position, stands very prominently in the forefront of the second clause. Nothing then could be more normal and exemplary than the order of words in this sentence; and there is no ground for charging it with the worst fault that could enfeeble or disable a sentence of an inflected language. In an uninflected language, hampered by conventions, such an arrangement is sometimes inevitable and excusable; but in ancient Greek—No.

(13) τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀφρόνων τε καὶ ὑβριστῶν μέχρι μανίας ἢ σφοδρᾶ ἡδονῇ κατέχουσα περιβοήτους ἀπεργάζεται. 45 E.

Mr. Bury seems to think it a question whether Badham's 'frantic' is not the right translation of *περιβοήτους*: as if Protarchus, reported by Plato, was capable of saying that

pleasures which excite men to frenzy make them frantic.

(14) *πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ χρήματα, δοξάζειν εἶναι πλουσιώτερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν οὐσίαν.* 48 D.

Dr. Jackson's defence of the reading *αὐτῶν* is convincing. He makes it neuter and equivalent to *τῶν χρημάτων*, comparing *οὐσίαν γ' ἔχοντα χρυσοῦ ἢ τινος ἄλλης κτήσεως*. Phaedrus 240 A. Mr. Bury prefers the reading *αὐτῶν*, which is condemned both by its superfluity of emphasis and by differing in number from *πλουσιώτερον*.

(15) *τίνα δὲ ταύτην (τὴν τῶν διαλέγεσθαι δύναμιν) αὐδὲ λέγειν; Σω. Δῆλον ὅτι ἡ πᾶσαν <αὐ> τὴν γε νῦν λεγομένην γνοίη.* 58 A.

Mr. Bury prefers this reading to *δήλον ὅτι* ἡ πᾶς *αὐν*... but does not explain why Philosophy should be defined by, and confined to, examining the subjects of theoretical mathematics, apparently a minute and secondary branch of her speculations.

(16) *ταῦτ' ἄρα ἐν ταῖς περὶ τὸ ὄν ὄντως ἐννοίαις ἔστιν ἀπηκριβωμένα ὁρθῶς κείμενα καλεῖσθαι.* 59 D.

Mr. Bury quotes Paley's rendering: 'Then such terms, in abstract conceptions, may, if rightly given, be called fitly applied.' Why not: 'may, if fitly applied, be called rightly given'? a good specimen of translations which are hardly worth placing on record.

Dr. Jackson is inclined to excise *ὁρθῶς κείμενα*. I would suggest that *ἀπηκριβωμένα*, in spite of its position in relation to the article and substantive, may be the true reading.

(17) *τί ποτε ἔν τε ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τῷ παντὶ πέφυκεν ἀγαθόν καὶ τίνα ἰδέαν αὐτὴν εἶναι ποτε μαντευτόν.* 64 A.

Socrates having said that he shall use certain enemies of Pleasure as Diviners, divining in his favour; Mr. Bury comments as follows: 'The real point of thus terming these thinkers diviners I take to lie in the fact that they treated *ἡδονή* as a single indistinguishable whole, a class of identicals.' This treatment, or 'this simple ultimate impression,' is regarded, he says, as a divine inspiration. But if, as the whole drift of the dialogue is to show, this opinion is erroneous, if Pleasure is not a single indistinguishable whole, how could the inspiration be divine, and what support or backing could Socrates receive from those who held such a heresy?

Socrates makes the last term of a teleological series—the ascending scale of Goods—the object of *μαντεία*: and consequently Mr. Bury thinks that, according to Plato, in every generalization the summum genus (the

generic unity—generic whole—*μία ἰδέα*) can only be apprehended by divination. This involves the conclusion that Letter, the summum genus of the alphabet, and Vegetable the summum genus of Botany can only be apprehended by divination.

'Logical discussion,' he adds, 'reaches its limit when it apprehends the ultimate unity.' Did Plato then suppose that Classification is the whole of Science? Had he no glimpses, say, of the departments which in modern times are called Morphology and Physiology?

(18) *Ἡδονὴ κτῆμα οὐκ ἔστι πρῶτον οὐδ' αὖ δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν πῇ περὶ μέτρον καὶ τὸ μέτριον καὶ καίριον καὶ πάντα ὅποσα χρὴ τοιαῦτα νομίζειν τὴν αἰδίων ἡρῆσθαι φύσιν... δεύτερον μὲν περὶ τὸ σύμμετρον καὶ καλὸν καὶ τὸ τέλεον καὶ ἱκανὸν καὶ πάνθ' ὅποσα τῆς γενεᾶς αὐταύτης ἐστίν.* 66 A.

The final scale of Goods was a foregone conclusion after the quaternion of *γένη* had been expounded, but it has much exercised commentators. The word *κτῆμα* implies that the inquiry is about mundane goods and goods attainable by human effort (*πρακτὰ καὶ κτητὰ ἀνθρώπῳ*). But the words *ὅποσα χρὴ τοιαῦτα νομίζειν τὴν αἰδίων ἡρῆσθαι φύσιν*, whether they mean 'whatever possess,' or 'whatever are possessed by, the eternal sphere,' are evidently intended to direct our thoughts to the dogma, *θεὸς πάντων μέτρον*, and to suggest the existence of an *Αἰτοαγαθόν* beyond the universe of time and change. Thus the first class has two sections: Good transcendent or beyond nature, and Good immanent in nature.

A question now arises why only a second rank is allotted to *τὸ σύμμετρον καὶ καλόν*; and this may be merely due, as Badham suggested, to a logical priority implying a certain priority of existence, attributed to the higher class; *τὸ μέτρον* being regarded as antecedent or causative and *τὸ καλόν* as derivative or resultant. Cf. *μετριότης γὰρ καὶ συμμετρία κάλλος δὴ πον καὶ ἀρετὴ πανταχοῦ ξυμβαίνει γίνεσθαι* 64 E. Yet we read elsewhere of an *Αἰτοκαλόν* occupying a supra-mundane sphere; so that the second class also must be allowed to comprehend two sections.

The other classes need not be discussed here. Commentators raise other questions which, though strictly speaking extraneous to the *Philebus*, probably cannot but occur to the reader of it. For example, into which of the four classes must the Ideas be placed? In the first instance clearly into the class of *Πέρας*. But if they are regarded

as *Νόηματα* of the Supreme Reason, or if we may apply to it the Aristotelian dictum, *ὁ τοῦς τόπος εἰδῶν*, *Νοῦς* will be identified with the totality of Ideas, which thus enter, in the second instance, the class of which Reason is the principal occupant, viz. the class of Cause. To show that the four classes are not mutually exclusive it may be observed that, although pleasures as *πεπερασμένοι* belong to the class *κοινόν*, yet, as elements of the *μικτὸς βίος*, both they and sciences must be classed as *ἄπειρα*.

Again, according to Aristotle, Plato made τὰ *Μαθηματικά* a group of entities mediating between the Ideas and the sensible world. Which of the four *γένη*, commentators inquire, do they occupy? If they are to be identified with anything mentioned in the *Philebus*, it must clearly be with τὰ *πέρατα* or *περατοειδή*: i.e. with the quantitative laws which, being immanent in sensible objects, make them more or less faithful copies or analogues of their respective *παράδειγματα* or eternal archetypes. Mr. Bury has collected a number of opinions of various value on these matters in an appendix, from which it appears that the last of the above solutions are advocated by Schneider and Tocco.

(19) Among statements which involve misconceptions the following may be selected: 'To the Final cause belongs the attribute of Eternity,' Introduction, p. 45. Why Eternity, of all others, is the attribute which cannot belong to the Final cause, an object which by its very nature can only be found in the sphere of *γένεσις εἰς οὐσίαν*—the sphere of transient being.

(20) Further on, p. 49, we are informed

that the *αἰσθητὸς κόσμος* is the *αὐτοζῶον* of the *Timaeus*—a proposition which, after all the eloquence expended by the Master on the contrast of *αἰσθητὰ* and *νοητὰ*, would assuredly not have been received with acclamations of assent in the groves of Academe.

(21) Subsequently the editor says: 'So far then we have assigned both Reason and Pleasure each to its appropriate *Genus* (viz. ἡ *αἰρία* and τὸ *ἄπειρον*). This is, so to say, to have determined the *formal cause* of these two objects,' p. 55. Neither of these technical terms can be properly employed on this occasion. When Socrates speaks of τὸ *ἄπειρον* and τὸ *αἴτιον* as *γένη* and says that Pleasure and Reason fall under these *γένη*, he only means that they are subjects of which these general terms can be predicated. He does not mean that τὸ *ἄπειρον* and τὸ *αἴτιον* are Genera of Pleasure and Reason in the logical or scientific sense—*ἐν τῷ τί ἐστι κατηγορούμενα*. Assuming that Socrates has established his thesis, Unlimited and Cause are, logically speaking, only Accidents (*συμβεβηκότα*) of Pleasure and Reason: and neither Socrates nor any one else would dream of introducing them as Genera into the definition of those objects.

But, secondly, even if we know the true genus of any thing, we may have made very little progress in the discovery of its formal cause. To know this we must know every factor or character that enters into its complete definition. There may be twenty of them, and the genus the least important of the twenty.

E. POSTE.

FRANCKEN'S LUCAN, VOL. II.

M. Annaei Lucani Pharsalia. Cum commentario critico edidit C.M. FRANCKEN. Vol II. continens libros VI–X. Lugduni Batavorum apud A. W. Sijthoff [1897]. Mark 9. 60.

In scope and principle the second volume of this book closely resembles the first, reviewed by Mr. Heitland in the *Classical Review* for February, 1897. But in spite of the discussion of Dr. Francken's methods to be found there, there are several points on which I feel it necessary to touch.

First as regards the *apparatus criticus*.

Is this intended to be complete? I imagine so: but in that case it requires revision. See e.g. vi. 76 vii. 295 viii. 48 ix. 605 where no mention is made of important MSS. (V, U, or G) which give readings either different to that placed in Dr. F's text or otherwise interesting (as e.g. viii. *l.c.* where G is omitted though it coincides with M, a rare occurrence). Again, the apparatus is bulky, and clearness essential. F^m and Hosius' F might be given a place in the Notae Codicum opposite p. 1. What MS. is referred to as F in viii. 192, 355? In x 230 F appears (from the note) to be a

misprint for T: is this so in viii. *ll. cc*? And what is S, quoted on vi. 7, vii. 462, 519, viii. 177¹ etc? Above all, what is the reading of the important MS. G in viii. 231? One statement stands in the apparatus, another in the corrigenda (in which a misprint occurs) and a third will be found in Hosius' edition! In vii. 331 Dr. F. gives us two accounts of the reading of his own MS. A: similar is the note on viii. 134 *ira UV arma VRg*. Some of these defects may be due to printers' errors, which are rather numerous. The corrigenda for this volume start with the correction of a misprint on p. 20. But, to confine myself to really misleading or confusing errors, before that page we have these:—vi. 58 PR—standing for P^R or P^RR 217 *defuisse* etc, words which belong to l. 207² 295 *erigit V egerit V 312 exciri VRg* (apparatus) VRb (note) 316 V mentioned *along* with O (which, ordinarily, includes that MS).

These slips make one distrustful—especially as, in many passages, we have to decide between our editor's account of a MS. reading and that given by other scholars. These cases seem to me rather frequent—whether more so than is to be expected, is not now the question.³ I have before me seven passages, in all of which a choice has to be made between two possible readings and where, in consequence, it is most important to know what our good MSS. read. The passages are vii. 303, 801, viii. 693, 727, ix. 40, 880 X 136. Dr. Francken's notes shew that in all these passages there is doubt as to the real reading given by M. Compare the note on vii. 395: '*quo M (Stht.) G (Us.) in uiroque (sic) ego quod.*' Nor is Dr. Francken himself always confident of the accuracy of his own statements: see vii. 303 '*recepti ex V et fortasse M*' ix. 605 '*de M dubito*' 749 '*M si recte tradit Stht.*' (where the question is, does it read *agris* or *causis*?). Was it not worth while to have these points definitely settled? ix. 40 is the only case I have noted where the editor is confident concerning his own collation. Moreover, there are cases where Dr. Francken does not mention that his account of a Ms. reading differs from that of other scholars. See (for M) vi. 330, ix. 541, x. 245, (for V)

vii. 159, viii. 95, 382.⁴ In x. 316 *tantas* is an emendation, not a reading of M.

Passing to the text, we find numerous emendations of Bentley, Heinsius and others definitely adopted. The editor's own corrections are generally reserved for the notes. A tendency to favour U is noticeable: cp. vi. 734, viii. 390, 529 etc. I think we get improvements upon Hosius' text in the following places: vi. 200, 293,⁵ 313, 650, vii. 12, 462 (a well-known *crux*), 504, 575, 598, 616 (a rare case of return to O), viii. 27, 563, 861 (and perhaps punctuation in 366, 417), ix. 38, 250, 329, 406, 430, 454, 482, 569, 719, 758, 766, 840, 937, 1105, x. 48, 117, 290. I am not quite certain as regards vii. 607, viii. 51, 757, 779.⁶

I pass now to the consideration of some passages where the editor fails to convince me. Even here the care bestowed on the work, the obvious desire to find out what Lucan really wrote which pervades it, and the intimate knowledge of his author, make Dr. Francken's notes and discussions in most cases interesting and, above all, stimulating. The commentary is more exegetical than the average of critical editions leads one to expect. When the same has been done for Valerius, Statius, and even Silius, we shall be on firmer ground with regard to 'silver' poetry. How uncertain the footing is at present can be known only to those who work at these authors, the ordinary histories of literature treating them with confident and conventional inaccuracy. Even Dr. Francken seems at times to fail through not making sufficient allowance for the taste and mannerisms of 'silver' literature. I shall give a few examples below. The reading cited in brackets is that of Hosius' edition.

vi. 88 *digerit artus*] *derigat* ('stiffens') is a bold emendation, more discreetly reserved for the note in ix. 676. 428 *quis prodat aues*] Dr. F. notes that the question is not '*quis sit augur*' but '*quid augurium prodat.*' Hence he reads *quis prodat auis*. But he cannot alter '*quis fulgura servet*' just afterwards, to which he appends the remark '*variandi causa,*' and why not allow variation to begin earlier? 596 *mens dubiis percussa pauet rursusque paratast Certos*

¹ In vii. 462, 519 it seems to be a misprint for C, in vii. 633 it stands for Servius! In other places one must await Dr. Francken's explanation.

² Similar displacements vii. 383, 868; ix. 651.

³ Dr. Francken's views may be gathered from his works in *Class. Rev.* 1897, p. 181: '*Stht. de V. fallitur, ut cuius potest accidere: in quo facile est tragoedias excitare, praesertim si ipse codices non conferas.*'

⁴ In all these passages there is much doubt as to which reading should be adopted.

⁵ I never believed *Aetnae* could be right, for *Aetna* comes soon after and the Roman poets loved variety in proper names. *Notum* need not be taken strictly, and it now appears that A has *Hennaeis*.

⁶ In vi. 360 if emendation is necessary, read *abducta* with Sen. N. Q. vi. 25 (both passages refer to the draining of Thessaly).

ferre metus] Dr. F. complains that 'pauere' and 'metuere' present no contrast, and reads *labat*. But surely the contrast lies between facing a certainty (*metus = causa metuendi*, almost death itself) and being in suspense. *Pavor* in this latter sense is common enough. 604 Here the order of words is changed, against the bulk of MSS. and without explanation. Exactly similar cases are vii. 548,¹ 559 : compare also vi. 810, vii. 623,² 828, viii. 618, 870 (? a misprint), ix. 29, 150, x. 268 where the readings in text have either no or only inferior authority. 652-3. Dr. Francken here reads *quod traxerit* and *quod descenderat* and in his note explains the difference of tense. But no explanation is given for the change of mood. Other passages where the changes seem objectionable are 192, 286, 484 and 700. Hosius' text in 550 and 565 is retained.

vii. 32 *fructum raperetis*] Here Dr. F. with most MSS. reads *caperetis*, though in 331 he reads *rapunt* against all MSS., noting 'celeritas erat significanda.' But this is much more the case here, and UG support *raperetis*. Compare V 794 *perit fructus amoris*, where *perit = non rapitur*, just as in x. 505-8 *perdo* and *rapio* are contrasted. 768 *nocentem*] Dr. F. complains 'cur terra nocens dicatur nemo dixit' and emends. But 869 is a parallel and Dr. F. has actually provided another by emending to *nocentem Emathiam* in 798. The changes in 2 and 764 do not commend themselves to me.

viii. 229 Here is a serious error, Dr. F. reading in the text *ab igne iam propior qua Persis eram*—'where I was nearer the sun than are the Persians.' To avoid all possibility of mistake he notes *Persis = quam Persae*. Metrical points are strangely handled elsewhere: vi. 616 *contentu's* and viii. 431 *transiris Araxen* would surely have surprised so correct a versifier as Lucan. The note on viii. 187 is strange: 'contra usum in additum est ne ultima verbi respondit producat.' In the notes on ix. 990 and 262 Ovid and Seneca are misquoted as writing respectively 'hic locus est Vestae Palladem qui servat et ignes' and 'immane regnum est posse sine rege pati.' 702 *perculit*] *perculit* Dr. F. who notes '*perculit*—Weis. explicat suppleto 'ad exitum.' Eodem (i.e. nullo) iure possis supplere 'ad culmen.' Dr. F. wars, and often with justice, against commentators who explain by supplying

omitted words, but surely Aen. ii. 555 and Eclogues v. 34 justify the reading here. I cannot accept the changes in 41,³ 390, 511 and 529. Hosius' reading in 567 is retained.

ix. 9 Is not *animas* meant to stand in text? 43 *momenta* is a misprint. 153 *Pellaeis arcis* is ingenious, but in viii. 736 *arca* has a contemptuous force, out of place here. Nor does the vulgate seem objectionable to me. 211 *scire mori sors prima uiris*] *uiri* Dr. F. who notes '*uiri* in plur. opponitur vulgo mulieribus; uirilis praestantiae significatio solet singulari indicari.' This is very new to me, and Lucan seems to ignore the rule in 406. Arbitrary distinctions of this kind abound in the notes (see further below): sometimes they are allowed to affect the text as here and viii. 529 where we are told '*iacere sub aliquo figurate dicitur, sub ruina non item.*' 413 *paris erit Europae*] *par* Dr. F. But Silius says of Libya 'aut ingens Asiae latus, aut pars tertia terris' (i. 195). Another passage illustrated by Silius is 425, where Dr. F. keeps Hosius' text *nullo glaebarum crimine pura*. Mr. Heitland has shown that the reading *diues* is supported by Ovid, but I think Silius gives even more certain evidence. In iii. 650 *sqq.* he closely imitates Lucan: how closely, may be seen by the following table:—

Sil. III.		Luc. IX.
653	=	448
655	=	449-50
660	=	453
665	=	495
677	=	622
688	=	452

In the midst then of this passage Sil. writes (l. 673) '*loca plena deo (= Luc. l.c. 564) dites sine uomere glaebas.*' *Mox* is retained in 776.

x. 47 *prope plus* is surely very unnecessary: *propius timuere sarisas* is surely no harder than *iam propius metuens* and *propius sperans* in Sil. i. 32, xvii. 535. In 122 *fulcit gemma toros* is read, with V, but surely it can hardly stand.

A number of lines are bracketed, or marked as being duplicates. Of the former I can only remark on vii. 759, where the process seems very unnecessary: *sibi* may be repeated with *promiserit*. As for passages which look like duplicates, the silver writers give plenty of scope for such conjectures, but it is very dangerous ground. Take for example vi. 554-5. The sentiment is at once repeated in 556-7 and Dr. F. marks

¹ *non illic* is read by all good MSS.: see the corrigenda in Francken.

² *quis transmittat* only AC (see the corrigenda in Francken).

³ Surely *stares* in l. 43 does refer to Cornelia?

these lines accordingly. But do not lines 560-1 deserve the same fate? In vii. 560 *sqq.* the treatment is too ingenious: that a marginal note would get dovetailed into the text in this way seems to me improbable.¹ In vii. 257-8 Dr. F's. note seems itself to provide material for defence of the lines in their present position.²

I close with a word or two on the notes. They contain a good deal of exegetical matter, and to some of the explanations I must take exception. vii. 357 *sacra antiquus imagine miles* cannot mean 'qui antiquitatis speciem prae se fert': from *Curios, Camillos* in the following line it is clear Lucan has not finished with the *clari viri*. viii. 121 *templorum cultus* is explained to mean 'divine honours,' as though this would induce Pompey to stop in Lesbos. 541 Why is Haskins' explanation of *monstrum* ignored? Cp. *nefas* 550. ix. 866 *ingressis* is certainly not passive. 985

¹ The note on 567 is strange: *premit* surely = 'close'—a friendly act, without any idea of 'manus nocturna.'

² 571-3 are bracketed, but surely these lines do form the apodosis to the preceding ones and *quicumque* = *quiuis* is rare at beginning of clauses (V. Fl. viii. 4 is quite exceptional).

uenturi me teque legent]. Can *te* = 'your history of the civil war,' as Dr. F. explains? As for the suggested alterations of the text to be found, one cannot but note once more the arbitrary grounds on which some are based. For instance can we assume that in vii. 295 the choice lies between *in tela ruentis* or *in bella furentis*, and that *in tela furentis* is out of the question? In viii. 66 we are told 'relativa sententia qua annectitur illud quod gravius est progressis h.l. non est apta.' Why less so than in vi. 250, vii. 764, ix. 911? I conclude with a very typical example, viii. 303 where Lucan writes *Spicula nec solo spargunt fidentia ferro*. Dr. F. suggests *sidentia*—an unlikely word in any case. But wherein lies the peculiarity which he describes as *admodum insolens*? For the personification cp. e.g. Sen. Epp. xciv. § 57 *nunquam pacem agens ferrum*; V. Fl. vi. 124 *inceptus iam lancea tenuit erilis*, and many other similar expressions. Anyhow the text is rendered quite certain once more by Silius who writes (i. 219) *nec fidens (tellus) nudo sine fraudibus ensi* and (13. 198) *nudo non credere ferro*.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

NEUE ON THE LATIN VERB.

Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache, von FRIEDRICH NEUE. Dritter Band. *Das Verbum*. Dritte, sehr vermehrte Auflage von C. WAGENER (Berlin 1894-7, pp. 664). 21 Mark.

NEUE'S *Formenlehre* is too well known to need any fresh recommendation. It is enough to say of the third edition by Prof. Wagener that it maintains the high standard reached by the former editions and is absolutely indispensable to advanced students of Latin. In this volume on the Verb, for example, we have carefully compiled statistics on the Passive use of Neuter Verbs, e.g. *regnata rura* (pp. 1 *sqq.*), on the interchange of Deponent and Active Forms, e.g. *assentio* and *assentior* (pp. 17 *sqq.*), on the use of the Tenses (pp. 129 *sqq.*), on the Person-endings, e.g. *-runt* and *-re* 3 Pl. Perf., *-ris* and *-re* 2 Sg. Pass. (pp. 111 *sqq.*), on departures from the usual Conjugation-type, e.g. *cupiret* besides *cuperet*, *eveniat* beside *eveniat*, *-ibo* and *-iam* Fut. (pp. 241 *sqq.*), on the Gerund in *-undum* and *-endum* (pp. 331 *sqq.*), on Perfect formations

(pp. 340 *sqq.*), on Verb-forms in *-so*, *-sim* (pp. 507 *sqq.*) on Perfect Participles Passive (pp. 521 *sqq.*), on Unthematic and Defective Verbs (pp. 594 *sqq.*), to mention only a selection of the topics discussed. The difficulty of compiling such statistics may easily be imagined. To draw up lists without a flaw would require an accurate knowledge of the textual criticism of every Latin author, a knowledge which is clearly beyond the power of any one. It will always be advisable to verify the Neue-Wagener examples by consulting the best critical edition of each author cited, before pronouncing that this or that form is or is not found in a particular author. On p. 82, where *proficisco* is quoted from Plaut. *Mil.* 4. 8. 19, the remark 'im Leipz, proficiscor' is surprising. The Leipzig MS. (*F*) of Plautus is well known to be a copy of the Codex Ursinianus (*D*) in the last twelve plays, so that its departure from the reading of *BCD* is a fact quite unworthy of mention. Unless one verified this reference in Leo's or the Ritschl edition, one might be misled into supposing

that there was evidence for the form *proficiscor* in this line of Plautus. I add a few other comments: (p. 87) *ruvor* 'to live in the country' quoted by Nonius from Varro suggests *domatus sum*, 'I have lived at home,' as the true form in Plaut. *Men.* 105: *domi domatus sum usque cum caris meis*, which has been altered to *domitus sum* by some scribe who confused it with the Perf. Ind. Pass. of *domo* 'I subdue'; (p. 110) Latin participles like *pransus*, *cenatus* find a parallel in Umbrian *çersnato* 'having supped,' in the phrase in the Iguvine Tables *çersnatur furent* 'cenati erunt'; (p. 177) the collection of forms in *-uiri* (for *-um iri*), e.g. *reddituiri* (Cic. *Att.* 5. 15. 3) is interesting. They are often changed, in MSS. to forms in *-uri* as if Nom. Pl. Masc. of Fut. Part. Act.; (p. 199) the old explanation of Passive *-r* as the Reflexive pronoun *se* should be allowed to rest in its grave: (p. 295) in quoting examples of *-at* 3 Sg. in Plautus, it should be stated that the shortening is only

found after a short syllable, e.g. *āmāt* but not *cūrāt*, and comes under the Breves Breviantes Law like *āmā*, *vālē*, *dōmā*, *pūtō* and similar scansions; (p. 298) Servius (ad *Aem.* vi. 779) tells us that *vidēn* was the ordinary pronunciation of his time; (p. 331) 'nach u, qu, und v ist auch in der älteren Zeit undus nicht nachzuweisen,' but, it may be added, *secundus* (the form in *-undus* corresponding to *sequendus*, the form in *-endus*) shows that the formation was not unknown earlier; (p. 411) Oscan 'fefacit' should be *fefacid* (Perf. Subj. 3 Sg.). If the *fefaked* 'fecit' of the Praenestine Fibula be Old Latin, it is not true to say that 'im Lateinischen nur *feci* vorhanden ist'; (p. 603) in connection with *praesens* might be mentioned its use as Part. of *praesesse*, 'to be in command,' on the Columna Rostrata *praesented* [*Anibaled*] *dictatored olorom* 'under the command of H. their dictator.'

W. M. LINDSAY.

WELLS' SHORT HISTORY OF ROME.

A short History of Rome to the Death of Augustus, by T. Wells, M.A. Methuen and Co. pp. 353. 3s. 6d.

To write a compendium of Roman history to the death of Augustus in an interesting manner is by no means an easy task, and Mr. Wells is to be congratulated on having produced a very readable work. Whether there is 'at present no satisfactory small Roman history existing in England' seems doubtful. We think there are several, but at any rate Mr. Wells' book has sufficient merits of its own to render any apology for its publication unnecessary. The chief events in Roman history are related clearly, and concisely. More attention has been given to the constitutional development of Rome

than is usually done in books of a similar kind. In this feature the chief merit of the book consists. A short, but useful sketch of the different races of Italy is given in the Introduction. The various myths of the regal, and early republican period are treated very briefly, or omitted altogether. Want of space is pleaded as an excuse for this, which may also be the reason of the complete omission of the usual chapters on literature, but the book would be more serviceable had room been found for the latter. The historical parallels are to the point, and will be welcomed by practical teachers. There is a good index, and four useful maps. On the whole Mr. Wells has written a useful schoolbook.

W. E. P. COTTER.

ARCHAEOLOGY

A RE-DISCOVERED INSCRIPTION IN
THE ACROPOLIS WALL.

MR. BROWN of the American School of Archaeology at Athens has recently been examining the slopes of the Acropolis rock and the walls with great care, and in the course of his search has discovered a number of inscriptions previously unknown. His investigations, conducted at considerable risk, have led to very valuable finds, and he has kindly allowed me to make known one of particular interest. He has found the inscription which Koehler failed to find (*Lapidem frustra quaesivi*), *C.I.A.* ii. 3. 1263. It is built into the S. wall of the Acropolis upside down and only a few courses above the rock, about half-way between the corner of the Nike-bastion and the S.W. angle of the Parthenon, and can only be reached by a long scramble along the rock from the Theatre of Dionysos, or by climbing down over the wall. In its present condition the stone is more complete than as Wordsworth gave it, and Pittakis' copy is still more inaccurate. The inscription is *στοιχηδόν* and reads :

Κεκροπὶς παῖδ...
Κτήσιππος Χαβρ...
ἐχορηγεί. Δα...

To the left the stone is complete, to the right broken : there is room for one letter at the end of the first line, but no trace of the omega. The last two letters are either, as Koehler restores, the beginning of the name of the *αὐλητής*, or of that of the *διδάσκαλος* : the order seems to have varied (cp. 1267 with 1268) in different inscriptions. Wordsworth inferred from the inscription that, as Ctesippus is here mentioned as performing a liturgy, Demosthenes was successful in his speech against Leptines, and the law of the latter was repealed. The re-discovery of the inscription is important from its bearing on this question. The date cannot be precisely specified, but the inscription is in good 4th century lettering, and I have the authority of Dr. Wilhelm, the chief epigraphist in Athens, to confirm me in saying, that the stone may quite well be placed before 355 B.C., the date of Demosthenes' speech. This being the

case, no inference whatever can be drawn as to the orator's success from this stone, and the question must be discussed on other evidence. The obviously inaccurate statement of Dio Chrysostom must be weighed on the one side against the antecedent improbability on the other, that a young and unknown speaker succeeded in obtaining a victory over the party who then held the reins of government, a victory which no doubt would have surprised him as much as the rest of Athens.

G. C. RICHARDS.

Athens.

PERROT'S *HISTOIRE DE L'ART DANS
L'ANTIQUITÉ*.

Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité. Par GEORGES PERROT. Tome VII., La Grèce de l'Épopée : La Grèce Archaïque (le Temple). Paris : Hachette. 1898.

M. PERROT's elaborate work, great both in conception and in execution, requires no introduction to the readers of the *Classical Review*. The first ten parts of the new volume are devoted to the Homeric Greece, and do not complete that subject. The religion, the burial, the domestic architecture revealed to us in Homer, are discussed with great fulness ; and a merited compliment is paid on p. 81 to Prof. Jebb's article on the Homeric House in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1886. It is significant as to M. Perrot's method and views that the Homeric House is treated in a different volume and a different section from the Palace of the Mycenaean period, while the various Houses in Homer are described with a minuteness worthy of a Homeric commentator. It is needless to add that the merits of M. Perrot's work are fully maintained in the opening of this new volume ; and that all who are interested in Homer will find in every page acute and suggestive remarks and comparisons drawn from a wide experience. We do not attempt to criticise or characterise the book ; we merely chronicle its appearance, which will be welcome to many.

W. M. RAMSAY.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xviii, 3. Whole No. 71. Oct. 1897.

The Ethics and Amenities of Greek Historiography. B. Perrin. The President's address at the 28th annual session of the Am. Phil. Assoc. July, 1897. It is characteristic of ancient writers not to name sources at all, but to claim originality. Other writers are referred to only on trivial points, or to be corrected or ridiculed. With them the question of plagiarism did not arise. 'All the Greek historians,' says Josephus, 'seek not truth, but λόγων δύναμιν, powerful expression, and each writer applies himself to eclipse in fame his predecessor.' *The Subjunctive in Independent Sentences in Plautus*, ii, E. P. Morris. Continued from the last No. [*Cl. Rev.* xi, 462]. The subjunctive use consists of a great variety of more or less specialised usages, differing often but slightly from one another. We have reached no *Grundbegriff*, for what we call 'the subjunctive' has no objective existence. *Caccilius of Calacte*, W. R. Roberts. In the time of Augustus the leading critics were Caccilius of Calacte, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. From what we know of them we gather that they had 'something of the wide outlook and sympathy possessed by the best Roman writers, such as Cicero, for whom the adoption of a pure Attic standard had a living and not simply an antiquarian interest.' *Are the Letters of Horace Satires?* G. L. Hendrickson. That both the satires and epistles were considered in antiquity to belong to the department of poetry known as *satira*, we may add the testimony of Statius (*Silv.* i. 3, 99 *sqq.*) to that of Quintilian, Suetonius, Porphyry and Sidonius Apollinaris. In modern times only Casaubon has supported this view. *Notes on Horace*, C. Knapp. On *Od.* iv, 3, 17-20 *dulcem strepitum*, parallels between Horace and Sophocles, and some passages in the Satires.

NOTE. On *Lucian's Nigrinus*, Emily James Smith. The *Nigrinus* not only has traces of the sophistic style, but is actually a sophistic work, L. never having in fact abandoned the sophistic system with which he began. Among the books reviewed are Hillebrandt's *Ritual-Literatur-Vedische Opfer und Zauber*, which forms Vol. iii, part 2 of *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Alterthums-kunde*, and Kibel's *Sophokles Elektra*. There are *Brief Mentions* of Bréal's *Essai de Sémantique* and Gallaway's dissertation *On the use of μή with the participle in classical Greek*, and obituary notices of Professors G. M. Lane and F. de F. Allen.

Part 4. Whole No. 72. Dec. 1897. *The subjunctive in Independent Sentences in Plautus*, iii, E. P. Morris. Concluded from the last No. This paper deals with the optative and potential usages of the subjunctive. *The use of enim in Plautus and Terence*, W. K. Clement. The exx. of the corroborative force of *enim* to the causal force are as 14 to 1 in Plautus, and 13 to 1 in Terence; the percentage of causal force is respectable enough not to be rejected through mere devotion to a theory. *On the Character of Inferred Parent Languages*, H. Oertel. The distinct value of constructive parent forms is to enable us to classify a given number of existing forms. To claim more loses one in a maze of speculation, for the sum total of inferred forms cannot give us a true picture of any language ever spoken. *Concluding Notes on the Origin of the Gerund and Gerundive*, L. Horton-Smith. A third and concluding paper [see *Cl. Rev.* viii. 474 and ix. 477]. The writer considers (1) that the Italic Gerundive was

purely an Italic development, (2) that the Gerund was developed from the Gerundive, (3) that the Gerundive is compounded of the Prim. Ital. Accus. Infin. in -m and the verbal suffix -dō-, (4) that the suffix -dō- is the representative of idg. *dō-* from idg. **dō-*. *Negative Futures in the Greek New Testament*, W. G. Ballantine. The contention is that whatever may be the origin and usage of *οὐ μὴ* in classical writers, it was not emphatic to Hellenistic writers.

NOTE. On Latin nihil 'naught, not,' E. W. Fay. 'The evidence seems to warrant us in positing an Aryan base at 'small, a bit, whit.' There is a review of Heinze's *T. Lucretius Carus de Rerum Natura* Book iii, and *Brief Mentions* of Kenyon's *Bacchylides* and Hill's *Sources of Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars*.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 53, 1. 1898.

Kritische und exegetische Bemerkungen zu Philo, ii, P. Wendland. Concluded from the last no. *Quellenstudien zu Ciceros Büchern de natura deorum, de divinatione, de fato*, R. Hoyer. Directed chiefly against Schmekel, who would build up Cicero's philosophical system from Panaetius and Posidonius. But their doctrines cannot often be certainly distinguished from those of others, e.g. Antiochus. *Satura Tulliana*, O. Plasberg. Various notes. *Der Tod des Kleitos*, R. Schubert. An attempt to ascertain the truth about this matter more accurately than has yet been done. *Zu Ciceros Briefen an Atticus*, C. F. W. Mueller. Many critical notes. *Drei boiotische Eigennamen (mit einer Beigabe Ναύκραπος ναύκληρος)*, F. Solmsen. The names are Φιθάδας, Φάρμυχος, and Βράμις.

MISCELLLEN. *De Strabonis loco*, R. Kunze. In book xvii (p. 797 Cas.) for the corrupt πολιτικόν conjectures πολυδίκιον. *T. Lucretius Carus bei Diogenes von Oinoanda?* A. Koerte. There is no reason to suppose that *ὁ θαυμάσιος Κάρος* here mentioned refers to the poet. *Damasus und Dracontius*, M. Ihm. Does not admit that Dracontius has used the epigrams of Damasus in his Christian and profane poems. *Spartiatius*, F. B. The work of Musonius, in which allusion is made to Sp., was written during his own exile i.e. before A.D. 69. *ΗΑΥΣ-ΘΡΑΙΚΙΑΗΣ*, O. Rossbach. So we must write 'nomen caelatoris *Hedys* et gentis Delphicae *Thracides*' for the monstrous *Hedys thrachides* in Plin. N. H. xxxiii § 156. *Κέπουλε*, A. Bauer. This puzzling word in a medical recipe given by R. Fuchs (vol. 50, p. 577) is the *Xilopia aethiopia*, and is identical with the word *cupula* in Ducange.

Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. Vol. 10. Part 3. 1897.

Zur Geschichte der Futura und des Konjunktivs des Perfekts im Lateinischen, H. Blase. A statistical paper. *Mamms tollere = mirari*, E. Wölflin. Exx. from Cicero and Catullus. *Sub sudo*, A. Funck. Defends this in Pl. Most. 765 against Leo in the last no. [*Cl. Rev.* xi. 85]. *Usque ad quod*, A. Funck. Occurs in St. Augustine = *jusqu'à ce que*. *Zur Bedeutung und Schreibung der Partikel etiamnunc*, A. Roosen. *Vulgärlateinisches felgerola = *felicarula*, R. Fuchs. *Fides als vox media*, H. Krüger. This is shown by the expressions *f. bona* und *f. mala*, with which we may compare *dolus bonus* und *d. malus*. *Storia*, B. Kibler. This word occurs Caes. b.c. ii. 9, 5, and in Bell. Afr. 47, 5 *stortisque* should be read

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Frontinus, see also last no. [*Cl. Rev.* xi. 85]. *Vitio mit Gen. = propter*, E. Wölfflin.

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A, ab, abs, J. C. Rolfe. The history of the various forms, their meanings and syntax. *Zur Latinität des Augustus*, E. Wölfflin. The poetical *sponte sua* in Monum. Aneyr. is due to Livy. *Lexikonartikel A, ab, abs*, J. C. Rolfe. *Propter bei Tacitus*, F. Poulsen. As *propter* in Tac. is not found in a causal sense except Hist. i. 65, we should there read *pro* with abl. *Zu den lateinischen Glossen*, W. Heraeus. Some additions to and criticisms of Landgraf's paper in the last vol. [See *Cl. Rev.* ix. 430]. *Pararius, substantif*, L. Havet. The word is derived from *par* not from *parare*. *Sopio, -onis bei Catull.*, A. Sonny. *Accorpo = accubitus*, A. Funk. *Indeklinables vetus bei Ortsnamen*, M. Petschenig. An ex. from Victor Vitensis.

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The Classical Review

JUNE 1898.

AN ITALIAN SCHOLAR ON JEROME'S LIFE OF LUCRETIVS.

IN Italy of late years Lucretius has been studied with extraordinary fervour. Giusani has published an elaborate edition of his poem and numerous dissertations have appeared dealing with his life and work. The most valuable of the latter is that by Professor Ettore Stampini¹ (*Il Suicidio di Lucrezio*. Messina, 1896) written partly as a criticism on a pamphlet with the same title by Giacomo Gini² according to whom Jerome's data as to Lucretius's periods of madness, the story of the philtre and his suicide are mere inventions, forming what he calls 'the Legend of Lucretius.' Stampini's pamphlet is written with great ability and grasp: he shows much subtlety and penetration and equal breadth and balance of judgment in dealing with the few poor details which have come down to us about Lucretius. These details are so scanty, yet so sensational as to rouse our suspicion: they are worn threadbare in the course of long and fruitless controversy: yet Stampini has thrown fresh light upon them and has to a large extent succeeded in making them now for the first time coherent and consistent with the evidence of the poem itself. The sad and painful story outlined by Jerome is treated by him with fine sympathy and in the light of a searching study of Lucretius's character as revealed in his

poem. I wish at present not so much to criticise his explanation as to set it forth.

Stampini begins by quoting Trezza's remark that 'a tragical silence surrounds the life of Lucretius and makes it sad and sacred.' He then quotes the two ancient sources, approving Nettleship's view that Donatus's life of Virgil is in reality, 'the great bulk of it,' the original biography by Suetonius or else is a revision or continuation of this. There may be errors of negligence in Jerome's additions to the Chronicle, especially as to dates: 'nevertheless it cannot be denied that really in the substance of the facts he has strictly followed Suetonius.' It is universally admitted that Suetonius used original sources with much diligence, faithfulness and acuteness, nor is he disposed lightly to accept as true all the information which he has gathered and still less to create sensational incidents in order to add to the interest of his narrative. 'I say this,' continues Stampini, 'not so much to exclude the idea that the suicide of Lucretius could have been invented by Suetonius, which no one could reasonably think, as to assert that, if the historian included it in his biography of Lucretius, he must have done so not without good reasons and after accurately weighing the statement. Gini himself notes that "it is reasonable to think that Suetonius collected in his book those facts and anecdotes which were already current"; and we must at least admit that, when Suetonius wrote, the suicide of the great poet of Nature was regarded as a historical fact, fully trustworthy. Nor, in

¹ I have specially to thank an accomplished Italian scholar, Mr. Francis Pearse, for sending me a translation of almost the entire pamphlet and also Mr. H. A. Webster, Librarian to the University of Edinburgh, for further valuable assistance.

² Palermo, 1895.

treating of an enlightened age, possessing so many literary monuments, can we accept the statement that at the time of Suetonius the life of Lucretius could be so little known that fanciful matter might easily be introduced into the biography of the poet.'

'The points mentioned by St. Jerome are three. The first refers to a philtre offered to Lucretius; the second relates his madness with intervals of quiet and mental clearness; the third regards his suicide. Now I maintain that no one of these facts can be reasonably judged to be without foundation, not even the first, although it may be differently explained, as may be seen farther on: I maintain besides that, if error there was, as I believe, on the part of St. Jerome, it lay merely in his abridging the account of Suetonius too concisely and *in not distinguishing with the needful clearness and precision the order and character of the facts.*'

The philtre might well have produced an unnatural excitement which led to the poet's suicide, but the true cause of that act is to be sought long before this in the organic illness from which he suffered. St. Jerome in compiling has 'confused and made into one the two facts, which were doubtless distinct in Suetonius: but he has not so confused them that the truth cannot be seen through.' This view is confirmed by the fact that Jerome uses one word, *insania*, to describe the madness in the intervals of which Lucretius composed his immortal work and another, *furor*, to describe the fearful derangement of the nervous system, produced by the potion drunk. This intense and unnatural excitement was the true cause of the poet's suicide. We may compare Suetonius's account of the effect of the potion given by Caesonia to Caligula—*Creditur potionatus a Caesonia uxore amatorio quidem medicamento, sed quod in furorem verterit*. Stampini refers also to Cicero's definition of the two words at *Tusc. Qu. III. 5. 11*.¹

Lucretius left the MS. of his poem in a disorder which cannot be explained solely through the lack of his last hand. 'An Italian philologist who has distinguished himself by his studies on Lucretius, Carlo Giussani, admirably indicates the method followed by Lucretius in the composition of

his poem: "The poet at his death left his work completed in the rough but in no part brought to its final form. Even in the first composition he had no doubt worked upon a general plan, already determined on, but he had not worked consecutively; and that is to be understood not only in the sense that his work may have been interrupted by periods of *insania* but more especially, that he frequently treated individual parts separately, as if each stood by itself (*isolatamente*) without, for the time being, troubling himself about all the necessary connections with the rest of the poem, sometimes even leaving such passages incomplete or in part hardly sketched out. Later in the course of his work, he repeatedly returned to the parts already treated, now recasting in a different form some paragraph or portion of a paragraph, now making additions, yet even these intended as provisional sketches: and, fond as he was of repeating certain expressions or formulae or verses or groups of verses which seemed to him particularly effective in conception or in poetic beauty, he even inserted such repetitions in passages already written or wrote them on the margin for future introduction."² In short it is a question of an entirely abnormal mode of composition, of workmanship by fits and starts, disconnected, confused, which, if we grant the physical and psychical ailment mentioned by Jerome, is easily understood, but which becomes almost inexplicable if this cause is removed.'

[If Stampini means that the frequent repetitions in Lucretius are 'abnormal' in the sense of being a symptom of insanity, this is a quite unwarranted inference. Such repetitions are common in Empedocles, whose poem 'On Nature' Lucretius, as Munro says, 'no doubt looked upon as in some sense his poetical model.'

I believe Sellar is far nearer the truth when he writes, 'The supposition that the poem or any considerable portion of it was written in the lucid intervals of derangement, seems hardly consistent with the evidence of the supreme control of reason through all its processes of thought.' After all, is the disordered state of the poem anything more than we ought to expect from the fact that the poet's hand was suddenly stopped?—for he breaks off in the middle of a sentence, while describing the horrors of the plague of Athens. Probably he had only two or three hundred more lines

¹ In the course of a long passage Cicero says, *His rebus mentem vacuum* (he has just said that philosophy regards the foolish and thoughtless as insane) *appellarunt insaniam*: and again, *Qui ita sit adfectus, eum dominum esse rerum suarum vetant duodecim tabulae: itaque non est scriptum, SI INSANUS, sed SI FURIOSUS ESCIT.*

² Carlo Giussani in the *Rivista di fil.* Vol. xxiii. p. 427.

to write,¹ but he had done almost nothing towards the revision of his work. No great poem, if arrested at such a stage, could fail to show similar passages, two versions of the same subject both retained because the poet had not yet chosen between them, other passages added in the margin and not yet fitted into their place. Especially, with such a monstrously difficult subject as Lucretius handles, (comprising Epicurus's whole system of physics with part of his ethics) might this be expected to occur].

Stampini believes that Lucretius suffered from 'intermittent insanity' (*pazzia alternante*) in the same way as did Tasso, who was subject from time to time to violent accessions of mental disorder, but in the intervals was able to write both poetry and philosophy. As Solerti says, 'It was possible for Tasso to be both poet and madman, philosopher and madman, but for that very reason his work was bound to have and actually does have most extraordinary inequalities, both in conception and in form.' These words, says Stampini, are equally true of the spirit and condition of the work of the Roman poet. Even those critics who cannot accept Jerome's statement as to Lucretius's periods of insanity admit in the poet organic conditions which might induce intense hallucinations. [Here Stampini has evidently misunderstood Lucretius's repeated references to terrible visions, seen both waking and in dreams which, as Munro says, 'seem to confirm the story of the poet being subject to fits of delirium or disordering sickness of some sort.'] Sellar observes that the prevailing intensity of thought and feeling which marks the poem seems to indicate 'an excessive strain of faculty,' which might well have produced 'the loss or eclipse' of intellectual power. The same scholar admits in a very guarded way that there are signs 'in the later books of some failure in Lucretius's power of organising his materials.'

'I dare not positively state,' says Stampini, 'that Lucretius was epileptic: but everything leads to the persuasion that the diseased state of mind of which there is an account in St. Jerome, was or approached to a form of epilepsy and one of those forms which do not exclude great intellectual power, although with a disturbance of the balance of the different faculties...'

'According to my hypothesis, it was a

kind of epilepsy in which maniacal acts, mental exaltation and painful hallucinations alternated with periods of extraordinarily active power of thought, in fact of all those psychical facts which concur in the elaboration of what is at once a great philosophical, artistic and poetical work.' Caesar, Mahomet, Napoleon the First, were all epileptics: Victor Hugo even wrote some of his most magnificent pages after violent attacks of epilepsy. It would be far less easy to explain the fact of the suicide of Lucretius, if he did not suffer from intermittent insanity, although the latter alone would be sufficient, without the provoking cause of the philtre, to bring on the catastrophe. Moreover, it is evident that Lucretius suffered from *tedium vitae* which is a recognised cause of suicide. His disgust of life and loss of hope in it is a real cerebral disease. In addition to this, Lucretius was not exempt, as Martha says, from 'that moral malady which is not easy to describe because its features are always varying, *Ennui*.' In Lucretius's picture of the noble who, sick of the city, and his great mansion there, rides out in headlong haste to his country seat but the moment he reaches it, finds the same intolerable oppression return and hurries back to Rome—here Martha sees the involuntary confession by Lucretius of his own previous experience and weariness of life. The idea of the vanity of all human things, so to speak, dominates the poem and reminds us of Ecclesiastes. Even the eagerness with which the poet lays hold of the science of Nature in order to free himself from the sad illusions which torment the soul manifests a profound disgust of the world. Not that such feelings necessarily prove a decided tendency to suicide in Lucretius [any more, Stampini might have added, than we should be justified in drawing the same inference from the sadness of the Russian novelists of our day], yet they show that 'the work of Lucretius does not of itself contradict the story of his suicide, but even hints, although distantly, at some vague predisposition towards it. Meanwhile it is certain that all his ardent study of the ethics and science of Epicurus, all his earnest investigation of the inexorable laws of Nature did not suffice to bring peace to that agitated heart, which sought peace for his country and for himself.' Stampini holds that at all events the poem contains nothing necessarily inconsistent with the tradition of the poet's intermittent insanity or even of his suicide.

¹ What the subject of this conclusion would have been, I have tried to show elsewhere ('The Atomic Theory of Lucretius,' p. 168).

As to the curious phrase *aliquot libros*, Stampini thinks Jerome could not have used it to denote the whole poem: he interprets it along with Lachmann as meaning that *only certain books* (apparently III. to VI.) were written after Lucretius's mental ailment began. [This criticism appears to me strained. Cicero speaks of *Lucretii poemata*. Ovid and Suetonius (*De poetis*, p. 5, Reiff.) have *Lucretii carmina*—all in the plural. The ancients regarded the *De Rerum Natura* as a didactic poem and therefore lacking the unity of a poem of action. Jerome may not have read and probably did not admire Lucretius. The vagueness of the phrase might spring from indifference or ignorance.]

It is not possible to think that Lucretius committed voluntary suicide, suddenly forgetting the poem to which he gave his thoughts day and night, leaving the great object of his life all but finished. Only some special access of mental disturbance can explain such a deed in such circumstances. Some scholars are surprised that no other Roman writer refers to so tragic a death of a well-known poet, but the suicide of Lucretius, committed in a state of abnormal excitement, when not himself 'might probably enough, not be regarded as a real suicide, but rather as a misfortune, such as might result from his disorder, or such as might arise from the excitement and exaltation produced by a potion which is reported to have been or really was an *amatorium poculum*. During the time which extends from the death of Lucretius to Suetonius and which is so fruitful of voluntary deaths, carried out with deliberate and mature intention, with a calm and serenity of spirit which are really marvellous and therefore, as Giri writes, "apt for one reason or another to strike the imagination," at such an epoch a suicide which may be considered and called involuntary could not greatly excite the imagination because the poet evidently was but the blind and unconscious instrument of his own destruction.'

Again as to the notion that the story of Lucretius's suicide was a legend created by the religious reaction of the time of Augustus, since, as Martha says, 'the popular imagination which loves to mingle marvellous stories with the lives of heroes and saints, at times also is fond of composing a sinister legend regarding the famous despisers of divine things'—this notion which Sellar and Teuffel thought possible, is simply absurd. [Sellar's view has been mistaken by Stampini. Sellar mentions the explanation just given, merely as an apparent and plausible explana-

tion of the origin of Jerome's story. He at once discards it, naming various reasons which, he says, 'incline us rather to accept the story as a meagre and distorted record of tragical events in the poet's life, than as a literary myth which took shape out of the feelings excited by the poem in a later age'¹]. There were masters of unbelief, such as Ennius, before Lucretius's day. Owing to the spread of Hellenism, to dramatic poetry and other causes, the spirit of scepticism already existed in the minds and consciences of many. If the legend were due to offended augurs, 'how many madnesses, how many suicides must the augurs have been obliged to invent in order to punish the despisers of their charlatany!'... 'Nor could there in so short a time be kindled in the midst of paganism waning towards its decline a religious spirit so passionate and fanatical as thus to brand with madness and a tragical death the man who, without being an atheist, had written words of fire against sacerdotal impostures and superstitious religion.' Giri too rejects such an origin for his 'legend of Lucretius,' remarking acutely that the spirit of offended orthodoxy would have invented something worse than merely *intervalla insaniae*. He finds the source of his pretended 'legend' entirely in the poem itself, as simply springing out of the profound impression produced on the mind by the passages dealing with Love, and still more, by those on Eternal Death, since, as he says, 'It is well-known that the human imagination creates legends when it is deeply moved.' This is still more unreasonable. Strange indeed would be the formation of such a twofold legend out of a poem which could not be and never was popular. A legend of such a kind is not created in the restricted circle of a knot of cultivated persons, who are the least accessible to the fantastic notions out of which popular legends take body and life. 'Why should Lucretius have been sent down to posterity with the brand of a suicide caused by a love-philtre solely because he had composed poetry in his own manner on love and death?'

It is now time to examine closely the question of the philtre. Stampini thinks it not unlikely that, in condensing Suetonius, Jerome may have omitted some such phrase as *dicitur, creditur*. He compares the passages referring to the philtre administered by Caesonia to Caligula. *Creditur potionatus a Caesonia uxore amatorio quidem medicamento, sed quod in furorem verterit.*

¹ *Roman Poets of the Republic*. 1881. p. 278.

Incitabatur insomnia maxime: neque enim plus quam tribus nocturnis horis quiescebat ac ne iis quidem placida quiete, sed pavida miris rerum imaginibus (Suet. c. 50). [Munro on i. 132, long ago pointed out the similarity of these symptoms to those described by Lucretius cum saepe figuras Contuimur miras in speaking of visions seen both in sleep and waking. Stampini calls attention to the fact that Caligula, when a youth, was subject to epilepsy.] By using the word *creditur*, Suetonius shows that he does not hold the effect exercised upon the brain of Caligula by the philtre to be a fact certain and historically established, but we may certainly infer from his words that in Caligula's day philtres were commonly believed to be able to turn the brain and to occasion madness and even death. Their consequences were the more dreaded because of the superstitious notions bound up with the practice. According to the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis*, the statutory penalty at Rome for administering an *amatorium poculum* was, according to the rank of the offender, either the mines or banishment to an island with a heavy fine: if the result were fatal, the punishment was death. Quintilian even proposes as a subject for discussion in the schools of rhetoric an action brought in consequence of administering a philtre. Friedländer in his *History of Roman Morals from the time of Augustus* points out that at Rome in the last days of the Republic¹ sorcery was exceedingly in vogue and in particular that 'the belief in love-charms was extraordinarily wide-spread among women.' Grave writers such as Plutarch refer to the frequent use of such potions and to their ruinous effects.

Inde animi caligo et magna oblivio rerum
Quas modo gessisti; tamen hoc tolerabile, si
non

Et furere incipias ut avunculus ille Neronis
Cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli
Infudit,

says Juvenal in his terrible sixth satire, quoting what he regards as an authentic historical instance, that of Caligula. These potions were compounded from herbs, gums, and various monstrous ingredients. Referring to the power attributed by Juvenal to these horrible *Thessala philtre* 'to dull the intellect and destroy the memory,' Dr. Dupouy² asks 'Might not this Thessalian

love-philtre be a mixture, with a base of opium? This is not impossible.' The naturalist, Pliny, mentions many herbs and parts of certain animals as possessing such a power. Dr. Dupouy suggests that in ancient times certain individuals, such as the sibyls and the priests may have known the power of certain herbs 'to work on the imagination and the nervous system.' Thus the philtres may have contained elements which 'disposed the mind to illusions and hallucinations . . . Evidently poisonous herbs were employed: white, yellow or black henbane, hemlock and stramonium: it is not for nothing that the last is called "the sorcerers' herb."' The use of philtres, in short, was no mere invention of the poets, but a very serious and disastrous reality in ordinary life in Lucretius's time. Experience proved that their effect often was to produce mental alienation, more or less serious, complicated and lasting.

Giri holds that, on account of the repugnance which the poet shows for love, the germ of a legend might spring up which made him perish by a potion: an ethical reason and felt necessity causing the disdainer of love to be thus punished. But, supposing such a legend to have arisen and driven out the truth, can we possibly imagine, asks Stampini, that no one previous to Suetonius's day should ever have detected the falsification of the poet's life by means of these fantastic additions? It seems probable that Suetonius did not find his authorities throw doubt on the story of the philtre, or he would, as his manner is, have mentioned this, and Jerome would not have deliberately recorded a rumour which Suetonius quoted only to contradict. It seems on the whole probable that Lucretius was married, as the words *conjugibus nostris* (iv. 1242) and the context seem to imply. Whether married or not, the most intimate love relations must have existed between him and some woman, as evidenced partly by the poem itself and also by the belief, whether correct or not, that the poet's death was due to a philtre. 'The ardent temperament of the poet, inclining him to indulgence, added to successive attacks of his epileptic ailment, more and more weakening his fibre, might explain the growth of a certain repugnance to the intimacy which formerly he had ardently sought; it is not unreasonable to suppose that, in the fear of being forsaken by him, the woman whom he had loved might administer to him a philtre in order to retain his affection.'

¹ Part I. 6th. Edition. 1888. p. 509.

² In his interesting volume *Médecine et Mœurs de l'ancienne Rome d'après les Poètes latins*. Paris, 1885. Pp. 278 and 108.

[There is ample room for imagination in inventing a plot for the tragedy of the philtre, a repellent subject. The recent death of a noted man of science reminds us how innocent an origin may be possible for such a story. It is certain that several of the herbs mentioned by Dr. Dupouy produce hallucinations and violent delirium which might prompt to suicide. Regarding stramonium, it is said that where death does not follow on a poisonous dose, it then produces 'prolonged mania' ('un état maniaque persistant.¹)]

Not a few conjectures might be made on this subject, says Stampini, 'but, unless we choose, without any sufficient reason, to discredit Jerome, we can establish it as an undoubted fact that the suicide of Lucretius was immediately caused by a lady who was attached to him, and in consequence of a potion which was, or was believed to be, a philtre. Now, in treating of a matter of this kind, it is not improbable that the careful Suetonius related it with the same caution with which he refers to the case of Caesonia, employing necessarily a suitable expression which St. Jerome in his epitomising omitted, either inadvertently, or because having ascertained with certainty from another source Lucretius's suicide as well as the cause assigned for it, he did not think of relating the matter in a form which implied any doubt. Therefore I am of opinion that, when Lachmann writes, *ego vero in Hieronymianis nihil omnino quod credi non possit invenio*, he approaches very near the truth; at any rate it seems to me that the historical truth would have been somewhat better expressed by Jerome if he had condensed the narrative of Suetonius in the following manner:—

Titus Lucretius poeta nascitur. postea, cum aliquot libros per intervalla insaniae conscripsisset, quos postea Cicero emendavit, amatorio poculo, ut opinio fuit,² in furorem versus, propria se manu interfecit anno aetatis xliiii.'

[The passage in Jerome runs thus: postea amatorio poculo in furorem versus cum aliquot libros per intervalla insaniae conscripsisset quos postea Cicero emendavit, propria, etc.]

In concluding, Professor Stampini refers to the life of Lucretius, recently found in the British Museum which he calls the *Vita Borgiana*. While admitting that Woltjer

has succeeded in proving that this life contains mixed with it certain matter of late origin, he holds that Woltjer is wrong in assuming that therefore the whole of the life is to be condemned. He says

'If what Woltjer asserts is true [viz. that the Humanists of the Renaissance invented very many new details of this kind and perverted other data which are authentic] it is none the less true that sometimes those Humanists have preserved for us most valuable details taken from sources which are authentic though unknown to us, details which are therefore in no respect the result of caprice, error or fancy, so that I think we ought at the same time to proceed cautiously before including in the same judgment all the notices found in that life, as if they were all indiscriminately, as Woltjer says, "the mere inventions of Humanists."³

The anonymous *Vita Juvenalis* found by Dürr at the end of the Codex Barberinus is, say Stampini, 'sufficient to prove' that authentic new data may be found in such lives mixed up with matter evidently of late origin. Schanz in his *History of Roman Literature*, while admitting that this life of Juvenal is 'one elaborated by a Humanist,' recognises that the new data in it 'spring from a genuine tradition.'³

Regarding this question Prof. Stampini's opinion carries the more weight since in several publications he has already discussed the authority of the lives of the Latin poets. His attitude towards the new details given by Borgius is more truly critical than that of Woltjer who, followed by Brieger, simply rejects the whole, chiefly because one item, which he has shown to be probably derived from a later source, is mixed up with the rest. The parallel which Stampini draws between these new details in Borgius and the novel data for the life of Juvenal is a cogent one. The *Vita* found by Dürr⁴ is a somewhat long one and contains all sorts of inferences drawn from expressions used by Juvenal himself, from the words of Martial, Jerome and perhaps other writers, inferences which are related as facts, with which however some entirely new data are mixed up. This life with its arbitrary assumptions and parade of literary references is quite in the style of the fifteenth century Humanists. No scholar could take it for a genuine antique. In spite of this, Dürr, Stampini, E. J. Hardy and other

¹ *Les Plantes Médicinales* by MM. Dujardin Beaumetz and E. Égasse. Paris, 1889. p. 235.

² Cf. Suet. *Cal.* 2. Obiit autem, ut opinio fuit, fraude Tiberi.

³ Vol. ii. § 418.

⁴ Das Leben Juvenals, von Dr. Julius Dürr. Ulm, 1888.

scholars of standing do not reject the new data contained in it, regarding the life of Juvenal and his family, but hold that these were derived by the anonymous biographer from some ancient *Vita*, now no longer existing, which contained data 'drawn from good and genuine tradition' (Dürr, p. 30. See also the notice by E. J. Hardy in *Classical Review* for 1888).

We have now set forth Prof. Stampini's original, yet simple solution of the difficulty which many have felt as to Jerome's life of Lucretius, viz. that it relates actual facts of the poet's history but, as Sellar has said, gives 'a distorted record' of them. The story of the suicide may be regarded as certain. Suetonius, we may be sure, ascertained and recorded the *manner* of the poet's death. Moreover, the close of the poem impresses us like some suddenly abandoned dwelling, with every sign of abrupt and unintended departure lying around. In the case of a writer so high-strung, so eager to complete the work for which he lived, we feel certain that death by his own hand, leaving his poem so nearly finished, could be no ordinary suicide, deliberately planned.

Stampini's explanation is largely based upon a certain understanding of Lucretius's own personal history. How much of the latter can we accept? 'Mere guess-work built upon conjecture!' some one may say. No doubt Stampini has not proved any connexion, beyond a general one, between the evidence of the poem and the final tragedy of the philtre and the poet's suicide. Yet guesses, when they are based upon the general principles of human nature, may come near the truth. Be it remembered that there is very weighty evidence as to the life of Lucretius in the poem itself, evidence which can only be judged of by those who have long and lovingly studied that poem. For others that evidence does not exist. Slight in themselves are the signs by which we read the characters of other men. Yet in the light of long and close intercourse their meaning becomes so unmistakable that we have to accept it, however painful. The great work of Lucretius is deeply, uniquely stamped with his own very marked individuality. There is in the atmosphere of the poem an indescribably lurid element which tells of past storms in the poet's history and may be thought to forebode a stormy closing. The story of the philtre and consequent suicide is a sad one. Yet, if that story were false, there is a background behind it which would appear

to be sadder still. Stampini holds strongly that, as a great authority on mental diseases¹ has said 'The poets, alas! have been an uncontrolled race.' All poets however are not like Alfred de Musset. Yet the ardent temper of Lucretius tells of a nature not easily curbed. There is somehow a jarring element in the poem as of a noble nature, which has lived in an element unfit for it and has lost its buoyancy and natural gladness thereby. The poet speaks in the tone of one weary of worldly pleasures and it may be that, before Epicureanism found him, Lucretius had sunk deep into the vortex of sensual life at Rome. The more we love and admire Lucretius, as indeed he deserves, the more are we pained that he could have written one or two brief sentences, which are like black flowers in the garden of his poem, the sign of some deep-seated flaw of character, which even the *majestas cognita rerum* was not able to cast out. And indeed his master's teaching had great shortcomings on its spiritual side. For example, Epicurus explains the distress of mind felt by the criminal as solely and merely due to the fact that, until the day of his death, he never can feel certain that he will not be found out. I have tried elsewhere to show² how far, on this subject, Epicurus, with all his stern asceticism, fell behind the Stoics who taught that sin is a disloyalty to an unseen Master and that the wrong doer is unhappy because he feels himself a lonely and a jarring thing in the universe. But Epicurus acknowledged no Power above us which claims our allegiance as a right and to obey which is gladness beyond all other joys: 'Nor know we anything so fair as is the smile upon thy face.' But the flowers do not thus break into blossom nor the birds burst into glad songs round the stern path Lucretius goes.—In such a system as Epicurus's what stress could be laid upon personal purity?

Stampini's explanation as to Jerome's transposition of the data appears convincing. Why need he suppose Lucretius to have been subject to epilepsy rather than to attacks of melancholia, or merely of severe nervous depression, which last might produce on observers (even more than epilepsy) the impression of *insania*? Again, Stampini has misunderstood Lucretius's reference to waking visions. At I. 132

¹ Dr. Clouston.

² 'Epicurus and his Sayings' (*Quarterly Review*, January, 1897).

quae res nobis vigilantibus obvia mentes
terrificet morbo adfectis somnoque sepultis¹

it is evident that the poet intends to connect such visions with illness, probably with the feverish weakness of recovery. Delirium is a symptom which is said sometimes (as in typhoid fever) to last long after the other symptoms of disease have disappeared. The lives of the early saints and hermits relate countless visions due solely to long fasting. Therefore, Lucretius's reference to such visions does not necessarily imply (indeed the tone of it is almost inconsistent with) any mental derangement.

I shall refer in conclusion to Dr. Brieger's extraordinary theory (*Jahresberichte*, 1897, p. 196), that Jerome's details about Lucretius were not derived from Suetonius at all, and that Suetonius said nothing about the philtre and the poet's suicide. This he concludes from the fact that Lactantius and Arnobius make no reference to these reports, and in particular from one or two passages in Lactantius, who contrasting the suicide of Democritus with the voluntary death of the Christian martyrs, says *Quo nihil sceleratius fieri potest*. 'It is psychologically impossible,' says Brieger, 'that Lactantius would have kept silence as to the suicide of Lucretius, if the merest rumour of this had been known to him.' (To this very positive statement one objection, among many, is that, as Stampini points out, suicide committed under an attack of mania is not regarded as suicide.) If a writer so well-known as Suetonius, Brieger continues, mentioned the suicide of the poet, the fact must have been known to every Christian of culture, who must have hated Lucretius as the champion of unbelief. 'Therefore,' says Brieger, 'one may, indeed one must conclude that if Lactantius knew nothing of that report, it either did not exist at all at that time, or at all events, was not mentioned by any writer of standing. Therefore, the notice in Jerome carries no authority whatever,' though it is not impossible that it may preserve some trace of fact as in the remark about Cicero's criticism. (The argument, *ex silentio*, has seldom been more strongly pressed than here). Jerome's data, Brieger says, were probably drawn from some commentary. Stampini reminds us that Jerome had 'most certainly used a commentary on Lucretius,' referred to in his *Apolog. adv. Rufinum*. (Migne, p. 410). Brieger (*Jahresb.* p. 194), says, 'this com-

mentary was written by an unknown author of unknown date, and it is impossible that any authority whatever can be assigned to it.' This verdict is hardly consistent with the tone of Jerome's words, who begins by naming commentaries on Virgil and Sallust by a well-known grammarian, Asper. It is at least equally probable that Jerome refers to the well-known edition of Lucretius by Probus, a grammarian of high standing for accuracy and an older contemporary of Suetonius. Probus prefixed valuable lives, which still exist, to his editions of Virgil and Persius, and probably his edition of Lucretius also contained one. I shall not further criticise Dr. Brieger's theory, which involves that, whereas Jerome's details as to the other Latin authors are admitted by scholars to be excerpts from Suetonius, he chose to go to some nameless and inferior source for the life of Lucretius.

In the article in the *Jahresberichte* already referred to, Dr. Brieger remonstrates in somewhat strong language against the justice of the notice of his text of Lucretius written by me, which appeared in these pages (*Classical Review*, May, 1895). While I readily admit the veteran scholar's extraordinary erudition and industry, it is the more disappointing to find that his edition does not represent a step forward in the history of the text. If we compare with it Heinze's recent edition of Book III., with its very conservative text, we shall see how strong is the reaction felt by his own countrymen against Dr. Brieger's critical methods. Dr. Brieger suffers from an absence of mental perspective which leads him often to attach to all arguments, trivial and weighty alike, the same force. Many years ago Polle charged him with handling Lucretius as if he were not a poet at all but a mere logician. 'Susemihl and Brieger,' he says, 'frequently apply as hair-splitting a logical knife as if they had to do not with a poem but with a treatise in strict syllogistical form' (*Philologus* xxvi. p. 550). This criticism is as true of Brieger's work to-day as it was when first made. Moreover, Dr. Brieger seems deficient both in ear for verse and in feeling for the possibilities of expression. Here is the style in which he emends one passage, vi. 81.

Multa tamen restant et sunt oranda politis
Versibus ; est ratio caeli nubisque ponenda,²
Sunt tempestates, etc.

² Bockemüller thus emends the line :

Est ratio caeli quassi statuenda.

Cf. vi. 96, quatiuntur caerula caeli. This is at least ingenious,

¹ It is clear that as Munro points out, *vigilantibus* and *morbo adfectis* are in apposition. See also IV. 33.

I am anxious only to correct one impression which may possibly be carried away by foreign scholars who have seen not my review but only Dr. Brieger's strictures upon it. No one who has read the notice itself can suppose that I have the smallest wish to undervalue the debt which Lucretius owes to German scholarship, both to the great scholars who have edited his poem and also to some less-known men, such as Polle and Bockemüller. My very guarded commendation of the latter offends Dr. Brieger: it was, however, so far as it went, strictly deserved. When Dr. Brieger's long expected commentary appears, it is to be hoped that his undoubted learning may be found used according to a more scientific method.

In conclusion, may I ask if any of the readers of the *Classical Review* can inform me as to the following point? Some years ago, Dr. Radinger in the *Berliner Philolog. Wochenschrift* (1894, No. 39) spoke of copies of Lucretius containing MS. notes by Pon-

tanus as 'existing in different libraries.' Only two are known to me, one at Munich and the other in the British Museum. Is any other copy known? I hope ere long to publish the more valuable of the fresh readings contained in the British Museum copy of Pontanus's text, and in the very complete copy of Marullus's readings (partly in his own hand and entirely revised by himself) which I discovered last summer in the Bibliothèque Nationale. (See *Classical Review*, July, 1897.) The latter volume bears on the first page the words 'Petri Martellij liber est.' I now observe that Jovius in his 'Elogia doctorum Virorum' (Antwerp, 1557) says that Crinitus died shortly after a banquet at the house of Petrus Martellus. Crinitus was one of the most intimate friends whom Marullus had, and wrote some touching verses on the poet's tragic and premature death. The volume probably belonged to this P. Martellus or a descendant of his.

JOHN MASSON.

AESCHYLEA.

(Continued from p. 193.)

AGAMEMNON.

70 Quint. Smyrn. xii. 503.

104 κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν...,
ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν καταπνέει
πειθῶ, μολπᾶν <δ'>
ἀλλὰ σύμφυτος αἰών.

θεόθεν καταπνέει appears to be intransitive, to judge from the Epic phrases, Plat. Com. 173. 14 μή σοι νέμεσις θεόθεν καταπνέουσι, Archestrat. (Ath. 305 c) μή σοι νέμεσις καταπνέουσι δεινὴ ἀπ' ἀθανάτων. Trag. fr. adesp. 303 θεόθεν δὲ πνέοντ' οὖρον. This leads to my reading: 'for still the divine impulse inspires me, and my life is yet knit up with power for song.' That is, 'though I am now too weak to fight, I am still strong enough to sing,' as the old shepherd says in *A.P.* vi. 73 εἰσέτι γὰρ σύριγγι μελίσδομαι, εἰσέτι φωνῇ ἄτρομος ἐν τρομερῷ σώματι ναιετάει. The passage has echoes of Pind. *O.* i. 104-112, and seems to me to be itself echoed in Eur. *Phaethon* fr. 774. 44 κοσμὸν δ' ὑμεναίων δεσποσύνων ἐμὲ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἄγει καὶ ἔρως ὑμνεῖν· δμῶσιν γὰρ ἀνάκτων εὐαμερίαί

προσιούσαι μολπᾶν θράσος αἶρονσ' ἐπὶ
χάρμασιν (as I emend χάρματ').

111 δίθρονον κράτος, Ἑλλάδος ἥβας
ξύμφρον' ἀγωγάν,
for ξύμφρονα ταγάν!

287 λάκοιμι is a necessary emendation, made silently by Karsten, but adopted, I think, by no one else.

319 πορθμοῦ κατόπτῃν πρῶνα for κάτοπτρον.

358 ἐργήγορον is the seat of corruption; for the chief emphasis, which the critics vainly seek to throw upon τῶν ὀλωλότων, must, according to the order of a Greek sentence, fall upon this word. Rely on this, and you will see that what we require is not 'dangerous' or 'hostile,' but something wholly in the contrary sense, as 'harmless' and 'assuageable'; and now, but not before, you can understand *v.* 359. The original word I do not determine. εὐήγορον (= εὐφημον, Eubul. fr. 71, where read εὐηγόρως for εὐήγορος) might mean that the μῆνις of the dead will learn good words (cf. *Cho.* 39), become appeased. Kirchhoff,

I find, had once proposed *παρήγορον*, which we should have to take in a passive sense; *παρηγορεῖν...γένεοιτ'* *ἂν* (as 34) would be simpler. Possibly *εὐπέμ(φ)ελον* glossed by *εὐπαρήγορον*.

389 Punctuate *ὅπερ τὸ βέλτιστον, ἔστω δ'...*

428 *ὀνειρόφαντοι δὲ πειθήμονες
πάρεισι δόξαι φέρονσαι χάριν ματαίαν
μάταν γάρ, εὐτ' ἂν ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν
ὄραν—
παρallάξασα διὰ χερῶν
βέβακεν ὄψις*

'For vainly, when, dreaming that he beholds his joy, (*he would embrace her*), the vision slips through his hands and is gone.' The construction, which has given much trouble, is an ellipse, the verb being suppressed *εὐφημίας ἔνεκα*. This is quite common in Greek writing: Simon. Amorg. 7. 110 *κεχρηνόςτος γὰρ ἀνδρός—οἱ δὲ γείτονες χαίρουσ' ὄρωντες*. Philem. 126 *μὺς λευκός, ὅταν αὐτὴν τις—ἄλλ' αἰσχύνομαι λέγειν—κέκραγε...* 4. 15, Xenarch. 4. 16, Theocr. i. 105 *οὐ λέγεται τὰν Κύπριν ὁ βουκόλος—*; Lucian i. 242 *ἐγὼ δὲ ἤδη ποτὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην—ἄλλ' οὐ χρὴ αὐχεῖν*. iii. 178, i. 232, 274, *A.P.* v. 34, 184. 5, 128, *Priap.* 82. 6, Verg. *Ecl.* iii. 8. Ar. *Vesp.* 1178 Blaydes. Soph. *O.T.* 1288 *τὸν πατροκτόνον, τὸν μητρός—αὐδὼν ἀνόσι'* οὐδὲ ρητά μοι. Lucian iii. 296 *πολὺ τὸ 'ἐὰν ὁ πατήρ—καὶ κύριος γένωμαι τῶν πατρώων, [καὶ] πάντα σά.'* Ov. *Heroid.* xiii. 164. Cf. *Ag.* 503 (as Ar. *Lys.* 33, 37), 1095, *Cho.* 193, 1030, Eur. *Tro.* 715.

To the passages already cited in general illustration may be added Lycophr. 112–4, Eur. *Hel.* 35, Meleag. *A.P.* xii. 125, Hor. *C.* iv. 1. 37, Theocr. xxx. 22, Eur. *Alc.* 359–367.

ἐσθλά here and elsewhere = the Attic *ἀγαθά*.

437 *τὸ πᾶν δ' ἄφ' Ἑλλάδος αἶας συνορμένοις
πένθεια τλησικάρδιος
δόμων ἐκάστου πρόπει·
πολλὰ γοῦν θιγγάνει πρὸς ἡπαρ.*

It has long been recognised that *τλησικάρδιος* is inappropriate. In *P.V.* 179 it means 'hard-hearted'; it might mean 'stout-hearted', 'patient', 'long-suffering,' as a synonym in Hesych. *τλασίφρονα: ὑπομονη-τικόν*. We look for exactly the opposite, and nothing can be simpler than *ἀτλησι-κάρδιος* 'broken-hearted,' the synonym of which is recorded by Hesych. *ἀτλησίφρων: σοδemiās τὸ ὅλημης ἐννοιαν ἔχων* (evidently a right correction of Alberti for *ἀτμησίφρων*),

who gives also *ἀτλησία: ἀμηχανία, ἀνποσ-τασία*.—It may further be considered whether the right reading is not *πενθέιν ἀτλησικαρδίως δόμῳ 'ν ἐκάστου πρόπει*: but I do not incline to this. *ἄφ'* must, I think, be an error for *ἐφ'* governing the following dative.

483 *εἰ δ' ἐτήτυμος
τίς οἶδεν ἧ τι (or ἧ εἴ τι or εἴτε) θείον
ἐστ' ἀληψύθος for ἐστι μὴ?*

528 'King Agamemnon comes' proclaims the herald:

*ἄλλ' εὖ νιν ἀσπάσασθε, καὶ γὰρ οὖν
πρόπει,
Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικη-
φόρου*

531 *Διὸς μακέλλῃ, τῇ κατείργασται
πέδον
καὶ σπέρμα πάσης ἐξαπολλυ-
ται χθονός.*

After 531 the MSS. have *βωμοὶ δ' αἴστοι καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματα*, a line identical with *Pers.* 813. There are two reasons which convince me that it was but an illustrative quotation. In the first place, it interrupts the metaphor of the mattock and the soil, to which the words I have indicated belong. Remove it, and the metaphor is continuous, with an excellent rhythm. Secondly, consider the effect of the line in the *Persae*:

809 *οὐ σφιν κακῶν ὕψιστ' ἐπαμμένει παθεῖν
ὑβρεως ἄποινα καθέων φρονημάτων
οἱ γῆν μολόντες Ἑλλάδ' οὐ θεῶν βρέτη
ἡδούντο συλᾶν οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεώς,
βωμοὶ δ' αἴστοι, δαιμόνων θ' ἰδρύματα
πρόρριζα φύρδην ἐξανέστραπται βάθρων.
τοίγαρ κακῶς δράσαντες οὐκ ἐλάσσονα
πάσχοσι*

That is the weighty condemnation pronounced by Darius on the acts of sacrilege committed by the Persians (Hdt. viii. 109, 53, 33, ix. 42), acts which, including the burning of the temple on the Acropolis of Athens, had so deeply moved the feelings of the Greeks: see, for instance, Isocr. 73 b. The passage must have been familiar to nearly all who heard the *Agamemnon*, and the acts themselves have been within the memory of many. Is it probable that the line could have been placed as a proud boast in the herald's mouth? I call it inconceivable.

Destruction of sacred buildings had in fact no significance in the story of the sack of Troy. An act of sacrilege was indeed committed—by Ajax in the temple of Athena; but it was for this one crime

(*unius ob noxam*) that the whole fleet suffered.

561 τί δ' οὐ στένοντες αὖ (for οὐ) λαχόντες ἡματος μέρος; 'What discomforts we endured by night, and what again when day was our portion!' Or simply εἶματος.

618 τοιόσδ' ὁ κόμπος τῆς <δ'> ἀληθείας γέμων

650 τόν γ' Ἑρινύων.

680 Most probably, I think, πρῶτόν τε (γε?) καὶ μάλιστα μὴ δόκει μολεῖν, since δοκεῖν is often glossed by προσδοκᾶν to indicate the sense 'expect.'

704 ἤγαγεν? cf. Eur. *Andr.* 103, *Hel.* 239, Hom. *Ω* 547. ἦνυσεν or ἦνεσεν would be easier than ἦλασεν.

740 ἀκασκαῖον <δ'>.

796 If ἀφίλως is sound, I do not see how it can be construed unless the text was (as I believe it was)

νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς οὐδ' ἀφίλως
ἔστιν ἐπειπεῖν
'Εὐφρων πόνος εἰς τελέασιν.'

ἐπιλέγειν is to *pronounce* a judgment, censure, eulogy or ¹epitaph: Plut. *Mor.* 704 ε ταῦταις μόναίς τὸ 'καλῶς' ἐπιλέγεσθαι. Arist. 1323^b 11 εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἐπιλέγειν μὴ μόνον τὸ 'καλόν' ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ 'χρήσιμον.' Philem. 128 καλὸν τὸ θνήσκεν ἔστιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγειν. Theb. 906 πάρεστιν εἰπεῖν ἐπ' ἀθλιόσιν ὥς... Ag. 379 Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν' εἰπεῖν πάρεστιν. —εὐφρων means *pleasant, agreeable, welcome*, = *σαίνει, προσγελᾷ, arridet*: as in 1577, *Supp.* 19, 383, 543, 983, Pind. *O.* ii. 40, *N.* vii. 67.

857 καὶ τραυμάτων μὲν εἰ τόσων ἐτύγχανεν... τέτρητ' ἂν or τετρήτ' ἂν δικτύου πλέω is, I think grammatically necessary. εἰ ἐτύγχανεν, τέτρηται would mean 'if he got as many wounds, he is riddled'; but the following clause 860-3 shows the meaning to be 'if he had got..., he would have been riddled.—τέτρηται, which H. L. Ahrens gave for the MS. τέτρωται, is the right verb; a net is not full of wounds, but of holes: δικτύου πολυτρήτου Babr. 4. 4.

952 οἷκοι δ' ὑπάρχει τῶνδε...ἔχειν 'there is the whole sea to draw from; and not only that but we have plenty of it in store.'

¹ Whence in Anaxandrid. 1. 4 (II. 135 Kock) I restore B. ὦ πάτερ, ἔλεγε? ἐπὶ τῷ πίνοντι τὸν ἐπιδέξια λέγοιμι? A. Ἀπολλων for λέγειν in both places.

975 παρήβηκεν for παρήβησεν is an easy correction (cf. Lycurg. 157, 22, Ar. *Nub.* 1031); and the perfect tense appears to me to be required: cf. Hom. B 134 ἐννέα δὴ βεβάασι...ἐνιαυτοί, καὶ δὴ δοῦρα σέσθητε νεῶν καὶ σπάρτα λέλυνται. K 252 παρώχηκεν...νύξ. Liban. *Epist.* 1205 τέταρτος ἐνιαυτὸς ἤδη παρελήλυθε...ἐξ ὅτου...

1083 τὸ μὲν κλέος σου μαντικὸν πεπυσμένον
ἔμην· προφήτας δ' οὐτινας ματεύομεν.

1129 ἰὼ ἰὼ ταλαίνας
κακόποτμοι τύχαι—
τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν θροῶ
πάθος· ἐπερχύδα ν—
ποῖ δὴ με δεῦρο τὴν τάλαιναν ἤγαγες;

seems to me the most probable correction of the unmetrical ἐπερχάσα, because such adverbs are commonly explained by participles, e.g. *Cho.* 65 οὐ διαρρῦδαν] ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ διαρρέων, Hesych. Σπερχυλλάδην κέκραγας: ἀγανακτήσας ὑλακτεῖς ἄγαν. For the sentence cf. Eur. *Hec.* 719 EK. δύστην—ἐμαυτὴν γὰρ λέγω λέγουσα σέ—Ἐκάβη, τί δράσω;

1379 Punctuate οὕτω δ' ἔπραξα καὶ τὰδ', οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι ὥς... 'This is the long-meditated issue of an old hostility; even the very blow had been carefully thought out.'

1394 cf. Ach. Tat. iii. 16 fin.

1449 ?μήτ' ἐριώδυνος
μῆτε δεμνοτήρης.

1473 ἐπὶ δὲ σώματος, δίκαν
κόρακος ἔχθροῦ, σταθεῖς ἐκνόμοις
ὑμνον ὑμνεῖν ἐπεύχεται <νόμοις>.

as νόμον ἄνομον 1137. It is plain how easily νόμοις might be omitted; and the omission would lead naturally to writing ἐκνόμως.

1476 νῦν [δ'] ὠρθωσας στόματος γνώμην
νῦν γ' Auratus, but νῦν alone is the usage for 'now at last.'

1479 ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἔρως αἵματολοιχὸς
νεῖρα τρέφεται, πρὶν καταλῆξαι
τὸ παλαιὸν ἄχος, νέος ἰχώρ.

'Tis through this devil that in the maw is bred blood-thirsty craving, fresh...ere the old woe be done.' What is ἰχώρ? It is taken to mean 'gore,' 'bloodshed'—a sense incredible. ἰχώρ is a *hæmorrhage, lymph, serum*; never *blood*, that it should be extended (like αἷμα) to mean a *deed of blood*. And the phrase should naturally be a further account of ἔρως. I say, therefore, restore νέον ἰχάρ, or νέος ἰχαρ 'with fresh appetite.'

ἵχαρ : ἵχανᾶν :: μῆχαρ : μηχανᾶν. There is no such word as ἵχαρ (Dind. *Lex. Aesch.*) ; *Supp.* 863, where it appears, I have dealt with above.

1657 στείχετ', αἰδοῖοι γέροντες, πρὸς δόμους,
πεπρωμένοις
πρὶν παθεῖν εἵξαντες ὦ ρ α ν' χρῆν τάδ',
ὥ σ τ' ἐπράξαμεν.

'Betake you, reverend sirs, to your homes, and ere you suffer, yield betimes to destiny : this was fated, and so we performed it.' *καιρόν* or *εἰς καιρόν* I take to have been a gloss on ὦρα or ὥραν (used as *καιρόν* *Soph. Aj.* 34, 1316, *Ἀωρίαν* *Ar. Ach.* 23). Nothing else that I can think of will account for it.

1667 οὐκ ἐὰν δαίμων <γ> 'Ορέστην.

CHOEPH.

67 νόσου παναρκοῦς τὸν αἴτιον βρύνειν.

108 φθέγγου χέουσ' ἄμ' ἐσθλὰ τοῖσιν εὖ-
φροσιν

for χέουσα σεμνά : 'utter, as you pour, blessings.' *Theocr.* ii. 21 πάσς, ἅμα καὶ λέγε ταῦτα. Attic would have ἀγαθὰ : ἐσθλὰ (147, *Pers.* 225, *Ag.* 362, 431) is the Ionic synonym ; in *Pers.* 221 τὰσθλὰ δ' is rightly restored by Zakas for τὰ δ' ἀγαθὰ δ'.

110 schol. σεαντήν, κἀκείνον δηλονότι (*subaudi*) ὅστις...

130 ὥς ἂν ἄρξωμεν δόμοις ?

282 ἄλλας δ'

381 ἀμπέμπειν.

416 πρὸς τὸ φανεῖσθαι μοι καλῶς. The schol. is πρὸς τὸ καλὰ μοι ἔννοεῖν, and what we find in the text is another paraphrase of the original. πρὸς τὸ... is one of the regular formulae (others being *εἰς τὸ* and *ὥστε*) to explain an 'exegetical' infinitive : e.g. 966 *ιδεῖν*] πρὸς τὸ *ιδεῖν*. *Pers.* 594 ἐλεύθερα βάξιν] πρὸς τὸ κατηγορεῖν... *Supp.* 607 σπεύσαι] εἰς τὸ συντελέσαι. *Ar. Nub.* 1172 *ιδεῖν*] εἰς τὸ *ιδεῖν*. *Cho.* 68 βρύνειν] λείπει τὸ ὥστε : so *Pers.* 251, *Eur. Hipp.* 466, 1376. *Ag.* 1009 ἐπ' ἀβλαβείᾳ] ὥστε μὴ... βλαβῆναι. *Ar. Plut.* 1008 ἐπ' ἐκφορᾷ] πρὸς τὸ ἐκφέρειν. In *Cho.* 956 [παρὰ] τὸ μὴ... is a corruption of an inserted πρὸς. In a paraphrase, καλῶς would be substituted for εὖ. The original, I think, may have been

αἰθῖς ἀπέστασεν ἄχος
θάρσος, εὐφρόνην ἔμοι.

corrupted, as it would hardly fail to be, to εὖ φρονεῖν ἔμοι, and explained by πρὸς τὸ καλὰ μοι ἔννοεῖν and πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖσθαι μοι καλῶς.

567 τί δὴ ἔν πύλαισι ?

687 Perhaps εὐπαλῶς or εὐπετῶς.

750 τρίζω φρενός ? compare the schol. with that on 745.

757 ἐγὼ διπλᾶς δὴ... for δέ.

782 τὰ σὺ φρον' αὖ μαιομένοις *ιδεῖν* 'longing to see decency restored again' : there is no meaning in εὖ.

889 ἰδωμεν. Cf. *Eum.* 142.

956 κρατεῖται πῶς τὸ θεῖον.

The schol. συμβάλλεται οὖν τὸ θεῖον suggests κρατεῖ τὰρ ἴσως or τὰρα πως, or (after Hermann's conjecture) κρατεῖ τὰρ ἔπος τὸ θεῖον. But τὰρα is not necessarily implied any more than by schol. *Supp.* 114.

967 ᾠκται ?

EUMENIDES

94 schol. ὁ μὲν 'Ορέστης φυγῇ οἴχεται 'Αθήναζε πυθόμενος... Read π(ε)ιθόμενος 'in obedience to the god,' as *Lycurg.* 161, 15 where there is v.l. πυθόμενος, *Eur. Ion.* 572, *Xen. Cyr.* vii. 2, 15.

161 βαρύ γε ?

520 Wieseler conjectured ἔσθ' ὅπου τὸ δεινὸν ἐγγύς φρενῶν ἐπίσκοπον δεῖ μένειν for εὖ, καὶ φρενῶν. More plausible than this would be ἐγκὰς φρενῶν, but I do not advocate it.

541 ἐς τὸ πᾶν δὴ λέγω.

614 ὥσπερ εἶπον, restored here by Davies for ὥσπερ ἐστίν, may be restored for ὥσπερ ἔργον in *Ar. Thesm.* 968.

637 περῶντι λουτρά
φᾶρος κατ' ἐσκήνωσεν.

I write for περέσκήνωσεν M (*παρεσκήνωσεν* d). In *Cho.* 996 Orestes calls the φᾶρος 'νεκροῦ ποδένδυτον δροῖτης κατασκήνωμα,' which the schol. explains as παραπέτασμα σοροῦ. Our word is explained *παρεσκήνησεν*. I suppose the text to have been caused by a gloss, *περι* *κατεσκήνωσεν* : cf. *Hom. θ* 84 φᾶρος... κακ' κεφαλῆς εἵρυσσε] schol. ἡ κατὰ ἀντὶ τῆς *περί*. — *κατεσκ.* *περῶντι*, as *καταχέω* with dat. and gen.

661-4 This doctrine came from Egypt : *Diod. Sic.* i. 80.

696 αὐτῶν πολιτῶν μὴ 'πικαινούντων νόμους
κακαῖς ἐπιρροαῖσι· βορβόρῳ δ' ὕδωρ
λαμπρὸν μαιῶν οὐπ' ἔύρησεις ποτόν.

That this is the right way to divide the sentence is confirmed, as Hermann points out, by the quotations of the *Paroemiographi*. It is confirmed also by the schol. on 693 ὁ δέ ἀντὶ τοῦ γάρ, which is wholly inapplicable to that line, but is a very natural comment on the restored δέ in 697, to which I refer it.

719 μαντεῖα δ' οὐκ' ἐθ' ἀγὰ μαντεύσῃ μυχῶν?
'from the prophetic cell' (170).

753 γνώμης δ' ἀπούσης πῆμα γίγνεται μέγα,
βαλοῦσά τ' οἶκον ψήφος ὠρθωσεν μία.

'If judgment be absent, great harm is done; ...a single vote has raised up a house.' No explanation of βαλοῦσα will account for its emphatic position in the clause. The jury are not asked to decide whether to vote or to refrain from voting; they are exhorted to vote according to the best of their judgment, ἀπὸ γνώμης φέρειν ψήφον δικαίαν 677, γνώμη δικαίη Herodas ii. 86, which represent the Attic formula γνώμη τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ or ἀρίστη (Cope *Ar. Rhet.* i. p. 271). The word natural to expect is πολλοῖσι, 'often,' as we should say; which supposes a confusion abnormal, certainly, but not unexampled: in Cram. Anecd. ii. 180, 10 πολλὰ ἤδε πινυαῖ ...is a mistake for βάλλ', αἰεὶ δὲ πινυαῖ... (Hom. A. 52).

903 XO. τί οὖν μ' ἄνωγας τῇδ' ἐφνυγῆσαι
χθονί;
ΑΘ. ὅποια νίκης, μὴ κάκης, ἐπίσκοπα.

for νίκης μὴ κακῆς?

931 πάντα γὰρ αὐταὶ τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους
ἔλαχον διέπειν·
ὁ δέ μὴ κύρσας βαρέων τούτων.

βαρέων is masc., where the fem. is required, and τούτων is superfluous. The sense is 'he that finds them wroth,' the opposite of εὐμενέων (*Ar. Plut.* 636 Blaydes, προφρόνων Μοισῶν τύχοιμεν *Pind. I.* iv. 43). We have, I believe, a corruption of a compound adjective, probably ὁ γὰρ μὴν κύρσας βαρυν-μηνίτων, 'resentful,' as ὀδυμνήνιτος 475, or βαρυναντήτων as δυσαντ-, εἰδαντ- (βαρνοργήτων, βαρναλγῆτων are less likely): ὁ γὰρ μὴν was Linwood's conjecture, and ὑμεῖς γὰρ μὴν ἐφέισθε is a probable correction by Hemsterhuys of ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ ἐφέισθε in Lucian i. 235.

941 φλογμός τ' ὀμματοστερῆς [φυτῶν]
<δέχοι>το
μὴ περὰν.

φυτῶν is apparently an insertion to explain ὀμματοστερῆς—not 'blinding' but 'bud-nipping.'

1045 σπονδαὶ δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἔνδαιδες οἶκον
Παλλάδος ἀστοῖς· Ζεὺς ὁ πανόπτας
οὔτω Μοῖρά τε συγκατέβα.
ὀλολύγατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς.

σπονδαὶ δ' εἰσὸπιν ἐνδᾶδες ἴων Linwood, approved by some. It is impossible, because the rhythm is not anapaestic but dactylic, — — — — —, as in the paeans (Bergk iii. 676) *Carm. Pop.* 47 and Eur. *Phaethon fr.* 773, 66 sqq. εἰσὸπιν I believe is right; but it cannot mean what Linwood intended it to mean, 'follow behind.' 'So a procession ends the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, δὲ γὰρ κατόπιν τούτων ἄδοντας ἔπεσθαι,' says Paley, adopting Linwood's conjecture. Yes, κατόπιν no doubt; but not εἰσὸπιν, which = ἐς περ ὀπίσσω Hom. v. 199, εἰσὸπισω Soph. *Philoct.* 1105, 'in after time,' 'in days to come,' as εἰσὸπιν χρόνον in *Supp.* 625; necessarily referring to the future, as εἰσαῦθις, εἰς ἐσπεραν, εἰς τρίτην and the like.

Now these lines are the conclusion and *Amen* to the whole matter. What is the agreement in which Zeus and Fate are said to have consented? It is the arrangement, surely, that *in future* the Erinyes shall take up their abode at Athens. That is the whole theme of the play from v. 807, where Athena offers them εἶδρας καὶ κευθμῶνας ἐνδίκου χθονός, to the end. That is the proposal which they are gradually persuaded to accept, and the final acceptance of which is celebrated with songs of mutual congratulation. They are now to be ξυνοικήτορες (837), χώρας μετασχεῖν τῇσδε (871), τῇσδε γάμοροι χθονός (891): they become μέτοικοι (1012), accepting their ξυνοικίαν (917), μετοικίαν (1019). Their dwelling, of course, is to be in the cave below (1024), γὰς ὑπὸ κέυθεσιν (1037). These are the reasons that lead me to infer

σπονδαὶ δ' εἰσὸπιν ἐνδομετοικεῖν
Παλλάδος ἀστοῖς·

'A treaty is sealed (γεγέννηται δηλ. or γενέσθωσαν) that *in future* we (for these are the words, I think, of the Eumenides) *will be* denizens below among the citizens of Pallas.' μετοικεῖν, governing ἀστοῖς, seems more natural than ἐνθάδ' εἰσοικεῖν: of the sense in general I have persuaded others, I hope, besides myself.

WALTER HEADLAM.

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(Continued from Vol. X. p. 370.)

In earlier papers I have adduced strong morphological reasons for holding that the *a* of the sigmatic aorist does not represent the nasal sonant but is identical with the *a* of the perfect. Streitberg in his article on the Greek representative of the nasal sonant (*Indogerm. Forsch.* vol. vii.) supplies me with a phonetic argument which seems to place my contention beyond dispute. He establishes that the nasal sonant (final or before any consonant except *ι*) invariably appears in Greek under the form of a simple *a*, never as *av*. The termination *av* in the third person plural of the sigmatic aorist and of the pluperfect would contradict this phonetic law if the *av* stood for the nasal sonant: the difficulty disappears if the *a* is (as I maintain) the original vowel. As soon as it is recognised that the sole representative in Greek of the nasal sonant (final or before any consonant except *ι*) is a simple *a*, the way is at once open to lay down an interesting and important law which may be expressed as follows: Before a final *τ*, or, to speak more generally, before a tautosyllabic *τ*, the nasal sonant cannot come into existence; but under the same conditions that transformed a vowel plus *n* into the nasal sonant in the Aryan languages, in Greek not only is the *ν* retained, but the preceding vowel (at first no doubt reduced) preserves its original timbre and returns in the historical language to its former fulness. The retention of the *ν* will appear natural enough to an Englishman who remembers his own difficulty in pronouncing a French nasal before a final tenuis. The fact that the reduced vowel appears as *ε* or *ο* agrees with such forms as *θεός*, *δοτός*, &c., in which most philologists are beginning to believe that Greek is truer to the original than Aryan or Latin.

There are in Greek three classes of words in which a final *ντ* is preceded by what we know from other sources to have been a reduced vowel, and the law holds in all three.

(1) The third persons plural of the present optative active, with the analogical formations, constitute the first class of instances. The same forces which have transformed *λεγοίης* and *λεγοίῃ* into *λέγοις* and *λέγοι*, would, but for the presence of the final *τ*, have transformed *λέγοιεν* into *λέγοιν* (*λέγοια*).

For a long time it was usual to say that *λέγοιεν* was modified from *λέγοιαν*, perhaps under the influence of *δοίεν*. But, when we remember that *λεγοίατο*, the earlier form of the middle 3rd plural, was preserved into the classical period, such a change seems impossible. The wonder rather is that *λέγοιεν* was not altered into *λέγοιαν* by the attraction of the corresponding person in the middle. But the contention is now, I think, abandoned. At least Bartholomae, in a recent number of the *Wochenschrift*, lays stress on *λέγοιεν* as a primitive form. At first sight it might seem that the 3rd plural optative of the sigmatic aorist, *λέξειαν*, showed a termination contradicting both Streitberg's law and mine. But in the last article I wrote for this Review I proved, I think conclusively, that the *ια* in *λέξεις* and *λέξειαν* (for *λεξέσις*, *λεξέσιαν*) is an optative suffix standing midway between *ην* and *ι*. Be this as it may, *λέξειαν* cannot represent, as once was thought, *λέξεσιν*, inasmuch as *ιν* necessarily remains unchanged, unless it follows a vowel. Consequently the *av* does not stand for a nasal sonant, and there is no contradiction of the law in question.

(2) The second class of words which support the law consists of the neuters, nominative and accusative singular, of adjectives in *-εις*, as *χαρίεν* from *χαρίεις*. The corresponding inflexion in Sanscrit presents reduced forms throughout, except in the nominative and accusative masculine and the nominative and accusative neuter plural. In Greek there is sufficient evidence of the early existence of similarly reduced forms in the feminine, *χαρίεσσα* standing for *χαρίασσα* (*χαριατια*), and in the dative plural masculine and neuter, inasmuch as *χαρίεσι* similarly proves an original *χαρίασι*. Nor is there any doubt that the neuter, but for some hindrance, would have been *χαρία*. That hindrance was the law we are now discussing. It has sometimes been said that *χαρία* was transformed into *χαρίεν* by the influence of the other cases. But the only cases which, on this hypothesis did not exhibit *a* instead of the *ε*, were the nominative and accusative masculine; and these, if unsupported by the neuter, would have been powerless to influence the inflexion, and would more probably have themselves succumbed to the predominant *a*. Briefly,

the case of *χαρίεν* runs on all fours with that of *λέγοιεν*, and whoever accepts *λέγοιεν* as the true Greek form will also accept *χαρίεν*.

(3) The third class of words which illustrate the law that a nasal sonant cannot arise before a tautosyllabic *ντ* is the most important and difficult of all. It consists in the neuters of participles in *-ων*. The application of the law enables us to steer a middle course between the opposing views of J. Schmidt and Bartholomae. With J. Schmidt I hold that the primitive feminine of *φέρων* was *φέρασσα* (*φερατια*), and I am swayed not so much by the existence of *ἔασσα*, *ἄεκασσα*, *ἐπίαςσα* (from *ἰών* for *ἰσών*, as Solmsen points out) as by the combination *πρόφρων*, *πρόφρασσα* (cf. *Περσέφασσα*). This instance shows that an inflexion *-ων*, *-ασσα*, was at one time so normal that it had power to attract other words in its train by a false analogy. If this view is correct, we may safely conclude from the reduced form of the feminine and the parallelism of the Sanscrit *bhāvat*, &c., that, but for the influence of the final *τ*, the neuter would have appeared as *φέρα*. As it is, the law we are discussing renders the nasal sonant impossible, and establishes the historical *φέρον* as the Greek primitive. No doubt the genitive and dative masculine and neuter substituted the nasal sonant for *ον*, but, as in *χαρίεις*, the forms of the nominative and accusative prevailed. It might be asked why *φέρασσα* was not transformed by *φέρον*, *φέροντος*, into *φέροσσα*, as *χαρίασσα* was by *χαρίεν*, *χαρίεντος*, into *χαρίεσσα*. I suspect the existing relation between *διδόντος* and *διδούσα*, &c., was the cause that the language found it more obvious to substitute *ον* for *α* than simply to change the vowel.

The nominative masculine, it is agreed, cannot stand for *ωντ*, *ωντς*, *οντ* or *οντς*. Both J. Schmidt and Bartholomae unite in pronouncing it a primitive form. It is a survival of an inflexion without *τ*, so that it bears the same relation to the ending *οντ* as *ὄνομα* (for *ὄνομη*) bears to *ὄνομητ* (in *ὄνόματος*). It seems natural to compare the Latin termination *o* in *bibo*, *bibonis*, &c.; but the length of the vowel in the oblique cases suggests further examination.

The form *ἐντί* (*εἰτί*) and its pendant *ῆν*, the old 3rd plural imperfect, which comes from an earlier *ἔν*, augmented in Greek times after the disappearance of the *σ*, are not illustrations of the law under discussion. The initial vowel in *ἐντί* originally bore the accent, as in *τιθέντι* (*τιθεῖσι*), so that the *ε* is the final of a disyllabic stem *ἔσε*. J. Schmidt holds that *ῆν*, the 3rd singular imperfect,

was borrowed from the old 3rd plural in the room of the earlier *ῆς*. His main reason for maintaining this is the permanence of the final *ν*. If he is right, as I believe he is, the same reason would lead us to hold that *ῆεν* is also in origin a 3rd plural, augmented from *ἔεν*, the alternative and more emphatic form of *ἔν*. And further the anomalous *ἔρν*, of which *ῆρν* is apparently but a metrical variation, is most easily explained as a metathesis of *ῆεν*, made perhaps under the influence of *ἔρηθα*. The existence of the disyllable *ἔσε*, especially in its enclitic form *σε*, has been often overlooked. The first person singular of the imperfect *ῆν* (for *ἔρν*), with *ἔρηθα*, is obviously from *σε*. The normal subjunctive of this form is *εῖω*, found in the Homeric *μετείω*, and corresponding exactly to *θείω*. As *θείω* has given birth to the later *θέω* and *ῥῶ*, so *εῖω* would naturally produce the ordinary forms *ἔω* and *ῶ*; and the law of parcimony requires us to attribute to them this origin, unless there is evidence to the contrary. The equally normal optative of *ῆν* is *εἴην* (for *σεσσην*), answering to *δείην*. This explanation removes the difficulty which has always been felt as to the initial *ε* in *εἴην*.

If we knew that *ἐμί* and *ἐμέν* were original constituents of the Greek language, there would be a striking correspondence between *ἐμί*, *ἐμέν*, *ἐντί* and *sum*, *sumus*, *sunt*.

J. Schmidt has laid down a phonetic law that Indogermanic *ot* becomes *os* in Greek. His proof is drawn from the words *ῆος*, *τήος*, *πρός*, and the neuter singular of perfect participles active, as *εἰδός*. That the original termination of *εἰδός* was *σ* he establishes by a comparison with the oblique cases and with the Sanscrit *vidvāt*. This is in opposition to Bartholomae's view, who holds that *εἰδός* retains the original ending, and that *vidvāt* has borrowed its *t* from the neuter of adjectives in *-vant*. I think I have discovered evidence that the termination of the neuter perfect participle active was *σ* and not *ος* in the earlier period of the Greek language. But to show this I must go some way round and discuss the conditions under which a final *ι* changes a preceding *τ* into *σ*. This is one of several questions which Kretschmer has treated in his valuable essay in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. x., and is perhaps the only one with regard to which he does not reach a satisfactory conclusion.

Words ending in *ι* preceded by an original *τ* fall into two classes. The first class includes the dative singular of the 3rd declension and some indeclinables (*ἐτί*, *ἄρτι*, *πορτί*, *ἀντί*, *ἄστακτί*, &c.). The words of the 2nd

class are the 3rd plural of the present and perfect active of all verbs, the 3rd singular present of verbs in -μι, and one indeclinable, *πέρνυν*.

The common characteristic of all the words in the first class is that they have been inherited by Greek as ready-made formations, and that the ι retains no trace of an independent existence or meaning. In these the τ remains unchanged.

In words of the second class the iota is really a postposition, and is in a sense isolated with a special demonstrative signification. In this respect they may be compared to the datives plural in -σι, which are by general consent a Greek formation in which an iota has been added to a form ending in sigma.

In the verbal inflexions, which almost constitute the second class, the iota is Indogermanic, it is true, but the presential character of the suffix has been emphasised and renewed by the contrast to the corresponding forms of the imperfect (cf. *ἔτιθεν*, *τιθέντι*; *ἔλεγον*, *λέγοντι*). For *πέρνυντι* (*πέρνυνσι*(ν)) compare *νυνί*.

It is the iota in these words of the second class that has in Attic and Ionic the twofold attribute of converting the preceding tau into sigma, and of taking the νῦ *ἑφελκυστικόν*. So closely connected is the addition of the νῦ *ἑφελκυστικόν* with the conversion into sigma, that as Mr. R. J. Walker has pointed out, there is reason to believe that in those dialects which preserved the tau the νῦ

ἑφελκυστικόν did not appear. These facts taken together seem to indicate that the postpositional iota was in Attic and Ionic a nasalised and strongly palatal vowel. The retention of τ in *ἔστι* is regular. It is preserved from change by the preceding σ. Cf. *πίστς*, *πύστς*, *λήστς*, &c.

There is one striking exception to the law I have ventured to formulate, viz. *εἴκοσι*, which is the Attic and Ionic modification of *ἑκατι* (*vinçati*, *viginti*). The word deserves remark as presenting four anomalies within the compass of three syllables. The εἰ ought to be ι, the ο ought to be α, and if my contention is correct, the sigma ought to be tau, and the final iota incapable of taking the νῦ *ἑφελκυστικόν*. It is evident that, as in almost all great irregularities, popular etymology has been at work. *ἑκατι* seems to have been taken as *εἰκότ*+ι, a combination in which *εἰκότ* was felt as the original neuter of *εἰκώς*, and as meaning 'fair' or 'reasonable.' The iota was felt as being the same demonstrative postposition as in *πέρνυνσι*. This *εἰκότι* I believe to have been the parent of the historical *εἴκοσι*. For the change of accent see Wheeler's *Nominal Accent*, p. 106. That the vague notion of a fair or reasonable thing should be identified with the special meaning of twenty is no more strange than that the equally vague idea of score should come to mean the same number in our own language.

FRED. W. WALKER.

HOMERICA.

II.

Iliad iii. 64 ff.

μή μοι δῶρ' ἐρατὰ πρόφερε χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης·
οὐ τοι ἀποβλήτ' ἐστί θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα,
ὅσσα κεν αὐτοὶ δῶσι· ἐκὼν δ' οὐκ ἂν τις ἔλοιτο.

'Cast not in my teeth the lovely gifts of golden Aphrodite; not to be flung aside are the gods' glorious gifts that of their own good will they give; for by his desire can no man win them' (Leaf). This we may take to be the accepted interpretation. It is given by La Roche, Ameis-Hentze, Fäsi-Franke, Heyne, Voss, etc.

Now in the first place it seems more than doubtful whether *ἐκὼν* can legitimately bear

this meaning 'by wishing for them,' 'wenn er auch wollte' (Curtius, *Gk. Et.* p. 135). The only support for such a sense seems to be the rather curious statement of Aias in *H* 197:—

οὐ γάρ τίς με βίη γε ἐκὼν ἀέκοντα δέηται,

where *ἐκὼν*, for which Aristarchus reads *ἔλῶν*, although it may not be strictly logical, need not have any unusual sense, because it merely emphasises the contradictory term *ἀέκοντα*. In such contrasts the Greeks, certainly in later times, pushed matters a long way, as witness οἱ τ' ὄντες οἱ τ' ἀπόντες (*Soph. Ant.* 1109). Clearly then, even if

ἐκὼν be right in H 197, it affords no justification whatever for the peculiar meaning attributed to ἐκὼν in our passage. For my own part I have no confidence that it is right in H 197; but ἐπέχων 'assailing' (cf. τ 71 τί μοι ὦδ' ἐπέχεις κεκοτηότι θυμῷ;) would be a more probable suggestion than the unmetrical ἐλὼν of Aristarchus, which indeed *pace tanti viri* is nothing less than an absurdity, for no one could chase (δίηται) a man after he had killed him (ἐλὼν). Ajax, rough and blunt soldier as he was, may be supposed to have known his business better than to say that.

But even if for a moment we agree to take this questionable sense, 'by wishing for them,' as a possibility, what is the point of the remark? The argument embodied in the accepted interpretation already given is absolutely unconvincing. There are a great many things—the moon for instance—that a man cannot get by wishing for them, ἐρικυδέα in the highest degree, and yet might be very glad to be rid of, if he did get them. Accordingly we may safely say that this is certainly not what Homer meant by the clause, ἐκὼν δ' οὐκ ἂν τις ἔλοιτο, and apparently we must be content to take it as a mere exegesis of the preceding αὐτοί, though it is not easy to see why αὐτοί calls for any exegesis at all. This sense of the emphatic pronoun, 'of their free will,' 'spontaneously,' 'ultro,' is common enough, nor is it of the nature of the Homeric exegesis to explain the usage of such a word as αὐτός. So much then for the clause with ἐκὼν translated as above.

Now let us see how the matter stands with ἐκὼν in its correct and ordinary sense 'voluntarily,' 'not under compulsion,' 'being under no constraint.' Mr. Monro's version must not be left out of account. He says 'the meaning is not "no one can get them by wishing," but "no one can take them as a matter of choice," by willing or not willing: a man is wholly passive in regard to these gifts.' Here the right meaning is given to ἐκὼν, while the general interpretation of the clause remains not quite, but very nearly, the same. In the ordinary view the individual, the τις, is eager for the gifts and yet cannot get them. He would receive the offer of them with an enthusiastic 'Oh thank you very much.' In Mr. Monro's view he is indifferent about the gifts and would receive the offer with an unruffled 'Well, I don't mind if I do.' Now to say 'these things cannot be got by mere acquiescence' is not only a far less forcible and

less adequate statement than to say 'they cannot be got by earnest wishing,' but worse than that implies, if anything, that the converse of this indifferent assent would be successful in attaining them, which of course is far from being the meaning here.

There is, after all, only one interpretation that can rightly be given to the words as they stand, ἐκὼν δ' οὐκ ἂν τις ἔλοιτο. 'No one would take these gifts, if he could help it, if he had any choice in the matter, unless he were compelled.' Unfortunately this ruins the whole speech, for thereby Paris discourses in something like this strain: 'I did not make myself handsome. No one would be so, if he could possibly avoid it. But as it is impossible to get rid of beauty, how unjust of you to reproach me with it! I have it, because I can't help having it. The fault is Aphrodite's, not mine.' These ascetic sentiments, however laudable and appropriate in the mouth of a Simeon Stylites, are of course not in any degree suitable to the true character of the vain-glorious gallant, Paris. Nor, again, is there the slightest trace of an ironical or bantering tone to be found in the words.

I conclude then that none of the above methods of dealing with the lines gives a satisfactory result, and accordingly it may be worth while to suggest that without touching a single letter of the vulgate, by simply introducing a note of interrogation, a natural, easy, and unexceptionable meaning would be forthcoming, thus:—

μή μοι δῶρ' ἐρατὰ πρόφερε χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης;
οὐ τοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστί θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα,
ὅσσα κεν αὐτοὶ δῶσι· ἐκὼν δ' οὐκ ἂν τις ἔλοιτο;

'Do not cast in my teeth the lovely gifts of golden Aphrodite; not to be scorned are the glorious gifts of the gods, those that by their grace they give us; for would not any one right willingly receive them?' (sc. δῶρα Ἀφροδίτης). The words from οὐ τοι τοι δῶσι are virtually parenthetical Ὀμηρικῶς.

The tone of this is, I submit, in every way characteristic of the Trojan prince. He deprecates Hector's reproaches and contemptuous references to his personal attractions, and he asks whether any one and every one would not be handsome, if he could. The speech almost amounts to a retort upon his detractors. They would not object to be as well-favoured as he is. There is not one of them but would readily change places with him. The emphasis on ἐκὼν is well indicated by its position. The grapes are sour.

Lastly, the absence of an interrogative particle is common enough in Homer, in fact rather more common than actually appears from the vulgate; for the later Greeks could

not resist the temptation to turn Homer's οὐ οἶσθα; regularly into ἦ οὐκ οἶσθα; with a crasis.

T. L. AGAR.

NOTES ON BACCHYLIDES.

iii. 7. Δεινομένεος the papyrus, -εος Mr. Kenyon; cf. v. 35. This may be the better form, but the editor's argument that 'εο, even when contracted by synizesis, remains short (e.g. θεός Pind. *Pyth.* i. 56)' is vicious. In θεότιμον xi. 12 θεο is anceps, but in xvii. 132 θεόπομπον is _ _ _ and θεοφίλης xi. 60 is _ _ _ . Cf. θενπροπίαν x. 41. At best the cases of short εο (that is, εο where ε is treated like ε) are rare. In *Pyth.* x. 28 for βρότεον (_ _) many read βροτόν. In Praxilla 1 we have τεόν (_). In Bacch. viii. 12 I prefer to keep the epitrite unresolved.

ix. 45. Following the papyrus, Mr. Kenyon reads σῶν, ὦ πολυζήλωτ' ἄναξ, ποταμῶν. In the corresponding verse of epode α' (v. 19) he reads ἂ καὶ τότ' Ἄδραστον Ταλ[αιονίδα]

and notes the difference between the scansion of Ταλαιονίδας here (_ _ _ _) and in Pind. *Ol.* vi. 15 (_ _ _ _ _). In 19 I propose Ταλαϊονίδα as in Pindar, and in 45 πολυζήλωτε ἄναξ. In iii. 76, v. 84, Bacchylides, it is true, does not admit hiatus before ἄναξ. Still, his procedure is tolerably eclectic. We have τε ἰοβλεφάρων ix. 3, θέντα ἰόπλοκον ix. 72, Δάματρα ἰοστεφάνων iii. 2, but μὲν ἰοστεφάνων v. 3, λήξεν ἰοστεφάνου xiii. 89; δὲ ἑκατι frag. 1, 7; and εἶ keeps its length before εἰπεῖν, ἔρδων, εἰδώς, though here the ictus falls on the adverb. If Pindar shows hiatus before ἄναξ, why not Bacchylides?

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VON PLANTA'S OSCO-UMBRIAN GRAMMAR.¹

Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte; zweiter Bd. (*Formenlehre, Syntax, Sammlung der Inschr. etc.*) von R. VON PLANTA. Trübner, Strassburg. 1897. 20 Mk.

THE completion of Dr. Von Planta's great grammar deserves a cordial welcome. Every one who has used the first volume,—and that is the same thing as saying every one who has studied the Italic Dialects since its appearance in 1892—has waited anxiously for the second, which was to give us not merely a greatly needed revision of the text of the Oscan and Umbrian inscriptions, but also a commentary upon them, and an account of the morphology and syntax. And the volume now published will more than satisfy the expectation aroused by the

first. What was said in this Review (December, 1893, vii. 465) as to the general advantages and drawbacks of the fulness of treatment, which is the most striking characteristic of that volume, need not be here repeated. Much the same criticism might be applied to the 400 pages which in the second are given to *Formenlehre*; but on the other hand the reader will find that in mechanical details, such as the divisions of paragraphs, and the use of various type, this instalment of the grammar is far better arranged; and he will probably feel also that the discussion of forms actually occurring in the inscriptions is more practical, that is, it bears more on the interpretation of the inscriptions—which is after all the basis of every other kind of study of the dialects,—than the abstract elaboration of phonetic questions to which the first volume was devoted. But besides these the present volume, beyond all possible question, contains work of a very high order in quite a new

¹ [Professor Conway undertook this review in generous response to my urgent request, though his engagements made it quite impossible for him to deal with it until long after its publication.—G. E. M.]

field; the author has subjected the text of a large number of the inscriptions¹ to a minute and searching revision at first hand, sometimes with brilliant results, as in the deciphering and partial reconstruction of what may perhaps be called the *kulupucurse*.

It would serve no useful purpose to dwell on matters which I have discussed in 'The Italic Dialects,' especially the variant readings which Von Planta kindly allowed me to include in the Addenda to that edition. But mention may be made of some new and important suggestions of Von Planta's, and then of one or two points in which our difference or agreement touches questions of special interest. The analysis of Latin *semper* on the pattern of *parumper* into a post-position with the neuter form corresponding to Gr. *ἐν* so as to mean 'for good and all, once for all, always,' is, so far as I know, new and, I think, incontestable. The suggestion (p. 179) that Osc. *serevkid*, *prupukid* (with the very uncertain form *medikid*), are ablatives which show a confusion of the *-io-* and *-i-* stems would enable us to render the first word as equivalent to a Lat. *servicium*, i.e. 'ministerium, administratio,' which would make very good sense. The restoration *osin[s]* ('obsint, adsint') in the third line of the Tabula Bantina for the corrupt *osii...* is quite convincing, and adds a new word to the Oscan vocabulary, with a phonetic treatment of the group *-ps-* which is very interesting. But perhaps the most important of the new suggestions I have noticed is the explanation which Von Planta offers (p. 352) of the difficult future perfect formation shown by Umb. *purdinsust*, *combifiansust*, etc. In these forms he sees an old infinitive or stem-noun in the accusative, like the regular Osco-Umbrian inf. *erom* ('esse') and the Latin 'uenum' in 'uenum-ire, uenum-do,' on which Postgate and Brugmann have respectively based their certain explanations of the Latin future inf. and gerund.² To

this infinitive we are to suppose was added as a post-position *-ce* (cf. Umbr. *-com*) meaning 'to,' and the following *-iust* is at once intelligible as the fut. perf. equivalent to or identical with Lat. *ierit*. Until further support is found in the Italic group or elsewhere for this post-positional use of *-ce* with a case, the theory can hardly be said to be proved, but its simplicity is strongly in its favour. Curiously enough, Von Planta, so far as I can find, does not cite what might surely be regarded as the strong confirmatory evidence of the Sanskrit periphrastic perfects like *bôdhayâm-âsa*, *vidâm-cakâra* which show a precisely similar accusative infinitive form containing a long-stem vowel. Still the Latin forms like *aman-do* are much nearer evidence, though they do not show a conjugational use. Verbal phrases in Latin like *infittias ire* are also good evidence, if such were needed, of this periphrastic type.

I am very glad to find that I am at one with Von Planta in holding that *Bûvaianûd* (p. 420) must be the name of a town, and that *do-ni-que*, *do-ni-cum*, contain the preposition *dô*. He recognises also that the stem of Lat. *is*, *ea*, *id*, is only used in Oscan and Umbrian in the nom. and acc.; the remaining cases being supplied by longer compound stems (*eiso*- etc.). But the similar distinction which he assumes in Oscan only in the use of the stems *eko-* and *eks-* does not seem to me quite so certain. The most noteworthy of the author's negative conclusions is his rejection, *in toto*, of Zimmer's theory of the Italo-Celtic passive in *r*. He goes so far as to deny (p. 428) that *ultimam* is the object of *sakrafîr* in the well-known *Jovila*-inscription (*I.D.* 113) except on the hypothesis that the verb is a personal deponent form. I cannot think that there is at present any evidence for the confusion of the personal (Umb. *emantur*) and impersonal (Umb. *ferar*) classes of these forms on which Von Planta bases his objections; in particular, *sakarater* of the Tabula Agnon. must surely be personal, if the following list of nominatives are to have any construction

partec. are derived) where, it is to be noticed, the gerundive is comparatively rarely substituted for it (e.g. Liv. 1, 8, *conciendo ad se multitudinem*, and continually in the historians); (3) by the far greater frequency of the use of the gerund with *ad* than with any other prep., in which one may see an echo of the earliest use of the form in *-dô* to express purpose, as it still does in the 'dative' use.

The gerundive, however, still seems to me to have been a present partic. in *-onîos*, *-enîos* (for the phonetics cf. *tendo*: *τείνω*), whose use was severely and peculiarly restricted by its association with the 'gerund' forms, as Roby long since maintained.

¹ Chiefly those of Sulmona, Capua, and the Naples Museum (though here with some omissions); the more outlying inscc., in Rome, London, Berlin, and Vienna, and all the coins he has taken from other authorities, which are generally quite adequate.

² Brugmann's analysis of the 'ablative' of the gerund, e.g. *regundô*, into this inf. + the postposn. *-dô*, 'to,' appears to me to be established by one or two points in its usage which I have not seen quoted in this connexion: (1) by the fact that the abl. of the gerund is far more common than e.g. the genitive; (2) by the remarkable freedom of the use of the abl. as the equivalent of a modal active partic. (whence indeed the Italn. and Span. act.

whatever; and with Buck I prefer to regard *lamatir* as a present, not perfect, subjunctive, and therefore personal. But even should such a confusion of usage come to light in fresh inscriptions, the balance of probability would still seem to me to lie with Zimmer's view. Von Planta has undoubtedly put his finger on the weak point of the theory as at present stated when he demands some better explanation than Zimmer's of the origin of the deponent use in Italic. But if one may venture to say so, without more knowledge of the Celtic languages than I can claim, Thurneysen's *ipse dixit* (apud Brugmann's *Grundriss*, ii. p. 1392) which Von Planta accepts without question, seems to offer very slight and unconvincing objections to the striking parallelism of the Celtic forms, especially in Welsh. But in this as in other points where Von Planta's own conclusion may not commend itself to the reader, the usefulness of his grammar is not in the least diminished. It is characteristic of the book from first to last that justice is done quite as fully to the views which the author rejects as to those which he accepts; and there is something almost pathetic in the generous temper which leads him to credit old and almost forgotten writers (like Huschke and Newman) with even the smallest suggestions of value which can be counted as theirs. And as regards living writers Von Planta is equally chivalrous. I note in passing that Elmer's convincing discussion of the Latin prohibitive uses (in *A. J. P.* xv.) was unfortunately inaccessible (p. 434) to him, and his account of the Oscan and Umbrian prohibitions has suffered in consequence.

In the collection of inscriptions the author is guided by the principle of inclusion;¹ thus he prints spurious inscriptions, many of which have long fallen out of notice, side by side with the rest, generally warning the reader of their real character in a footnote.² Further, he includes one or two *insec.* from South Italy, of which it is still doubtful to what language they belong, *e.g.* the helmet *insec.* beginning with the word or words *ἑπεριζέ?* and the still doubtful *insec.* of

Castelluccio beginning with *τοὺς* (ξούτι?) and others which I need not mention. He includes also the large class of East-Italic or 'Sabellic'³ inscriptions, whose alphabet and language are still unsolved conundrums. The same method appears in his treatment of the difficult class of Etrusco-Campanian inscriptions collected in Nos. 172-177 *hhh*. It is now agreed that as a class they exhibit a mixture of language; but Von Planta abstains from any attempt to separate even individual inscriptions which might be regarded as having no Oscan characteristics whatever. In 165*a*, Von Planta gives as presumably Oscan the legend of a curious ring in the Pascale collection at Curti, which the present writer has reason to remember. The text as I read it⁴ runs: *pu βεκε υβε το τον θεον ονομα ορι(ρις)*, but it is written from right to left in Greek character of the second century A.D. squared, so that *θ* appears as *Θ*, and *σ* as *Σ*. This I published in facsimile in the *Athenaeum*, April 28, 1894, calling attention to the apparently archaic alphabet but offering no transcription. It was at length explained by the Earl of Southesk in the *Athenaeum* for June 23 of the same year as a Gnostic charm, similar to others on rings which he had in his own collection; the first words, *pu βεκε υβε*, he regarded as Koptic.

Among the new readings in *insec.* already known, which the author proposes, are two in the very difficult text of the Tanternaean Jovilae of Capua. In the first of these he reads *staiēfud* instead of Bücheler's *staiēfuf*, which he thinks impossible: and if the correction holds, the new verbal form is one of great importance (cf. Skt. *bhu*). In the second *insec.* of the pair he gives the protasis of the last sentence thus: *pūn medd pīs inīm verehīas fust* (marking as doubtful only the first *d*, the *p* of *pīs*, and the *h* in *verehīas*) instead of Bücheler's *pūn medd pīs ūnīveresīm fust*, which he thinks impossible. In the 'Italic Dialects,' No. 114, I marked the *ū*, the *s* and the *m* of *ūnīveresīm* as doubtful, and indeed, as I then lamented, certainty can hardly be hoped for, seeing the nature of the stuff in which this unfortunate inscription has been hewn—friable tufa full of 'faults,' that is, lumps of stone or other hard substances which cannot be cut with a chisel, but which have in places sprung out alto-

¹ The only exception to this is the limitation implied in the title; no dialects are recognised outside the Osco-Umbrian group; thus those nearest to Latin, like Faliscan, are left out, save for one or two specimens thrown in at the end.

² To No. 296*a* *toce stahu*, which is given as an *insec.* not hitherto published, I venture to think a similar note might have been added. It looks like the work of a forger who took at random two words from known Umbr. *insec.* in Latin alphabet, producing a fragment which declares that 'I am dedicated to (or on) bacon'!

³ This thoroughly misleading term (now promoted to a third meaning) seems to die hard.

⁴ I can vouch for the last three letters as *ορι*, though they are very difficult to make out on the edge of the gem.

gether from the face of the block, leaving shapeless cavities behind. The letters *vere* may be regarded as fairly certain, but I hardly think that Von Planta's explanation of his *inim* will suffice to defend it. He renders the clause 'cum magistratus quis et (quidem) civitatis erit,' the apodosis being *sakrafir*, 'let a sacrifice be held.' This I find hard to understand¹ and still harder to parallel in any Latin or dialectic inscription. It would be useless to enumerate the large number of passages in which Von Planta's corrections agree with my own. But I have already alluded to his brilliant transcription of the *kulupu*-curse, which is written on nine tiny fragments of lead and can scarcely be read with the naked eye.

¹ Von Planta suggests that it was written in the 'sad, meddix-less period' of the siege, 214-211 B.C., but this does not seem to make the sentence much clearer.

The historical and archaeological aspects of the inscriptions lie outside the province of the grammar, which is an attempt to extract from these dialects the utmost value they possess, not so much for the study of Ancient Italy as for general comparative philology. But for this purpose Von Planta's work has easily surpassed all previous attempts, and the book is a monument of devoted learning, sound judgment, and keen penetration.

Sic vos non vobis; in the very excellence of his work lies the certainty of its being superseded, for it has enormously promoted inquiry into every point of Osco-Umbrian grammar. And in this province the book represents for our generation the high-water mark of research.

R. S. CONWAY.

TYRRELL AND PURSER'S EDITION OF CICERO'S LETTERS.

The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero, Vol. V. Edited by Prof. R. TYRRELL, and Prof. L. C. PURSER. Dublin University Press, 1897. 14s.

EVERYBODY will be glad to congratulate the scholarly Editors of Cicero on the near approach to completion of their great work in this penultimate instalment. We read with pleasure that 'a considerable portion of the sixth and final volume of the (actual) correspondence is already printed,' and that the task 'will then have been completed, but for the Index, which must have a volume to itself'—an encouraging promise of thoroughness.

The present volume only includes the letters of a year and a half, but they reach the enormous number of 242, extending from March, 45, at the time of the death of Tullia, to August or September, 44, just about the time of the delivery of the First Philippic. Those of the latter year—all but five of which are after the Ides of March—are it need scarcely be said, fully equal in interest to any portion of the great collection. But the case is very different with the letters of the year 45, which are perhaps the least interesting—as the period is probably the least useful—of all Cicero's Life. It is worth notice that of the 163 letters remaining from this year only nine find a place in Mr. Watson's selection.

The volume is prefaced by two Introductory studies; one a biography of the younger Cicero, which does not succeed in eliciting any new facts of importance, the other a moderate and ably stated essay, from the author's point of view, entitled 'Cicero's Case against Caesar.' This latter is reprinted bodily from the *Quarterly Review*, which is, I venture to think, a mistake. It would have been better to write the essay specially in each case for its intended object. Where it first appeared, it was in part too technical and reference-loaded for its place. On the other hand where it stands now it has an uneasy appearance of writing down to a popular level. Perhaps this is the cause of the curious slip about M. Marcellus, so carefully condemned by our authors themselves in anticipation. On p. xiii. we read that 'even he who is no scholar will see how misleading it is to write as if 'patrician' and 'plebeian' were terms correlative with each other in the same way as the terms 'rich' and 'poor.' Two pages further on M. Marcellus is described as 'a great patrician.' Mr. Froude would of course have forgotten, but our editors ought not to have done so, that the Marcelli were a great plebeian—not patrician—family.

It is satisfactory to find that the Critical Introduction on the whole throws in its lot with the sound and almost convincing

position of C. Lehmann that a considerable class of MSS. of the letters to Atticus can be proved to exist entirely independent of the Medicean. That being so, too much space and attention seems to be devoted to the certainly unconvincing and perhaps merely fanciful theories of O. E. Schmidt, who would attribute every existing MS. to the Medicean or its archetype, the Veronensian.

I proceed to notice a few out of many passages on which suggestions of interest are made.

In the famous letter of Sulpicius (Fam. IV. 5. 3) the Edd. read *cedo* for *credo*. This has the advantage of avoiding the difficulty of the combination of *an* with *credo*, and if it were unusually inserted parenthetically would no doubt be liable to corruption. On the other hand, an instance of *cedo* parenthetical seems much needed. I agree that Munro's proposal '*Cicero*,' is unconvincing; perhaps it would be better if substituted for the second *credo*, a little below. So elaborate a letter is certainly not likely to have had a rare usage twice in six lines.

p. 40. *Habet enim qualem vult* cannot possibly mean, as paraphrased, 'his son is an ideal youth.' The passage is so obscure that nothing better than a guess can be made; but it seems to imply that the son has been 'amenable to handling.'

p. 71. Few probably will accept the suggestion of the Edd., *coctius* = 'more mellowed,' for the corrupt *octius*, which they themselves half retract. Lehmann's *tectius* or *tector*, and Boot's *occultius*, are both far better. I think that the adverb, though remarkable, is defensible, and that *tectius* carries most probability.

p. 257. On the other hand, the suggestion of the Edd. that *sedtio* has probably fallen out after *sed ita* is very much better than

Lehmann's proposed insertion of *concitatio*, which gives no explanation of the corruption. But are they right in saying that Wesenberg's *compressum est* 'is an awkward use of the impersonal construction'? Is not the preceding *malum urbanum* the subject?

In a few places the traditional reading is successfully maintained against proposed emendations. The most interesting of these is *Dolabellae aritia* (p. 261), for which *avaritia* (of course) and half a dozen Greek words have been substituted. But the Edd. cleverly suggest that Atticus through inadvertence actually wrote *aritia* for *avaritia*, and that Cicero rallies him on a slip of the pen, '*sic enim tu ad me scripseras*.' They rightly note that *avaritia* does not mean 'miserliness,' of which Dolabella was never accused, but 'rapacity,' and this was an endemic complaint of Romans.

The volume is like its predecessors, printed with scholarly care. The only misprints of importance that I have noted are '*Atticus*' for '*Attica*' on p. 328; and '*subject*' for '*subjunct*.' on p. 195. One is staggered, however, by the grammar of '*I expect young Quintus is romancing*' (p. 329); and Milton did not call fame 'that last infirmity of noble minds' (p. 122), though it is often so quoted, but 'of noble mind,' which is a different thing. Also one regrets to see still the 'battle of Pharsalia,' and the incorrect *ii* in tenses of *abicere*.

I am entirely unable to admit any force in the criticism of my method of translating Cicero's Greek words, which the editors have (courteously enough) introduced into the preface to this volume. This however raises a separate question, which I will, with the Editor's permission, discuss in some future number.

G. E. JEANS.

OBSERVATIONS ON THUC. BOOK I.

Thukydides, erklärt von J. CLASSEN. Erstes Buch, bearbeitet von J. STEUP. Berlin, 1897. M. 4.50.

THE great quantity of new material that Steup has included in his revision of Classen's *Thucydides* i., as well as the many difficulties of the original, render a somewhat lengthy notice necessary. A noticeable change in the Introduction is the argument,

as against Classen, in support of the Ullrichian hypothesis, of which Steup, of course, is an upholder. As the theory is rejected by Prof. Jebb (*Hellenica*, p. 272) and generally, I believe, by English and American writers, it may be worth while to mention the additional passages and arguments that Steup has adduced in its support. He holds that five of the passages cited by Ullrich as having been put into their present

shape before 404 B.C., namely 1. 10, 2; 1. 23, 3 (eclipses of the sun); 2. 1; 3. 87, 2; 4. 48, 5—have not been disposed of by Classen. The new passages he adds are five, being as follows. The statement about the earthquakes in i. 23, 3 can only apply to the ten years' war: the allusion to the inhabitants of Potidea in i. 56, 2 must have been written before the fall of that city: ii. 23, 3 was written before the capture of Oropus by the Boeotians in 411 (this is pointed out in my note *ad loc.*): ii. 94, 1 was written without knowledge of the revolt of Euboea (a very strong point): and the expression δ πόλεμος ἀπὸ καθιστάμενος found in iii. 3, 1 and iii. 68, 4 can only apply to the Archidamian War. This last phrase means, according to Steup, 'the war being just then in the middle stage.'

Next, Ullrich rightly laid stress on the fact that only in v. 26 does Thuc. remark on the length of the war 'between the Pel. and Ath.' When he assumes the end and the length of the war as known in i. 13; 18; 23, he cannot, as he gives no explanation of his meaning, be including the 'half-peace.' Steup, however, does not agree with Ullrich that Thuc. broke off at about the middle of the Fourth Book; and indeed this detail in Ullrich's hypothesis may be regarded as finally abandoned.

With regard to the alterations made in the First Part (i.-v. 25), Steup's conclusion may be quoted, as it affects his notes in many places: 'Perhaps the history of the ten years' war was altered here and there after 404 [sc. in places other than those that have been cited by Ullrich and himself], but Thuc. certainly did not [as Classen holds] systematically revise this history then. Had he done so, he would not at the beginning have left us without an indication of the length of the war he was about to describe, nor should we find so many passages that will not apply to the twenty-seven years' war. Nor yet would there be so many places in which traces of incomplete revision are unmistakable.'

After all, the differences between Steup and Classen in this matter are not wide. Classen admits that portions of the work may have been put into substantially their present shape before the end of the twenty-seven years' war: Steup thinks that the whole of the history to v. 25 was written almost as we have it during the Peace of Nicias. Classen holds that Thuc. was engaged at his death in the last revision of what he had sketched from the outset of the war, and did not live to revise all parts

with equal thoroughness: Steup, that there was no revision worth the name, but only a few insertions (i. 89-118, 2; ii. 65 and 100, 2; and v. 21-24).

I may add two points in support of Steup's view. The description of the forces employed against Epidaurus in 430 (ii. 56) appears to be written without knowledge of the Sicilian expedition; otherwise Thuc. would surely have compared these forces with those described in vi. 30. In the latter place he refers back to ii. 56 for a comparison: yet at ii. 56 he says nothing to lead us to conclude that the forces employed against Epidaurus were relatively so great as he afterwards found them to have been. Again the curious digression about Teres and Tereus in ii. 29 has all the appearance of having been written at a time when the mythical connexion between the two families was a matter of interest at Athens. After the end of the war, Thrace was of no importance to Athens. We can see from Xenophon that the friendship of Odysae was withdrawn—it was re-established subsequently by Thrasybulus the patriot—and the kingdom no longer possessed the greatness that Thuc. ascribes to it.

From the following remarks it must not be judged that the majority of Steup's new notes are likely to arouse feelings of opposition. But there is still something to be said on many passages in text and commentary; and of such passages only a few can be dealt with here. In c. 1, Steup repeats his former objections to the words $\kappa\alpha\iota$ μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων κ.τ.λ. It is indeed strange that nothing further is said of the effect of the war on the 'barbarians' in the historical sketch that follows. And it is probable that the statement $\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ αὐτῇ μεγίστῃ δὴ ἐγένετο μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων is, taken strictly, untrue. To separate $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta$ δὴ from μέρει, as some critics do, is scarcely possible. But, as it is generally recognised that Thucydides exaggerates the importance of his subject, it seems both unsafe to attempt to fix the limits of his self-deception, and unprofitable to criticise with exactness the grandiloquence of his exordium. If we are to require exactness, it is not superfluous to ask what $\epsilon\pi\iota$ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων ὡς εἶπέν adds to τοῖς Ἑλλῃσι καὶ μέρει τ. τ. βαρβάρων. The explanation of Steup and those editors who do not adopt some artificial explanation of $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta$ produces a tautology, and strictly requires something like $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ τοῖς Ἑλλῃσι καὶ μεγάλῳ—or ὡς δὲ εἶπέν καὶ $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega$ —μέρει τῶν βαρβάρων, and there the sentence should end. Steup strains at the gnat and swallows the

camel. Far more serious are the objections to τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα, which Steup marks as corrupt. Herbst's *Troická* for πρὸ αὐτῶν is very unlikely, and Steup's τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν τὰ παλαιότερα is a mere suggestion. Any one who will carefully examine this passage will see, I think, that Thucydides ought to have said: 'The history of the *barbarians* previous to this war and the early history of the Greeks *themselves* is obscure.' Steup rightly notes that, if τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν means, or includes, 'the events between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars,' then σαφῶς εὐρεῖν διὰ χρόνον πλήθος ἀδύνατα ἦν is inconsistent with the careful account of these years that follows. It appears to me that Thuc. *must* have dismissed the earlier affairs of the barbarians in this sentence. This would explain why, having once said οὐ μέγιστα νομίζω γενέσθαι, he does not revert to the subject. But it does not seem possible to make τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν refer only to the barbarians and to make τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα mean 'the remoter history of the Greeks.'

In c. 3, § 4 οἱ δ' οὖν ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνας κατὰ πόλεις τε ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ἐνέεισαν καὶ ἐμπαντες ὕστερον κληθέντες οὐδὲν... ἄθροοι ἔπραξαν is a very clumsy way of saying 'The gradual extension of the common name and common language which partly led and partly followed on the advance of commerce and intercourse had not gone far before the Trojan war: consequently no united action was possible.' Steup raises a series of objections to the sentence, and thinks that κατὰ πόλεις το κληθέντες may be spurious. I see no necessity for such a supposition. On cc. 5 to 8 Steup has an acute note, in which he points out that none of the editors have succeeded in making a consecutive narrative out of what Thucydides says. The passages that require to be reconciled may be exhibited in a table thus:—

1. οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἳ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπειρῷ παραθαλάσσιοι καὶ ὅσοι νήσους εἶχον ἐτρέποντο πρὸς ληστείαν.

2. δηλοῦσι δὲ τῶν ἡπειρωτῶν τινες.

3. ἐλήζοντο δὲ καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον ἀλλήλους.

4. αἱ παλαιὰ διὰ τὴν ληστείαν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἐκίστησαν, αἱ τε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡπείροις.

5. καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν λησταὶ ἦσαν οἱ νησιῶται.

The current explanation is that Nos. 1 and 2 refer to piracy by sea: that No. 3 refers to piracy by land. But none of the editors say how the statement about the building of towns inland (No. 4) can be

reconciled with the assumption that Thuc. refers to piracy inland in No. 3. Steup, explaining that No. 3 must refer to piracy by sea, and observing that No. 5 fits on admirably to No. 3 when καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν is rendered 'not only...but no less,' pronounces all that intervenes in the text to be 'a provisional supplement' which the historian never revised and made to fit into the narrative. But I must point out in turn that Steup's rendering of ἐλήζοντο καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον is impossible. κατ' ἡπειρον = κατὰ γῆν: in l. 142, the only other place in which Thuc. uses the expression, the two are synonymous: here it is the same as δι' ἡπείρου πορεύομενοι (e.g. schol. on Aristoph. *Vesp.* 398). λ. κατ' ἡπειρον then does not refer to piracy by sea. But neither can it mean piracy by land at large: that is clearly inconsistent with No. 4. It can only mean *piracy carried on by land between the towns on the coast*. Thuc. in effect adds a long parenthesis, which extends from these words to the end of c. 7, and he begins by saying 'The piracy (that affected the coast towns of the mainland—τῶν ἡπειρωτῶν τινες—was not confined to the sea—τῶν καταπλεόντων—but) was carried on also by land.' Steup says that ληστεία must mean all through these chapters 'piracy by sea'; but if you say ληστεία κατ' ἡπειρον, you obviously mean 'piracy by land': just as when you say πλεῦσαι alone you mean 'sail on the sea,' but when Isocrates says πλεῦσαι διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου, he means something different.

At c. 11, 2 Steup reads ῥαδιῶς ἂν [μάχῃ κρατοῦντες εἶλον]...πολιορκία [δ'], thus going further than Krüger. In c. 12, 3 Βοιωτοὶ τε γὰρ κ.τ.λ. Steup brackets γάρ, and attaches the section to the previous sentence, on the ground that the migration of the Boeotians is not attributed to στάσις and cannot therefore be an illustration of it. But it seems to me that the details given in the text of the migration of the Boeotians and Dorians are wholly insufficient for any one to say that στάσις is precluded. In c. 13, 5 Steup introduces two alterations into the text; but to neither can I assent. He prints ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον ἐπλάζον, [τὰς ναῦς κτησάμενοι τὸ ληστικὸν καθήρουν] καὶ ἐμπόριον παρέχοντες ἀμφότερα δυνατωτάτην (for δυνατὴν) ἔσχον...τὴν πόλιν. He finds the words bracketed inconsistent with the work of Minos and with the statement καταστάντος τοῦ Μίνω ναυτικοῦ πλοῖμώτερον ἐγένετο in c. 8; and he says that the sentence ought to explain how it was that the Corinthians were the first to get a large fleet, as it will very well do when the obnoxious words are

removed. Each of these propositions appears to me to be false. I do not see why after *πλοῖμώτερα ἐγένετο* Thuc. may not denote a subsequent further development by the words *μᾶλλον ἐπλωζον*, and why the latter must refer to the same thing as the former. Nor do I see how *τὸ ληστικὸν καθήρουν* is inconsistent with *Μίνως καθήρει τὸ ληστικὸν ἐφ' ὅσον ἐδύνατο*. He says that *τὰς ναὺς* must 'refer to the great Corinthian fleet': but I believe we ought to refer *τὰς ναὺς* (*i.e.* *τριήρεις*) *κτησάμενοι* to οἱ Ἕλληνες *μᾶλλον ἐπλωζον*. The Greeks used the sea more when they got themselves triremes. Then the Corinthians suppressed piracy and added greatly to their wealth by commerce. Hence Corinth became a great sea power. As for *δυνατωτάτην*, after saying 'they made money by overland commerce,' Thuc. says 'they made money by commerce in both ways,' *i.e.* *ἀμφότερα δυνατὴν ἔσχον* is not a mere repetition of what has been said. Worthier of consideration is Steup's suggestion of a lacuna in the words *τῶν προσόδων μεζόνων γιγνομένων* in § 1 of the same chapter. It is not easy to see how these words can stand alone for 'as the wealth of individuals increased,' though of course to *πρόσδοος* itself in this sense there can hardly be any objection. He proposes to insert *τισὶ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων*.

In c. 21, 1 Steup has bracketed *αὐτῶν* after *ἐπὶ χρόνον* with van Herw. In 22, 2 he reads *οἷς τε αὐτοὺς παρήν καὶ <τὰ> παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων...ἐπεξεληθὼν* after Ullrich. The emendation is approved by van Herw. in his review of Hude in these words: 'rectissime Hude cum Ullrichsio καὶ <τὰ>...edit': but Hude does not admit *τὰ* into the text. In c. 23 Steup, unwilling to allow that Thuc. is quibbling, regards *δυσὶν ναυμαχίαν καὶ πεζομαχίαν* as an adscript. In § 6 of this c. *τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν...* τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι *μεγάλους γιγνομένους...ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν* 'the pres. partic. must be altered with Weidner into *γεγενημένους*,' because cc. 88 and 118, 2 show that A. greatness is referred to, as an object achieved. The passages are φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους *μὴ ἐπὶ μεζόνι δινηθῶσι* and οἱ Ἀ. ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν *δυνάμει*, of which the latter refers to the *Pentecontaetia*. Dionysius quotes all three together (*ind. Thuc.* p. 331). His text gives *γιγνομένους*; and I do not see why the *growing* greatness of Athens may not be alluded to. True, we afterwards find (c. 89 to 118) that they had *already* grown great; but were they not 'still growing'? We might look for *μείζους* *αἰὲν* in place of *μεγάλους*; but as the expres-

sion stands, it is merely a little inexact. And I believe that it is just this *increasing* greatness that Thuc. considered to be the *ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις* τοῦ πολέμου. It was the fear *μὴ ἐπὶ μεζόνι δινηθῶσι* that drove Sparta into a corner more than *τὰ Κερκυραϊκὰ καὶ τὰ Ποτειδιατικὰ καὶ ὅσα πρόφασις κατέστη* (c. 118). Amongst the last, the growing greatness of Athens is more than once alluded to: see especially c. 69. 4 *μόνοι οὐκ ἀρχομένην τὴν αὐξήσιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, διπλασιούμενῃ δὲ καταλύοντες*, which last agrees with *μεγάλους γιγνομένους*, and with *ἡ αὐξήσις τῆς πόλεως* which in Dionysius represents the *ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις* of Thuc.

We may now take c. 25, 4 *περιφρονούντες δὲ αὐτοὺς* (the Corinthians) *καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὅμοια τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις καὶ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ δυνατώτεροι*—so Steup, proposing to read *ὁμοιοί* with Linwood and to bracket *τοῖς Ἑ. π.* It seems to me that Herbst is right in saying that the Corinthians themselves must be meant in *τοῖς Ἑ. πλουσιωτάτοις*. Stahl objects that it would be absurd to omit the Athenians. But the description may be a mere exaggeration, such as one finds when superlatives are used.¹ I suggest however *ὁμοί<οι> α<ὐτοῖς> τοῖς κ.τ.λ.* In c. 26, 4 Steup does not throw much light on the much-discussed sentence: *οἱ δὲ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑπήκουσαν, ἀλλὰ στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τεσσαράκοντα ναυσί.* Comparing the corresponding sentence of the previous section, *πλεύσαντες εὐθὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ναυσί, καὶ ὕστερον ἑτέρῳ στόλῳ*, I think all difficulties would be got over by reading *ἀλλ' <ἄλλαις> στρατεύουσιν κ.τ.λ.*, so that the forty ships would be the *ἕτερος στόλος*. It is not unusual for Thuc. to anticipate a statement. But in c. 29 the whole number of ships engaged at Epidamnus is set down as forty; so that it would be necessary to assume that the original twenty-five ships returned.

c. 30, § 3 is printed as follows: *τοῦ τε χρόνου τὸν πλείστον μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἐκράτουν <τε> τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κορινθίων ξυμμάχους ἐπιπλέοντες ἐφθειρον, μέχρι οὗ Κορίνθιοι <πάλιν> περιόντι τῷ θερί κ.τ.λ.* ('when summer again came round'): but Steup rightly says that 'in the remaining part of the summer' is an impossible rendering. *περιόντι* of the MSS. must be an alternative spelling for *περιόντι*, whatever the sense may then be. The addition of *τε* is an improvement, and I think with Steup that *τοῦ χρόνου* is explained by *μέχρι οὗ*:

¹ Cf. Andoc. 1, 130 *Ἰππώνικος δ' ἦν πλουσιώτατος τῶν Ἑλλήνων*.

but Steup's *πάλιν περιούντι* makes it necessary to suppose—what is unlikely—that the Corcyrean ships held the seas and attacked Corinthian allies throughout the winter.

In c. 33, 3 *μηδὲ δυοῖν φθάσαι ἁμαρτῶσιν, ἢ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι*, Steup is inclined with Wex to bracket *φθάσαι*. But he does not seem to have noticed that the alternative is *preliminary* to the contemplated attempt on Athens.¹ If *φθάσαι* goes, then there is nothing to express the all-important words 'before attacking you.' The order of *φθάσαι* does however raise a difficulty, and perhaps we might correct to *φθάσαντες*, 'before we can combine against them.' In c. 35, 3 *ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης τε ξυμμαχίας εἵξευσι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ὠφελίας*, Steup understands *ξυμμαχίας* to refer, not, as is usually thought, to the contemplated alliance with Athens, but to the body of *Corinthian* allies. In this case the next words themselves apply to alliance with Athens. Then for *εἴτα ἐν ἀδικήματι θήσονται, πεισθέντων ὑμῶν ἃ δεόμεθα*. πολὺ δὲ ἐν πλείονι κ.τ.λ., he gives Krüger's *εἴ τε κ.τ.λ....πολὺ δὴ*, and, unless Thuc. wrote an illogical sentence,² some correction is absolutely necessary.

In c. 35, 5 an interesting grammatical difficulty occurs with regard to *ἦσαν*: πολλὰ δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπέειπομεν, τὰ ξυμφέροντα ἀποδείκνυμεν, καὶ μέγιστον ὅτι οἱ τε αὐτοὶ πολέμιοι ἡμῖν [*ἦσαν*]...καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς. First the 'didactic' imperf. occurs nowhere else in Thuc.; and secondly *καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς* does not correspond to anything that has been previously mentioned. Classen's explanation is much too forced to be possible.

c. 36, 3 *βραχυτάτῳ δ' ἂν κεφαλαίῳ τοῖς τε ξύμπασιν καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῷδ' ἂν μὴ προέσθαι ἡμᾶς μάθοιτε* τρία μὲν ὄντα λόγον ἄξια κ.τ.λ.: Steup (1) renders *βραχ. κεφ.* 'a cardinal point put shortly'; (2) explains *τοῖς τε ξ. κ.τ.λ.* as masc.; with the schol. a *dat. com.* to *κεφαλαίῳ*. His first reason is that *κεφάλαιον* here only applies to one point, the sea power of Corcyra. But then this is in fact the *only* positive point the speaker has made which is calculated to induce the

Athenians μὴ προέσθαι: for though in c. 35 the *σαφιστάτη πίστις* is said to be that the Spartans are enemies of Athens as well as of Corcyra, the admission is at once made that a refusal would not matter to Athens were it not for the fleet of Corcyra. His other reason has more force, that *τοῖς ξύμπασιν καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον* as adverbial (Cl.), or as apposition (Kr.) is very doubtful. On the other hand, it seems to me that if the words are masc. we should decidedly expect *οἱ τε ξύμπαντες*. If the text is right, I should prefer to take *τοῖς τε ξύμ. καὶ καθ' ἕ.* with *μάθοιτε* and *βραχ. κεφ.* as appos.: 'by our arguments as a whole and considered singly, amounting as they do to the following brief summary,' etc.

c. 37, 1 *ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ ἡμεῖς τε ἀδικοῦμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰκότως πολεμοῦνται, μνησθέντας πρῶτον καὶ ἡμᾶς. περὶ ἀμφοτέρων οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλον λόγον ἰέναι*. Steup supposes a lacuna after *ὅς* of something like *καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαθοὶ διετέλεσαν*, for the following reasons: (1) *καὶ* after *ὥς* is out of place; (2) the expressions *ἡμεῖς τε ἀδικοῦμεν* and *αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰκότως π.* refer to the same thing, so that *ἀμφοτέρων* ought to be *τούτων*; (3) the speaker does not confine himself to the point specified in the text before proceeding in c. 40, 1 to *ὁ ἄλλος λόγος*. As to the first objection, the confusion of *ὥς* and *καὶ* is so well-known that we might transpose the words or think *καὶ* due to dittography. The second point is undoubtedly a good one (cf. c. 34, 7); and the Corinthian speaker perhaps shows at the opening of c. 40—*αὐτοὶ τε μετὰ προσηκόντων ἐγκλημάτων ἐρχόμεθα καὶ οἷδε βίαιοι καὶ πλεονέκται εἰσι*—that he has gone beyond the single hypothesis that he stated, according to the text, in c. 37, 1. It might however be that *βίαιοι καὶ πλεονέκται εἰσὶ* is intended to recapitulate the words *εἰκότως πολεμοῦνται*, for nothing has been advanced by the speaker that may not with a little latitude be included under the hypothesis as stated.

c. 37, § 2 *ξύμμαχόν τε οὐδένα βουλόμενοι πρὸς τὰδικήματα οὔτε* (with Dobree for *οὐδὲ*) *μάρτυρα ἔχειν οὔτε παρακαλοῦντες αἰσχύνεσθαι*. In addition to the recognised grammatical difficulty raised by *οὐδέ*, Steup notices that the 'witness' referred to must be himself a *ξύμμαχος*.

In c. 37, 4 *οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ξυναδικήσωσιν* (leg. *ξυναδικῶσιν*) *ἐτέροις προβέβληνται, ἀλλ' ὅπως κατὰ μόνας ἀδικῶσι καὶ ὅπως ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν κρατῶσι βιάζονται, ἀδικῶσι καὶ ὅπως* is probably spurious.'

c. 40, 6 *εἰ γὰρ τοὺς κακόν τι δρῶντας κ.τ.λ.*: (1) disturbs the argument; (2) the *γὰρ* is

¹ Hude reads *ἡμᾶς* for *ἡμᾶς*: but probably he is mistaken. He however rightly ignores Wex here.

² The flaw is not removed by rendering *εἵξευσι*... 'shall attempt to exclude us from alliance with Athens, and then blame us if Athens accepts us for allies': for there is no inconsistency in the two actions. Moreover the addition of the *εἴτα* clause upsets the balance of the *μὲν...δὲ* that follow the *δεῖνόν*. Hude accepts *εἴ τε*, but retains *πολὺ δὲ* in the text.

out of place; (3) *φανείται καὶ ἃ* is a strange expression. All these three difficulties, says Steup, would disappear if the words were transferred to the end of c. 42. This looks very tempting, but if the section is regarded as a parenthetical comment on the previous section, and the *γάρ* is elliptical ('You have good reason to follow us in accepting this principle; for,' etc.), the passage may very well stand where it is. Though *φανείται καὶ ἃ* is unusual, it is not on that account impossible.

c. 42, 4 ἢ τῷ αὐτίκα φανερῶ ἐπαρθέντας διὰ κινδύνων τι (for τό, after Classen's conjecture) πλέον ἔχειν. S. objects both to τὸ πλέον and to ἔχειν. A similar difficulty occurs in ii. 81 οὗτ' ἐπεσχον τὸ στρατόπεδον καταλαβεῖν, where perhaps we should read τί.

c. 50, 1 τοὺς αὐτῶν φίλους οὐκ αἰσθόμενοι ὅτι ἥσσητο οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα ἄγνοοῦντες ἔκτεινον. Steup thinks οἱ spurious and takes ἔκτεινον absolutely with Aken, Naber, and Conradt; so that the Corinthians no longer kill their own allies.

c. 57, 5 Ἀρχεστράτου τοῦ Λυκομήδους μετ' ἄλλων δέκα στρατηγούντος. Steup heroically steps forward to defend δέκα. First he says that there could be more than ten strategi, and instances c. 116, where Pericles δέκατος αὐτὸς commands forty-four ships, while there are two other fleets at sea for whom strategi have to be provided. But, whatever be the precise meaning of δέκατος αὐτός, this much is at once clear that in c. 116, it is not necessary to assume that all ten strategi were employed on the forty-four ships: some of these ten may have commanded the other squadrons, especially if δέκατος αὐτός implies that Pericles held a superior position among the strategi. Steup further thinks that the form μετ' ἄλλων instead of ἐνδέκατος αὐτὸς may show that αὐτὸς was not used with ordinals above ten (!). It may be so; but as the formula is so frequently applied to the strategi, that would tend to show that it was at least very unusual to have over ten strategi; in which case we should expect Thuc. to have drawn special attention to the fact that eleven and subsequently sixteen strategi were employed in this year. A likely solution, it seems to me, is to suppose that εἰ has slipped into the text by a very easy error from the margin, and that Thuc. wrote μετ' ἄλλων only, because he had not ascertained the number.

At c. 58, 2 the editor is content with τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γῆς τῆς Μυγδονίας περί τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι. What we want, and what is not forthcoming, is a parallel to the definition περί τὴν Β. λίμνην added after this

'partitivo' gen. I think Naber's <τὰ> περί is required.

c. 59, 2 ἐφ' ὅπερ τὸ πρότερον ἐξέπεμποντο, 'which was their original destination': I think that τὸ πρῶτον, the reading of C., is right. c. 63, 1 ὡς ἐς ἐλάχιστον χωρίον: 'ἐς nur von G. Einer jüngeren Hand des Cod. A und wahrscheinlich auch von M geboten wird.' M has the ἐς.

c. 68, 3 τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν, ὦν τοὺς μὲν δεδουλωμένους ὁράτε, τὰς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτούς, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ξυμμάχοις. Generally ὦν is referred to ἡμᾶς, the implied subject of μακρηγορεῖν. As the ἡμᾶς must mean 'the allies of Sparta,' Steup objects that Athens had not 'enslaved' any of them. He therefore follows Conradt in referring ὦν to the preceding Ἑλλάδα, that is to the Greeks generally. Then ἡμετέροις ἐ. is generally supposed to mean Potidaea: but Potidaea was not a ξύμμαχος of Corinth, but of Athens (c. 56). Accordingly Steup accepts Conradt's ὡς ἡμετέροις, and the parallel passages show the change is necessary, though Hude ignores it.

In c. 69, 2 Steup retains Classen's text and notes, but thinks with him that some of the words are spurious. The sentence οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες, βεβουλευμένοι πρὸς οὐ διεγνωκότας ἤδη, καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες ἐπέρχονται as explained by Classen, seems most unsatisfactory, and it is better to follow the majority of the most recent editors—Forbes, Chambry, H. Stein, Lange—and to make the statement general.

Passing over several minor points, I come to c. 73, 2 τὰ δὲ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ἐξίνιστε, εἰ καὶ δι' ὄχλον μᾶλλον ἔσται αἰεὶ προβαλλόμενα (with Classen for MSS. προβαλλομένοις) ἀνάγκη λέγειν. Steup says that only van Herwerden has followed Classen, but he thinks the change necessary. I have before pointed out in this review (ix. 361) that it would be better to place the comma after ἔσται; and I now think that αἰεὶ προβαλλομένοις (mid., sc. ἡμῖν) belongs to ἐξίνιστε, and would render the sentence: 'As for the Persian wars and what you yourselves know that we continually put forward in our defence even though it is certain that it will be an annoyance (to you), we are obliged to refer to the matter.'

c. 77, 1 καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ἐξυμμάχους δίκαις καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις φιλοδικεῖν δοκοῦμεν. Steup's explanation, which in the main follows Gilbert, depends on the supposition that δίκαι ἐ. means 'suits arising out of commercial contracts.' He renders: 'Though we for our part are at a disadvantage in cases against

our allies (viz. in their courts), and at Athens on the contrary have instituted proceedings in such cases so that both sides are on equal terms.' Thus the whole sentence (1) refers to *all* the allies; (2) refers to the *same* class of suits. 'We treat them fairly in our courts; but they do not (always) treat us fairly in theirs.'

c. 82, 1 Steup gives καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἅμα ἐκπορίζόμεθα for the MSS. καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν. To the ordinary reading αὐτῶν he objects that Thuc. nowhere else uses the 3rd reflexive thus, and that τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν occurs just before in a different sense. The latter may be just the reason why Thuc. should here have written αὐτῶν in place of ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν.

c. 89, 2 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ξύμμαχοι, ἤδη ἀφεστηκότες ἀπὸ βασιλέως. Steup thinks ἤδη . . βασιλέως spurious. I think ξύμμαχοι <οἱ> ἤδη or else ξύμμαχοι ἤδη, <οἱ> represents what Thuc. wrote.

c. 90, 3 τευχίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας—S. proposes to add καὶ οἰκέτας (!). At c. 91, 6 S. reads, δοκεῖ οὖν σφίσι καὶ νῦν [ἄμεινον εἶναι] τὴν ἐαυτῶν πόλιν τείχος ἔχειν καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους ὠφελιμώτερον ἔσσεσθαι. His explanation makes it necessary to render ἐς τοὺς π. ξ. ὦ. ἔσσεσθαι 'will be more advantageous *for* the allies' instead of '(for the Athenians) in their relations with the allies.' For the unusual ἐς he refers to ii. 89, 9 ὃ ἔς τε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν ξυμφέρεῖ καὶ ναυμαχία οὐχ ἡκιστα, which, apart from the fact that the text there is not certain, does not support his view. His other passage is iii. 37, 2 ἐπικινδύνος ἐς ἡμᾶς helps, but not greatly. What S. does not notice is that by cutting out ἄμεινον εἶναι he destroys the very reference to [the interest of the Greek alliance that he so much wants. ἄμεινον εἶναι in the preceding section must stand for ἄμεινον εἶναι σφίσιν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ κοινῷ, and consequently it does so here as well. The vulgate is perfectly right.

c. 93, 5 S. brackets δύο γὰρ ἅμαξαι ἐναντία ἀλλήλαις τοὺς λίθους ἐπήγον, but I think Wachsmuth is right in supposing that the waggons moved, not along the top of the wall itself, as to which matter, as Herbst says, no hint is given in the text, but along the level. S. objects that the number is then ridiculous: but this difficulty disappears if we suppose that two waggons abreast were required to carry the μεγάλοι λίθοι. This view of the matter is strongly supported by the context, and I believe, has already been suggested by Bothe, who pro-

posed to read ἐνάρτιοι ἀλλήλαις. Just after S. rightly gives ἐντομῇ ἐγγώνιοι.

c. 105, 6 S. proposes καὶ <πάλιν> παρασκευασάμενοι, ἡμερᾶς ὕστερον. In c. 115, 5 ἐκράτησαν τῶν πλείστων, he suggests τῶν αὐτομολούντων, to which Krüger's τῶν πολλῶν is surely preferable; but no change is really needed. When the details given are so scanty, it is risky to propose corrections that are merely based on the narrative. This remark applies also to c. 116, 2 where for ἐπολιόρκον τρισὶ τείχεσι E. Fabricius has suggested to S. ἐ. περιτειχίσει, and B has τάγμασι as an alternative.

c. 120, 1 χρή γὰρ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τὰ ἴδια ἐξῆσου νέμοντας τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐκ πάντων προτιμῶνται. S. understands 'the leaders' duty is, while managing their own affairs in the same way (as the other members of the league manage theirs), to pay greater attention (than they) to the common interests, as they receive greater honour than the rest,' e.g. in the command of the army. A weak point in this explanation is that ἐν ἄλλοις remains unexplained. S. suggests ἐν πολλοῖς (neut.) in place of it. But ἐν ἄλλοις may very well mean 'in matters that do not concern the league'; i.e. even when there is no thought of war, Sparta is more respected than the members of her league.

c. 122, 2 νῦν δὲ πρὸς ξύμπαντάς τε ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι ἱκανοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἐτι δυνατότεροι. The context, says S., shows that ἐτι δ. is not strong enough, and the wording of it suggests that after ἱκανοὶ something like καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη πολὺ κρείσσους is lost. But in the context the speaker is blaming the members of the league for want of spirit: he says just after εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀθρόοι καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἕκαστον ἄστυ μιᾷ γνώμῃ ἀμνυνόμεθα, and this shows that by ἐτι δυνατότεροι he is to mean 'still more powerful against us singly (than they would be if we were acting μιᾷ γνώμῃ).' At present, he means, δίχα ἐσμέν, which is an exaggeration of the facts, but is an effective exaggeration.

c. 132, 5 ἵνα, ἣν ψευσθῇ (sc. ὁ Ἀργίλιος) τῆς δόξης ἣ καὶ ἐκείνός τι μεταγράψαι αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ἐπιγνῶ (sc. ὁ Πανσανίας) S. proposes to insert ἣ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος before ἣ καὶ, and to read αἰτήσας. I really cannot see the need of this. The Argilian forged the seal before he started. 'If,' he reflected, 'the letter does not contain directions to kill me, I will take it to Artabazus, who will never discover that the seal has been tampered with, and therefore Pausanias will not hear of it from him. If my suspicion is true, I will give information to the Ephors. But what

if P. asks for the letter before I start? Oh well, *he* won't detect the forgery either.' No doubt he might have reasoned: 'Oh well, I can then go to the Ephors at once, whether my suspicion prove true or false,' but, as he was not so logical as Steup, that view of the matter didn't occur to him.

c. 144, 2 πολέμον δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἄρξομεν, αἰρομένους (for ἀρχομένους) δὲ ἀμννούμεθα is a good emendation.

These remarks give a wholly inadequate

account of Steup's commentary, of which every page shows the results of his laborious revision of Classen's work. The book, so far as the notes are concerned, ought to be named 'a commentary on Classen's edition of Thucydides.' The number of small improvements made in the text too is considerable, though Steup has admitted very few conjectures of his own or of other critics that were not in Classen.

E. C. MARCHANT.

WESTERN MSS. IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

MADAN'S *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Nos. 16670—24330. Vol. iv. Oxford. 1897. 25s.

Vol. iii. of Mr. Madan's great undertaking containing twenty collections or 7,959 MSS. acquired by the Bodleian in 1698–1700 was noticed by the present writer in this Review ix. p. 367. Vol. iv., Mr. Madan's second instalment (vols. i. ii. will be completed later), deals with twenty-three collections, containing 7,661 MSS. Some of these are the most valuable which the library contains, e.g. the D'Orville, Clarke, Canonici, Malone, Meerman, and Douse collections. It is impossible in so large a number to do more than select *some* of the most important MSS., but, speaking generally, the new volume will be found even more interesting than its predecessor.

First among its treasures must be mentioned the Clarke Plato, No. 18400, the description of which occupies half p. 309 in Mr. Madan's octavo volume. It was written in Nov. 895 A.D. for Arethas of Patrae, subsequently bishop of Caesarea, the same Arethas who bought the Euclid written in 888 A.D., also in the Bodleian, MS. D'Orville 301, No. 17179 in the present volume. It contains the *Euthyphron*, *Apologia*, *Criton*, *Phaedon*, *Cratylus*, *Theaetetus*, *Sophistes*, *Politicus*, *Parmenides*, *Philebus*, *Symposion*, *Phaedrus*, *Alcibiades* i. and ii., *Hipparchus*, *Erastae*, *Theages*, *Charmides*, *Laches*, *Lysis*, *Euthydemus*, *Protagoras*, *Gorgias*, *Menon*. It was bought in 1801 by Dr. E. D. Clarke from the monks of S. John the Evangelist at Patmos. The Euclid is described by Mr. Madan on p. 104 of the present volume. He there mentions some other MSS. which are known to have belonged to Arethas; the

Florence *Aristides*, the Venice *Athenaeus*, the Vatican *Aristotle's Organon* (Urb. 35), the Paris *Clemens Alexandrinus* (MS. Grec. 451), the Harley *Lucian* in the British Museum.

Clarke's collection includes some Latin MSS.; these are mostly of the fifteenth century. Among them is a MS. of Cicero's *Letters ad Familiares* written in 1449 (Madan 18386).

Interesting to every scholar will be the account of D'Orville's collection, and the short biography of D'Orville which precedes it (p. 37). Might it not be well to republish some of this learned Dutchman's *Miscellanea*? His period (1696–1751) was one of great philological activity in Holland, and his ingenuity was supplemented by an ample fortune. Well known to students of Latin fables is his discovery in 1727 of the Perottine collection, now generally appended to Phaedrus: I have given a short account of it in my lecture, *The Fables of Phaedrus*, recently reprinted.

D'Orville projected editions of Theocritus and the Greek anthology. His collections are largely taken up with these authors, and seem to have been little used. 17115 is a transcript of part of the Palatine MS. of the Greek Anthology: so also is 17116: both contain the *Μοῦσα παιδική*. All the numbers from 17112 to 17143 bear on the Greek Anthology, as well as 17150–17168. Those on Theocritus form Nos. 17144–49, and 17169–17176: a proof of D'Orville's incessant activity.

There is among the Latin MSS. in this collection, Madan 17036, a Horace of the eleventh century, examined for C. Kirchner's *Nouae Quaestiones Horatianae* (1847). The order of the poems is as follows: Odes, Epodes, C. Saeculare, Ars. P., Sermones,

Epistulae. Another Horace, also mentioned by Kirchner, is of fifteenth century.

In a copy of the Ovidian or Pseudo-Ovidian Sappho is added at the end 'Hic epistola fuit per Ovidium de greco in Latinum translata.' From other indications given by Mr. Madan, I should suppose this MS. deserved special examination. It was written before 1453. (Madan 17044).

Prudentius is represented in 20626 of tenth century and 17061 of twelfth. The former belongs to the Meerman collection, and is, if I am not deceived, one of the best MSS. of Prudentius extant. Two facsimiles from it have been published in my twenty facsimiles of Latin MSS. (Oxford 1891). It is perhaps not all written at the same period. The same collection (Meerman) contains:—

20618, a codex made up of four MSS., A, B, C, D. D is about 900 A.D. It is the *Physiologus de natura animalium uel avium seu bestiarum*. The oldest MS. of this treatise, Berne 2331 is stated to be of the eighth century: the Bodleian codex is therefore of little inferior age. A contains the *De anima* of Cassiodorus: B tracts by S. Augustine: C a sermon by S. Augustine, S. Ambrose's *de Nabuthe Iezraelita*, a sort of Sibylline prophecy in Latin verses, and some magical recipes of century xii.

20621. Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* from close of l. v. to end of xv. It is in double columns and of twelfth century.

20622. Priscian, perhaps of early twelfth century. A most exquisite MS. in a beautifully clear hand.

20623. Servius' commentary on Vergil, written, partly by one Ingelrannus, in century x.

20627. Fulgentius' *Expositio sermonum antiquorum* (early tenth), Servius *de centum metris* (ninth) and an anonymous Latin grammar, by way of question and answer (about 900 A.D.). Like several other MSS.

of the collection it once belonged to the Collège de Clermont.

20628. Glossae in Mart. Capellam: of century x or xi.

20629. Solinus, about A.D. 900.

20631. Livy l. i. to x. 22, with two leaves wanting. It was written, by two hands, about 1000. Last but first in value, the Alpha and Omega of the Meerman collection stands

20632. The Hieronymian version of Eusebius' Chronicle, described by Mommsen and E. G. Hardy. Besides the Chronicle, it contains the *Chronicon Marcellini*, and a leaf containing a list of Christian persecutions. Most of this MS. is in uncials: parts are in a half-uncial hand. It is ascribed to the sixth century.

The Saibante collection (pp. 422, 3) consisting of fifty-two Greek MSS., includes one of signal value (20531), Arrian on Epictetus, 'the archetype of all existing MSS. of the work.' These MSS. are not described in detail by Mr. Madan, but the name of the author or title of the work alone is given: the full description will be found in Coxe's Catalogue of Greek MSS. in the Bodleian (1853). Among the Douse MSS. may be mentioned the French and Latin Bestiaries 21706, 21725, 21741; the French Troubadour Songs 21843, 21882; a French translation of the Bible of century fourteen, 21785: an English translation of Vegetius (early fifteenth century) 21865; an English work on Hunting, with pictures of hounds and other animals, 21910.

It is needless to say that the above sketch only aims at calling renewed attention to the vast stores of our library: the size of Mr. Madan's work is meant to supplement Mr. Coxe's larger catalogues, which by their costliness, are accessible to few.

The Bodleian librarian, Mr. Nicholson, has added notes of his own at intervals throughout the volume.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

GARNETT AND STUART-GLENNIE'S GREEK FOLK POESY.

Greek Folk Poesy: Annotated Translations from the whole cycle of Romaic Folk-verse and Folk-prose, by L. M. J. GARNETT. Edited with essays on the Science of Folklore, Greek Folk-speech, and the Survival of Paganism, by J. S. STUART-GLENNIE, M.A. London, David Nutt: 1896. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Pp. xlv. + 541. Nett £1 1s.

THE very first lines of the Essay on Greek Folk-speech (that portion of the work with which the *Classical Review* is chiefly concerned) impart cheer and comfort to the heart, for from them we immediately learn that Mr. Stuart-Glennie holds the true and only view of the Greek language, namely that it is a 'living speech' which has enjoyed a continuous life for over 3000 years, and

that the Greek language of to-day is the duly-evolved and rightful descendant of the language of Pericles and Demosthenes, and not some spurious, illegitimate child that ought not to be recognised by well-educated folk, and cannot legally claim any relationship to that dead language, Classical Greek. This first section is devoted to the Past Development of Greek, the third one to its Future Development, while the second briefly treats of the chief characteristics of the Greek dialects. In Section I. the writer shows how 'the greater stages of the development of Greek correspond with the Half-millennial periods' of Aryan history since the Asian-European revolution of the sixth century B.C., and distinguishes them as (1) the Classical, B.C. 500-1 A.D., (2) Hellenistic or Graeco-Roman, A.D. 1-500, (3) the Byzantine, A.D. 500-1000, (4) the Romaic, A.D. 1000-1500, and (5) the Neo-Hellenic or Modern, A.D. 1500 to the present time. In the most salient points this correspondence is striking, and to our mind Mr. Stuart-Glennie is undoubtedly justified in insisting that the Christian Era marks a new stage of linguistic development in contradistinction to Dr. Jannaris, who does not do so (*vide* footnote p. 433); for the rest his periods are in the main similar to those now indicated by Dr. Jannaris in his Historical Greek Grammar, where the latter dates the Neo-Hellenic period from 1450 A.D. and no longer from 600 A.D. (to which objection is raised in the afore-mentioned footnote, p. 433), and the first four periods are equivalent to Mr. Stuart-Glennie's first two, except that 150 B.C. is chosen by Dr. Jannaris as a close of a period instead of 1 A.D. 'Romaic,' too, is a more suggestive epithet for a linguistic period than Dr. Jannaris' 'Medieval.' After summarizing the chief literary works of each period, and pointing out that the result of these 2500 years of development has been comparatively slight change in the grammar and language of Greek, the writer next draws attention to the extraordinary contrast presented by the development of Latin, and explains it by the fact that the Greek-speaking and -writing Culture-classes 'exerted a powerful conservative influence for a thousand years longer than the Culture-classes who wrote and spoke Latin.' To one point, however, we take exception, for on p. 437 he states that 'the antecedents of variation were, in both cases, similar'; whereas we would suggest that in Latin the antecedents of, and tendency to, variation were already strongly developed even in the Classical period B.C. 500-1 A.D., because the bond of

union between the Latin Culture- and Folk-classes was a much slighter one than between the Greek. In Greece the public recitations of poetical compositions at the Olympian and Pythian games, the encouragement given, e.g. by the Dioboly at Athens, to the attendance of all citizens at the theatre, the duties of citizens as jurymen and ekklesiasts, and the free, open-air discussion of philosophical, religious and political questions must have kept the people in close touch, and in familiar intercourse with the cultured classes; whereas in Italy the gulf between the two was not bridged over in a similar way, but on the contrary widened by the acquisition of wealth and the increase of luxury during, and after, the Punic wars by the upper classes, and the loss of land and independence and the consequent moral abasement of the others. Thus, too, after the commencement of the Christian Era, the preaching of the Evangelists and their disciples, the discussions at the Oecumenical Councils which were attended by bishops and priests from all parts of the Empire, the publication of the Gospels and Epistles which were read aloud to different congregations, must have been of the most vital importance in preserving amongst the Folk-classes a knowledge of the Literary Language.

Owing to these circumstances which did not exist for the Latin peoples, there was probably, even from fairly early times, a distinct difference between the spoken language of the cultured and non-cultured Latin classes, which rendered the speedy disintegration of Latin into various dialects after the fall of the Western Empire a foregone conclusion.

Section II. deals briefly but clearly with the chief Lexical characteristics of the Modern Greek dialects and the elisions, substitutions, &c., which are peculiar to the Folk-speech generally, and ends with a plea for a Lexicon of all the Greek Dialects, which would be a stupendous work, but one of surpassing interest.

The question of the Future Development of the Greek Literary Language is a very difficult one. The Kontisti school advocate principles for the reconstruction of the Literary Language which would, if carried out, kill any chance of their literary works becoming in the real sense popular, and, as Mr. Stuart-Glennie says, must appear highly 'questionable to an Evolutionist'; whereas the Psicharisti, on the other hand, though they rightly urge that the morphology and Grammar of the language, as it has been historically developed, should be retained

and used as the vehicle for present literary attempts, are apt to adopt the *lowest* form of the Folk-speech as their standard, with all its vulgar substitutions and inaccuracies, instead of the ordinary conversational language of the middle-class, which is perfectly intelligible even to the very lowest, though perhaps not always spoken by them. This appears to us a mistake, for it is as if English writers were ordinarily to use the peculiar lingo of cabmen and bricklayers. Such a curious mixture of styles and forms prevails just now in literary Greek, that it will be interesting to observe which style finally prevails. As far as can be judged at present, it will probably be that of the Psicharisti, with some modifications.

Now that English and American professors and students are beginning to visit, and study in, Greece, the development of modern Greek literary language ought and may, perhaps, 'affect our theories with respect to the place of Greek in Modern Education, and the method to be pursued in learning it,' but it will not do so until more are ready, like the writer and Dr. Lloyd and Professor Blackie, to acknowledge that Modern and Ancient Greek are one and the same language, and then impartially to thresh out the question. As regards the pronunciation that should now be taught for Classical Greek, the traditional one should be universally adopted in our opinion, for though we should hesitate to assert, for instance, that English *e* represents the true pronunciation of η , υ and α in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and that other minor changes have not taken place, we should hesitate far longer before issuing a pamphlet entitled 'The *Restored* Pronunciation of Greek,' the very audacity of which title may raise in some minds a prejudice against it. Let us be satisfied, nay even proud, if we can pronounce Greek as did St. Paul and Marcus Aurelius, and admit that, though it may differ a little from the pronunciation of Aeschylus, it is the nearest to it that we can be sure of. That reading according to the traditional Greek pronunciation destroys our comprehension and enjoyment of the ancient metrical compositions, or makes the art of writing Greek verses difficult, is quite a mistaken idea, as anyone who has been taught from childhood to read Greek according to this pronunciation can testify. To Psichari's suggestion that Ancient Greek should be taught with one pronunciation and Modern Greek with another, we can only reply that to teach students first an

imaginary pronunciation which must be discarded if they wish to make themselves acquainted with the younger forms of the same language, would be but a senseless waste of time, and is just what is already being done all over Europe and is so much to be deprecated.

Whether Ancient Greek should be learned through, and after, Modern Greek, is a very debatable point, and we are inclined to think it would not be very feasible as long as the chief aim in studying Greek is to pass examinations which deal exclusively with the writers of the Classical period, and demand facility in writing both prose and verse according to strictly classical models. If first accustomed to the analytical style and the vocabulary of Modern Greek, the majority of school-boys would find it very difficult not to intersperse their would-be classical prose and verse with modern forms and turns of speech; whereas if they studied the Greek grammar on both the Modern and Classical side of schools, then on the former side the study of Greek should be continued by the perusal of modern Greek literature and poetry in order to turn Greek to practical use, and on the latter by that of the classical authors only, to turn it to academic use. And provided it has been taught with the traditional pronunciation, no boy who has received a thorough classical education, will, on leaving school or college, find any difficulty in reading Modern Greek newspapers, as long as he notices the few essential points of difference, *e.g.* the loss of the infinitive and future, and the use of $\delta\epsilon\upsilon$ for $\omicron\kappa$.

We may say that Mr. Stuart-Glennie has very cleverly condensed into some forty pages matter which could scarcely be adequately treated in four hundred, in order, as he says, to collate and collect opinions, and may be to provoke discussion; and if this result were obtained, and a really thorough and wide-spread discussion could be aroused as to whether and how Greek should be taught, Mr. Stuart-Glennie could feel that his *Excursus* had done valuable work, and we earnestly recommend everyone interested in Greek to read it.

A few words must be said on the general character of the book, and the historical aims which Mr. Stuart-Glennie had in view when publishing it. These aims he expounds in the essays at the beginning of vol. I. and briefly summarized they may be stated as follows: To ascertain Man's Primitive Conceptions of Nature which are of the utmost importance for any verifiable

theory of the Origin of Religion or a verifiable Law of History:—To shew that from the study of such Folk-poesies, as especially the Greek and the Keltic, these Conceptions may be more truly inferred than from most reports of savage notions:—And hence an endeavour to raise Folklore to the rank of a Science by a classification of Folk-expressions in relation to Folk-conceptions, and to set forth such a classified and representatively complete collection of Folk-poesy as that presented in these volumes.

In accordance with these aims the translations, both prose and verse, in these volumes have been grouped into three classes, I. *Mythological*: (a) Zoonist, (b) Magical, (c) Supernalist. II. *Social*: (a) Antenuptial, (b) Family, (c) Communal.

III. *Historical*: (a) Byzantine, (b) Ottoman, (c) Hellenic; and the result has been such an analysis and definition of the fundamental Folk-conception of Nature, as has not hitherto been obtained, but which is verified by the explanations which it gives of the most archaic Folk-customs, and must be taken into account in all scientific theories of the Origin of Religion and of Intellectual Development.

We cannot conclude without mentioning the excellency of Miss Garnett's translations which not only testify to much serious labour but also to real appreciation of the originals, as is proved by the way she has managed to retain their feeling and spirit.

ELIZABETH A. S. DAWES.

DR. JANNARIS' HISTORICAL GREEK GRAMMAR.

THE April number of the *Classical Review* contains a criticism of my 'Historical Greek Grammar,' by Mr. J. B. Mayor. The author has, no doubt, written an elaborate and impressive review, but whether his criticisms are well-grounded is a different matter. At any rate, the gist of his views as well as the spirit of his treatment of the subject are indicated in the following passage. 'Dr. Jannaris takes credit to himself for having devoted to his task more than five whole years (p. vi.). I wish he had spent at least double that time upon it, and he might then have given us a far more satisfactory book. Still, with all its glaring faults, its unpardonable hastiness and rashness, it remains in my opinion the best book of its kind in English, the most useful help to all students of post-classical Greek.' Now to begin, it is not fair to represent me as taking credit to myself; I merely state in my preface that 'having devoted to the essay more than five whole years I now lay before my readers the fruits of my arduous and unremitting labours.' Surely my words indicate anything but self-complacency; nor do they admit of misconstruction. Again a period of 'over five years' may appear insufficient for a scholar who spends the greater part of his time and energy in preaching from the pulpit, in teaching at school, or in some other avocation; and only employs his spare hours in learned research. This, however, does not apply to me, for during the said period of 'over five years' I

had no other avocation whatever. I spent all that time in the Reading Room of the British Museum, working unremittingly each day from seven to nine hours, then every evening at home about two hours, and the whole of Sundays. I do not think I had more than six weeks rest during that whole period of 'over five years.' In these circumstances, I believe such unremitting labour, extending as it does to over five years, is equivalent to almost fifteen years of incidental work.

There is another point worth noting in the above quoted words of my critic. I refer to the dictum that after all my book is 'the best of its kind in English.' The reservations 'of its kind' and 'in English' are surely ungenerous, since Mr. Mayor knows well, or ought to know, that no other book 'of its kind' has yet appeared 'in any language.'

And now I pass over to the special part of Mr. Mayor's criticism. After giving a brief summary of the contents of my book, he begins by censuring me for referring the so-called aorist subjunctive to the future tense and adds: 'still more extraordinary is the suggestion in p. 434 that *καταφείρω* in Gen. 6, 13 *ἰδοῦ* [so he accents my *ἰδοῦ*] *ἐγὼ καταφείρω αὐτοὺς* is fut. subj. Is he not here falling into the same fault which he condemns in the authors of our traditional grammar, and disregarding the fact of morphological connection to suit a preconceived theory? In p. 560 he confesses that

the cardinal difference between the indicative mood and the subjunctive and imperative is that the former may refer to all three divisions of time, while the other two refer only to the future, and may therefore be called prospective moods. But if so, why are not the *present* subjunctive and imperative also made over to the future tense? Again in p. 486 he allows that the aorist is often used where we might have expected the future infinitive, yet he does not therefore think it necessary to re-christen it as infinitive future. So far as my observation extends, he ignores the generally received characteristic of the aorist as expressing momentary action.'—Now all this mode of reasoning shows three things: (1) Mr. Mayor overlooks the existence of a durative (or present) future tense, which is expressed by the present tense (as *φθείρω*, I shall be destroying, cf. § 1836 ff.), by periphrasis (*ἔσομαι φθέρων*, cf. §§ 690, 1883), or, in certain cases by a special future form (*φθεροῦμαι*, cf. 1882); (2) he overlooks the fact that all tenses and moods derive their respective names, not from their occasional or incidental usage, but from their *principal* or *normal* function. Accordingly, the subjunctive, though *often* acting as an independent mood (as: *εἴπω; τί πάθω; ἵωμεν, φέρε ἀναγνῶ*), is called subjunctive (or conjunctive), that is subordinate (*ὑποτακτική*!), from its usual subordination to particles (*ἐάν, ἵνα, μή*, etc.). In the same way, the present tense, though *very often* referring to the finished past (historic present, cf. 1836 ff.), is nevertheless styled the present from its preponderating reference to present time. (3) Mr. Mayor imputes to me ignorance of the 'momentary' action of the aorist (I cf. *ἔβασιλευσε τριάκοντα ἔτη = a moment of thirty years!* Hdt. 2, 127 *βασίλευσαι δὲ τὸν Χέοπα Αἰγύπτιοι ἔλεγον πεντήκοντα ἔτεα.* 2, 133 *ἐβίωσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν*, so 157 *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον ἀντέσχε.* Th. 2, 65 *ὅσον χρόνον προύστη τῆς πόλεως.* Pl. Phaedr. 227A *συχνὸν ἐκεῖ διέτριψα χρόνον.* Lys. 12, 4 *ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ ἔτη τριάκοντα ᾤκησε καὶ οὐδενὶ πρόποτε ἐδικασάμεθα.* N.T. John 18, 20 *πάντοτε ἐδίδαξα ἐν συναγωγῇ*). But in so doing, my critic seems to identify me with English and German schoolboys whose language does not discriminate between the aorist and imperfect. In modern Greek, which fully preserves the aorist, verbal forms are never confounded.

From these general strictures I now pass over to the special cases which Mr. Mayor singles out as glaring blunders. It is stated

in my grammar—and my statement is likely to be endorsed by every critical scholar—that 'by the end of the fourth century B.C., the dual had entirely disappeared from the language,' meaning of course the living language. Similarly I say in another place (§ 588) that 'the forms *τοῦ* and *τῶ* for *τινός* and *τινὶ* disappear from the classical Attic inscriptions about 300 B.C.' These statements Mr. Mayor attempts to refute by the observations that 'the dual is very common in such a writer as Clem. Al.,' and that '*τοῦ* and *τῶ* are found in literature at a much later period, e.g. in Clem. Al.' He might have safely said that both the dual and *τοῦ* and *τῶ* (= *τινός* and *τινὶ*) occur even in late Byzantine writers. But then he should have clearly stated that he considers every linguistic form or phenomenon found in any post-Christian writer as a faithful representative of the language spoken at the time, and that the belief in an Atticist period from the third century B.C. onwards, though universally accepted, is a fiction. Accordingly Mr. Mayor holds that Clement of Alexandria was not an Atticist or hyper-Atticist (*Clemens perdoctus homo est et pererudito sermone utitur*, Cobet in *Mnemosyne* of 1862 p. 392), but on the contrary, that he wrote in the language spoken in his time, and that consequently forms like *ἔσχιδαται*, *τετάφαται*, *ἀναγεγράφαται*, *ἀποτετάχαται*, *ἔσχέδανται*, and the expressions adduced from that author by Mr. Mayor, *Ὡς (= πρὸς τὸν πρῶον μετὰγων ἡμᾶς ζύγον* [write *ζυγόν*] and *προὔτρεπεν Ὡς τὴν ἀλήθειαν*, were really current in the Greek of the third century of our era.

Again my statement that 'no visible augment is taken by verbs beginning with *ω*' is objected to by my critic who says 'but reference is made just before in p. 189 to *ἑώθουν* and similar forms.' But since I treat these exceptional forms (*ἑώθουν*, *ἑωνόμην*, *ἑώραν*, *ἠνέωγον*) in a separate section, is Mr. Mayor's stricture justified?

Immediately after the above objection, my critic again adduces the following quotation from me: 'When relative pronouns came to be used for demonstratives (2038), the article naturally found a place before relatives also',—where every one clearly sees that the reference § 2038 is made not to the article, but to the connection of relative pronouns with demonstrative pronouns. Yet my critic says: 'turning to § 2038 we read "the use of relatives in indirect quotations brought them into association with the direct interrogatives and thus rendered them admissible in questions also" which is

illustrated by οὗτος τί ποιεῖς; ὅτι [I write ὁ, τι] ποιῶ; This of course has nothing to do with the use of the article before a relative clause, and also fails to explain that the ὅτι in ὅτι [I write ὁ, τι] ποιῶ; retains its indirect force implying '(do you ask) what I am doing?' Now this is surely a grievous misrepresentation, seeing that I neither connect in the section quoted the article with relative clauses, nor do I misspell ὅτι for ὁ, τι (as my critic twice represents me as doing), which makes all the difference.

Mr. Mayor then continues: 'p. 421 ἵνα is said to stand for modal ἄν and is illustrated by three quotations from Epictetus which Schw. explains by assuming each time an ellipsis.' But are we to abide by an artificial and forced explanation given by Schweighäuser in 1798? Has Schweighäuser really said the last word a century ago?

Then my critic goes on: 'p. 398 (repeated [?]) in p. 462) "the monstrous construction ὑπὲρ ἐγὼ in 2 Cor. 11, 23 rests on an itacistic misspelling for εἵπερ ἐγὼ." There is nothing monstrous in the construction if taken in connection with the preceding words διάκονοι Χριστοῦ εἰσιν; ὑπὲρ standing for ὑπερ-διάκονος; εἵπερ would make no sense.' I hope Mr. Mayor will reconsider his bold assertion by remembering that a word like ὑπερ-διάκονος is absolutely impossible in Greek, first because ὑπερ is never, to my knowledge, found absolutely or adverbially used in any period of the Greek language, secondly because διάκονος is a substantive so that an υπερδιάκονος could only mean a superintending διάκονος, and thirdly because, even if it were an adjective, no parallel case can be adduced in Greek of a compound adjective being represented by its first or prepositional constituent alone (ὑπέρ). Hence in Greek a word ὑπερ-διάκονος (despite the admissibility in English of a word 'hyper-deacon') would be a still greater monstrosity than ὑπερ ἐγὼ or ὑπὲρ ἐγὼ. As to Mr. Mayor's assertion that my reading 'εἵπερ would make no sense,' I beg to ask him to read again the page quoted and apparently misread. In that page 398 § 1685^b I say 'The monstrous construction of ὑπὲρ ἐγὼ or ὑπερ ἐγὼ, found in 2 Cor. 11, 23 rests on an itacistic misspelling of εἵπερ ἐγὼ (1980^b).' Now turning to the page 462 and sections (1979 ff.) referred to, we find: 'The verb of the protasis [in conditional sentences] may be suppressed, when it is readily supplied. This blending has led to a number of pregnant and crystallized adverbial expressions:—(1) εἰ (or εἵπερ) τις καὶ ἄλλος (if any-

one it is he) as much as anyone, more than anyone. On the same principle we must read in N.T. 2 Cor. 11, 23 εἵπερ ἐγὼ (1658^b),'—after which follow (2) εἰ μὴ, and (3) εἰ δὲ μὴ, which do not concern us here. Now I ask my critic: is there really no sense in εἵπερ ἐγὼ i.e. I am more of a διάκονος than anyone else?

Cf. Aesch. Ag. 907 εἵπερ τις εἰδώς γ' εὔ τὸδ' ἐξείπον τέλος. Soph. Ai. 1118 ἐξέφυν πατρὸς εἵπερ τινός, σθένοντος ἐν πλούτῳ Φρυγῶν. Ar. Nuβ. 224 ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ τάρρῳ τοὺς θεοὺς υπερφρονεῖς ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἵπερ. Pl. Rep. 6, 497E οὐ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀλλ' εἵπερ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι κωλύσει. Parmen. 150A ἐν μὲν ὅλῳ ἄρα τῷ ἐνὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴη συμκρότης, ἀλλ' εἵπερ, ἐν μέρει. Arist. De Part. Anim. 1, 1 (=641^b 2) τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς περὶ νοῦ καὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ θεωρῆσαι, εἵπερ πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ θεωρία τῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα πάντων. De Gen. 1, 5, 9 (=321^a 17) τὸ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἠΐζηται οὐδ' ὁ ἄηρ, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀπόλωλε τὸ δὲ γέγονεν. τὸ σῶμα δὲ εἵπερ ἠΐζηται. Theophr. C. Pl. 5, 14, 8 ἡ τοῦ καύματος υπερβολή...τὰ ἐρριζωμένα καὶ ἔχοντα μέγεθος οὐ φθείρει διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι διαδύεσθαι ἀλλ' εἵπερ τοὺς βλαστοὺς καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐπικάει. 6, 5, 1 ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἡ οὐδὲν ἢ βραχύ τι πάμπαν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις τὸ τὴν εὐωδίαν διώκον αὐτῆς χάριν, ἀλλ' εἵπερ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ὧν ἡ τροφή τοιαύτη. Frg. de Igni 3, 63 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἵπερ ἐκείνην ὑποληπτέον. Muson. ap. Stob. Flor. 1, 49 τοσοῦτον εἵπερ ἄρα περιττεύουσα ὅσον καὶ ἀπόθεσιν τροφῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιτηδείαν ἔχειν. Luc. Quo modo hist. 17 (26) τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον, εἵπερ ἄρα, ἡμῖν ἔδει καταλιπεῖν λογιζέσθαι ἢ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν. Dion Chr. Or. 2 p. 81 οὐδέ γε ἄδεν τὰ Σαπφούς ἢ 'Ανακρέοντος ἐρωτικά μέλη πρέπον ἂν εἴη τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν, ἀλλ' εἵπερ ἄρα τῶν Στρησιχόρου μελῶν ἢ Πινδάρου, ἐάν τις ἀνάγκη.

The strictures about εἵπερ are followed by the following remonstrance: 'The daring correction of the text in the case of ὑπερ ἐγὼ may be paralleled from p. 478 where the use of εἰ as a direct interrogative particle in Biblical Greek is said to be based on an itacistic misspelling of the colloquial ἦ. Surely Dr. Jannaris cannot expect us to receive this simply on his *Iipse dixit*. The construction is exactly parallel to that of the pleonastic ὅτι with quotations. Is he able to point to any uncertainty in the reading εἰ? Or is it the case that ἦ is commonly used as an interrogative particle in the N.T.? On the contrary it is never found. Yet Dr. Jannaris has such a predilection for this unused particle, that he substitutes it for the interrogative ἦ against both reason and MS. authority.' In other

terms Mr. Mayor rebukes me for refusing to acquiesce in the common but unfounded belief, which he shares, that: (1) *εἰ* is directly interrogative by assuming every time an especial ellipsis in the spirit and on the analogy of German *ob*; (2) *ἥ* as an interrogative, is used in *single* questions, which is of course inadmissible in Greek; and (3) that *οὔτι* is a parallel case to *εἰ*. Now there is no denying that these points require a fuller explanation than could be given in a grammar. Even here I am bound (by the space allotted to me in these columns) to defer their treatment to some other occasion, when I propose to subject the particles *ἥ*, *ἥ*, *εἰ* (*εἰ*), *ἥ* *μήν*, *οὐ* *μήν*, *ἀμήν*, to a special investigation. This much, however, I can already say, that the material collected by me since I wrote the respective sections of my grammar, is of such nature and quantity as to confirm abundantly my views. On the other hand I beg to remind my critic of the fact (1) that *ἥ* and *ἥ* in the MSS. appear both as H,—in fact H stands for *ἥ*, *ἥ*, *ἥ*, *ἥ*, also *ἥ*, *ἥ*—so that he should not speak of MS. authority, nor of reason since *ἥ* cannot introduce a *single* question, but only the *second* part of an alternative question; (2) that the case of *εἰ* is not at all parallel to *οὔτι*, because, apart from their intrinsic difference, the interrogative *εἰ* (it should be written at least *εἰ* = *ἥ*) introduces an *independent* clause, while *οὔτι* supplements or closes a declarative sentence by forming the *object* of a verb of saying, and so belongs to that verb.

Mr. Mayor closes the list of his criticisms by the words: 'One more quotation and I have done. On p. 562 we read "As to Biblical Greek there is not one authenticated instance of the use of the secondary subjunctive (the optative) in dependent clauses," "the four cases commonly adduced (Mark 14, 10 ἀπῆλθεν ἵνα παραδοῖ, ib. 9, 30 οὐκ ἤθελεν ἵνα τις αὐτὸν γνῷ...) are obviously scholastic transcriptions of παραδῆ and γνη (οἰ = η), which latter are due to the analogy of other forms" (!) [my own words are: on the analogy of other *cognate* forms]. Yet in the next page we have a list, said to be "nearly complete," of twenty-eight examples from the N.T. where the secondary subjunctive is used with indirect questions or parenthetical clauses introduced by *εἰ*.' Now I am really at a loss what to call this line of argument. What I state in my book (p. 561 f.) is this. Among the moods the first to retreat was the secondary subjunctive or optative, and this retreat is best illustrated by Polybios

who 'in the first five books of his history employs: (1) in *declarative* clauses (after *οὔτι*, *διότι*, *ὥς*) the *indicative* only; (2) in *causal* clauses (after *οὔτι*, *διότι*, *ὥς*, *ἐπεὶ*, *ἐπειδή*), regularly the *indicative*, rarely the secondary subjunctive; (3) in *temporal* clauses (after *ἐπεὶ*, *ὁπότε* or *ὅτε*, *ἔως*, *πριν*, etc.), regularly the *indicative*, rarely the secondary subjunctive; (4) in *final* clauses (after *ἵνα*, *ὅπως*), invariably the primary subjunctive... This is, however, the only construction found even in Aristotle and Theophrast... § 8b. As to Biblical Greek, there is not one authenticated instance of the use of the secondary subjunctive in dependent clauses. (However cp. 2039 [= p. 474]... § 8 The four cases commonly adduced as dependent secondary subjunctives (Mark 14, 10 ἀπῆλθεν ἵνα παραδοῖ, ib. 11 ἐξήτει πῶς εὐκαίρως αὐτὸν παραδοῖ, 9, 30 οὐκ ἤθελεν ἵνα τις αὐτὸν γνῷ, and Acts 25, 16 πρὶν ἢ ἔχου) are obviously scholastic transcriptions of παραδῆ and γνη (οἰ = η), which latter are due to the analogy of other cognate forms. The same holds true of other Greco-Roman and Byzantine instances as: Mitth. xix. 252 [third century B.C., Athens], 59-60 εἰν (οὔτος) πρῶτον δοῖ τῷ ἱερεὶ τὸ ἱσχυρίσιν; ib. 254, 101-5 μέχρις ἂν ἀποδοῖ, εἰν τις μὴ διδοῖ, μέχρις ἂν ἀποδοῖ; Mart. Pauli 112, 10 μέχρις ἂν διαγνοῖ. (Cp. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894, p. 145 [Pap. of 240 B.C.], 4 μισθῆ for μισθοῖ (= μισθῶ); C. Leemans 15 [Pap. of third to fourth century A.D.], 3 ἵν' ἀποδοῖ; C. Wessely, Zauberpapyri L [fourth century A.D.], 17 ἀνταποδοῖς... § 10. The only case where the secondary subjunctive lingered as late as the transition period [i.e. 300-600 A.D.] is that of indirect quotations and parenthetical clauses introduced by *εἰ* (= whether perchance) in which it depends on some verb of interrogation expressed or implied. In N.T. the following list is nearly complete. Luke 1, 29 διελογίζετο ποταπὸς εἴη ὁ ἀσπασμός.' (Follow 27 more examples.)—I have quoted this lengthy extract here in order to enable readers of the *Classical Review* to compare my genuine words and statements with Mr. Mayor's version, and thus form an opinion for themselves.

These are, I believe, all the criticisms and strictures passed upon me by Mr. Mayor. It will be seen that he has refrained from touching pre-classical, Alexandrian, Byzantine, and modern Greek (all of which is abundantly discussed in my book), and that he has limited himself to that narrow part of the Greek language which is taught at school and so is familiar to ordinary students.

Even here, however, he has curiously disregarded all modern scholarship; as a matter of fact modern philology and archaeology, such as phonetics, inscriptions, papyri, palaeography, colloquial speech, etc. have been utterly ignored by Mr. Mayor; his sole corrective test being Clement of Alexandria.

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[I AM sorry and, I must own, surprised that Dr. Jannaris should be so much dissatisfied with a review, which was certainly intended to be favourable on the whole, though I could not in honesty conceal my opinion that the work reviewed showed marks of hastiness and rashness, such as must seriously impair our confidence in the author's judgment. Much of the reply, *e.g.* the illustrations of the use of *εἴπερ* and the lengthy quotation in the last paragraph but one, appears to me irrelevant. As to the rest I am content to leave it to the reader to form his own judgment on the questions at issue between us, as they have been already presented to him, merely adding one or two remarks in explanation of points in which Dr. Jannaris seems to have misunderstood my meaning.

His book being entitled 'An historical Greek grammar chiefly of the Attic dialect, as *written*¹ and spoken, from Classical Antiquity to the present time,' I welcomed it for the help it appeared to offer to students of the later Greek literature, especially of what he calls the Greco-Roman period, in which I was myself chiefly interested. Dr. Jannaris complains that I have ignored 'phonetics, inscriptions, papyri,' etc.; and it is true that in testing his book I have confined my attention almost entirely to grammatical statements bearing on Greek literature between, say, 500 B.C. and 300 A.D. To have examined every part of the book with equal minuteness, supposing I had been capable of doing this, would have made the review of impossible length. I have however given a summary which enables the reader to judge for himself what the book contains outside of the particular subject with which I have dealt. Dr. Jannaris is mistaken in saying that I include among 'glaring blunders' his statements as to the disuse of the dual, the use of *τοῦ* for *τινός*, and the augment of verbs beginning in *ω*. I called his attention to a carelessness of expression on these points,

¹ My italics.

rather than to any serious error. His defence on the first point seems to me to limit very much the scope of his work, as given on the title page. In using the phrase 'the dual had entirely disappeared from the language,' he meant (so he tells us) 'of course the living language'; and Clement of Alexandria, being a learned Atticist, is not worth considering in a historical grammar. But the writings of Clement, call him an Atticist or not, are still a linguistic phenomenon which a historian of the language is bound to deal with. What are the peculiarities of his Atticism? How does it differ from that of Plato or Lucian? W. Schmid has devoted four volumes to the study of the later Atticism. Are all the authors treated of by him, as well as the Greek Fathers generally, who are not, as a rule, more un-Attic than Clement, to be regarded as outside the range of a history of the Greek language? What should we say of a historian of the Latin language who should omit all mention of Fronto and Apuleius because of their archaisms, or of Minucius Felix and Lactantius because they reproduced the classical style? Yet these writers are far less important than Clement. A historian has no business to pick and choose in this way.

When I spoke of Dr. Jannaris' 'glaring faults,' I had in my mind his sweeping alteration of the ancient texts to suit his theories, *e.g.* his proposed excision of *ἀμήν*, *οὐ μή*, and interrogative *ἦ* from our editions. As to the two former he reserves his defence; as to the last he objects to my speaking of MS. authority in regard to the reading *ἦ* or *ἧ*, since both appear as H in the MSS. He means of course in the older uncials. If there were no later MSS. which gave the accents, how could he say in p. 478, 'the copiers of our MSS., in whose time *ἦ* (= *ὄντως*, *ἀπα*) had disappeared from the living language, finding H unaccented, and being unable to account for any other than disjunctive and comparative *ἦ*, either mistook it for such, and transcribed *ἦ*, or where this was too obviously inadmissible, changed it to its homophonous *εἰ*?' But we have other evidence, independent of these later MSS., in versions coeval with the earliest uncials, which prove beyond dispute that the words we now read as *ἦ* and *εἰ* were understood in this sense, as far back as we have any knowledge of the text of the G.T. Thus interrogative *ἦ* is confirmed by the Vulgate in James iv. 5, *ἦ δοκεῖτε; an putatis?* Rom. xi. 2, *ἦ οὐκ οἶδατε; an*

nescitis? 2 Cor. xi. 7, ἡ ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησα; *aut numquid peccatum feci?* and similarly interrogative εἰ by Luke xiii. 23, Κύριε εἰ ὀλίγοι οἱ σωζόμενοι; *si pauci sunt qui salvantur?* L. xxii. 49, Κύριε εἰ πατάξομεν; *si percutimus,* &c. Just as this *si* is a Graecism representing interrogative εἰ, so the interrogative εἰ is itself a Hebraism representing (as a friend informs me) Heb. *im*, of which we have an example in I Kings i. 27: 'Is this thing done by my Lord the King?' where the Gr. is εἰ γέγονε. When Dr. Jannaris goes on to affirm that 'ἡ cannot introduce a *simple* question,' I should like to ask him whether he allows that the Latin *an* can introduce a simple question. In my opinion ἡ and *an* stand on the same footing, both being used at times to introduce a question

in which only one alternative is stated, though as contrasted with ἄρα, *num*, etc., both suggest an unexpressed alternative preceding.

A further word of explanation is perhaps needed on ὑπερ ἐγώ. In putting a hyphen between ὑπερ and διάκονος I did not mean that these were necessarily to be regarded as a new compound (like ὑπέραισχρος, ὑπέρδουλος), but that ὑπερ was connected in thought with διάκονος, not with ἐγώ, as Dr. Jannaris seemed to suppose, when he spoke of ὑπερ ἐγώ as a 'monstrous construction'—a phrase which I think all scholars would hold to be much more appropriate to εἶπερ ἐγώ for εἶπερ τις, ἐγώ.

J. B. MAYOR.]

ARCHAEOLOGY.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM EGYPT.

AMONG other objects acquired during the last few years by the Trustees of the British Museum are two Greek inscriptions from Egypt, both of which present several points of interest to the archaeologist. These two inscriptions differ considerably in purpose, workmanship, and antiquity; the first being a well-engraved dedication of the Ptolemaic period, the second a carelessly-cut funerary stele of Roman age. The first, which is engraved upon a slab of coarse white marble, contains a dedication to Arès the Hunter by a party of officers and soldiers on their way to the Elephant-hunting-grounds of the Red Sea Coast: it is dated in the reign of Ptolemy IV. Philopatôr, and is cut in careful epigraphic characters with no variation from the regular style of the third century B.C. The second, which is the funerary stele of a Graeco-Egyptian child named Politta, has not, like the first, been entrusted to a skilful workman: instead of the regular characters of the earlier craftsman, we have badly-cut and unequally-sized letters straggling between ill-drawn lines, and several omissions, even several actual

mistakes, which look as if the mason had hardly understood the language which he was using. The epitaph was originally intended to be in elegiac verse, but is hardly recognisable as such as it stands. It is apparently of the first or second century A.D. Appended to this inscription will be found a dedication to Isis, of the end of the second century A.D., consisting of a single elegiac couplet, which is also of an interesting character.

Such stelae as that of Politta are not rare, but the first inscription, that of the Ptolemaic elephant-hunters, has, as far as I am aware, only one counterpart, the inscription of Lichas the Akarnanian. This first inscription is also interesting as containing the name of a man who more than once came to the front among the condottieri of his time; Charimortos the Aitolian mercenary of Philopatôr and Epiphanês.

These inscriptions are preserved in the Egyptian Saloon of the British Museum, and bear the numbers 1207, 1206, and 1043 respectively.

No. 1207 is an oblong slab of white marble, 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins. × 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; the inscription consists of twelve lines:—

ΥΠΕΡΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑ
 ΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
 ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΘΕΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΩΡΩΝ ΤΩΝ
 ΕΚ ΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΘΕ
 5 ΩΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΩΝ ΑΡΗΙΝΙΚΗ ΦΟΡΩ ΕΥΑΓΡΩ
 ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΣΥΝΔΑΙΟΥ ΟΡΟΑΝΝΕΥΣ
 ΟΣΥΝΑΤΟΣ ΤΑΛΕΙΣ ΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΣ
 ΧΑΡΙΜΟΡΤΩ ΤΩΙΣ ΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΙΕΤΙ
 ΤΗΝ ΘΗΡΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ
 10 ΑΠΟΑΣΙΣ ΜΙΟΡΒΟΛΛΟΥ ΕΤΕΝΝΕΥΣ
 ΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΥΠ' ΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΕΤΑ
 ΓΜΕΝΟΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΙ

The letters are well formed: l. 5 ΕΥΑΓΡΩ and l. 6 ΑΛΕΞΑ... are cut over erasures.

Ὑπὲρ βασιλείῳς Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασι-
 σίλισσῃς Ἀρσινόῃς καὶ Πτολεμαίου
 τοῦ υἱοῦ Θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων τῶν
 ἐκ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βερενίκῃς Θε-
 5 ὧν Εὐεργετῶν. Ἀρῇ Νικηφόρῳ Εὐάγρῳ
 Ἀλέξανδρος Σύνδαίου Ὁροαννεὺς
 ὁ συναποσταλεῖς διάδοχος
 Χαριμόρτῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐπὶ
 τὴν θήραν τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ
 10 Ἀπόασις Μιορβόλλου Ἐτεννεὺς
 ἡγεμῶν, καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τετα-
 γμένοι στρατιῶται.

The inscription is dedicated to Arēs Bearer of Victory and Giver of Luck in Hunting by Alexandros the Oroannian, son of Syndaios, who was sent with others¹ as successor to Charimortos the officer in charge of the Hunt of Elephants, and by the captain Apopsis the Etennian, son of Miorbollos, and the soldiers under him.

¹ It would be quite possible to take 'ὁ συναποσταλεῖς διάδοχος Χαριμόρτῳ' as 'who was sent as successor with Charimortos,' but for a pre-designated successor to accompany his chief to the hunting-grounds would be curious, and, if Alexandros and Apopsis were simply in the suite of Charimortos, why has the latter, the chief of the expedition, no hand in the dedication of this tablet? On the whole, therefore, I should prefer to take the passage as meaning 'who was sent as Charimortos' successor, with others' (i.e. Apopsis and his soldiers).

It is dated in the reign of 'King Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoë and Ptolemy the son of the Father-loving Gods born of Ptolemy and Berenikê the Beneficent Gods,' i.e. in the joint reign of Ptolemy IV. Philopatôr, Arsinoë, and their son Ptolemy V. Epiphanês, whom we already, from several inscriptions, etc., know to have been after the old Egyptian custom associated with his father in the kingship from infancy.² Arsinoë was not married to Philopatôr till about 212 B.C. (Mahaffy, *Ptolemies*, p. 265), and was murdered by Agathoklês about 206 B.C. Epiphanês was born about 210-209, and was associated with his father about 208 (Strack, *Ptolemäer*, p. 30). This gives 208-206 B.C. as the rough date of our inscription.

As in the days of Sānkhkarā and Hātšhepsu, so under the Ptolemies was the Red Sea coast and Somaliland sought by Egyptian traders and royal emissaries commissioned to bring back to Egypt the spices and rare woods of the land of Pânt. To these commodities the Ptolemaic explorers added elephants, which do not appear in the inscriptions of Hātšhepsu. The institution of a regular royal Elephant Hunt in Ethiopia under the Ptolemies is known to

² Inser. of Komên, 'οἰκονόμος τῶν κατὰ Ναύκρατιν'; *Amer. Journ. Arch.* ii. 2: Inser. of Aristarchê, from Sestos; published by Lolling in *Ath. Mitth.* vi. 208: Demotic contracts published by Revillout, *Revue Egyptologique*, iii. 3: cf. *Inscr. Rosetta*, ll. 46, 47.

us from several hints in the later geographers, from the great hieroglyphic inscription of Ptolemy Philadelphos at Pithom,¹ and from the Greek inscription of Lichas the Akarnanian, son of Pyrrhos, who, 'ἀποσταλὴς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τῶν ἐλεφάντων,' dedicated to these same Ptolemy Philopatôr and Arsinoë and to Sarapis and Isis 'τόδε δεύτερον.'² Prof. Mahaffy reads '.....τὸ δεύτερον,' and considers that Lichas went on a second elephant-hunting expedition 'during the long preparations for the Syrian War and that some of the beasts which he brought in ships to Alexandria ran away at the battle of Raphia.' But this dating is incompatible with the heading of the inscription 'βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ βασιλίσσῃ Ἀρσινόῃ Θεοῖς Φιλοπάτορι': Arsinoë was not queen till 212 B.C.; Raphia had been fought in 217, when she was spoken of as merely 'the king's sister': the inscription of Lichas must therefore date after 212, and since the young Epiphanês is not mentioned, before 208 B.C. Lichas therefore set up his second dedication between 212 and 208 B.C., and was in charge of the elephant-hunt at some time between those dates. Alexandros succeeded Charimortos between 208 and 206 B.C. Charimortos was therefore in all probability the immediate successor of Lichas. Both names are mentioned elsewhere: Strabo (xvi. 774), speaking of the harbours, etc. of the Red Sea (Arabian Gulf), mentions that beyond the 'ἄρος Ἐλέφας' 'εἰσὶ καὶ στήλαι καὶ βωμοὶ Πυθολάου καὶ Λίχας καὶ Πυθαγγέλου καὶ Λέοντος καὶ Χαριμόρτου κατὰ τὴν γνώριμον παραλίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Δειρῆς μέχρι Νότου κέρως, τὸ δὲ διάστημα οὐ γνώριμον. πληθύνει δ' ἐλέφασιν ἡ χώρα...' The 'Hunt of Lichas' is also mentioned a few lines before. The Lichas and Charimortos of Strabo are obviously the same men as the elephant-hunters of the inscriptions: we have yet to discover epigraphic traces of Pytholaos, Pythangelos, and Leôn. This Charimortos is doubtless he who in later years was, himself an Aitolian, the friend and boon-companion of Skôpas, the Aitolian general and minister of Ptolemy Epiphanês. Both bore unenviable reputations for greed and misgovernment: Polybios, speaking of the death of Skôpas in 196 B.C., says (xviii. 55 *Hultsch*) 'λαβὼν γὰρ συνέργον τὴν ἀγριότητα

τὴν Χαριμόρτου καὶ τὴν μέθην, ἄρδην ἐξέτοιχον ῥύχῃσιν τὴν βασιλείαν.' It has been conjectured that the elephant-hunter Lichas was the Lichas whose troop or regiment is mentioned in the will of Menippos son of Deinias, twenty-five years before (237 B.C., Mahaffy, *Petrie Papyri* I. [47] (1) 12: *Ptolemies*, p. 271). Of the others mentioned in this inscription, Alexandros the Oroannian, son of Syndaïos, and Apoasis the Etennian, son of Miorbollos, we know nothing; of their homes, however, we have some knowledge. The name Syndaïos carries our mind at once to Asia Minor, and it is there that the birthplaces of Alexandros and Apoasis must be found, in Oroanda and Etenna, two frontier-towns of Pisidia, near the Kilikian boundary.³ The ethnic form 'Οροαννέως given by this inscription instead of 'Οροανδέως establishes the correctness of the same form ΟΡΟΑΝΝΕΥΣ in the signature of a sculptor on a statue-base found at Halikarnassos, published by Haus-soullier *B.C.H.* iv. p. 401 (1880) and after him by Loewy, *Bildhaener-Inscripfen* No. 305, as follows: 'Δαῖμνης Δαῖμένου 'Οροαννέως ἐποίησε.' This inscription probably dates from about the same period as that of the British Museum, and the evidence of the two shows that the assimilation of the dental in ethnics derived from place-names in -νδα was usual at the time.

The geographical position of Oroanda is not yet fixed. Hirschfeld identified it with the modern Arvân, on the southern shore of the Soghla Lake, the ancient Trogitis.⁴ Professor Ramsay, however, takes a different view. In his description of Galatia Ptolemy mentions next in order after Lystra and Isaura 'Ορονδικοὶ ἔθνος καὶ πόλεις Μίσθιον... Πάππα.'⁵ Prof. Ramsay shows that both Misthion (Mistheia) and Pappa lay to the north of Lake Karalis, astride the later Lykaonian border.⁶ It is in this position therefore that Ptolemy's 'Ορονδικοὶ are to be placed. But is this tribe identical with our 'Οροαννέως? Sterrett has published⁷ an inscription of Roman period, when Pappa

¹ Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus* (Eg. Expl. Fund. 1885), p. 18, Pl. X.

² Curtius, *Woch. für Klass. Phil.* 1887, iv. 827, who gives also a short notice of the Ptolemaic elephant-hunters: Wilcken, in Droysen's *Kleine Schriften*, ii. Anh. 483: Mahaffy, *B.C.H.* 1894, xviii. 149, and *Ptolemies*, p. 271: Strack, *Ptolemäer*, p. 237.

³ I have to thank Mr. Cecil Smith, Assistant-Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, for drawing my attention to these Pisidian towns, and most kindly affording me information respecting them. I am also indebted to M. Paul Perdrizet, and to Mr. G. F. Hill, of the Dept. of Coins and Medals, for suggestions.

⁴ *Monatsberichte der kgl. preuss. Akademie*, 1875, p. 145. Sterrett, *Pap. Amer. Sch.* iii. p. 180.

⁵ *Geog.* v. 4, § 12.

⁶ *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, pp. 332, 398.

⁷ *Pap. Amer. Sch.* ii. No. 97.

had become Pappa Tiberia, which reads 'Τύχην εὐμενῇ τῇ Κολωνείᾳ Τιβεριοπολεϊτῶν Παππηνῶν Ὀρονδέων βουλῇ δῆμος.' Here we have a form Ὀρονδέϊς (= Ὀρονδικοί) which comes much nearer to the form Ὀροανδέϊς used by Polybios (xxi. 44) and elsewhere. Prof. Ramsay, therefore, identifies the Oroandeis of Polybios with the Orondeis of the Pappan inscription, and so concludes that the true position of the Oroandians was not near Lake Trogitis, but to the north of Lake Karalis. He goes on to conclude that there never was any town 'Oroanda,' only a tribe whose towns were Mithion and Pappa, and yet further, that the correct form of their name was not Ὀροανδέϊς but Ὀρονδέϊς.¹ If Prof. Ramsay's identification be accepted, and the Oroandians shifted to the position indicated by him, still his conclusions as to the existence of Oroanda town and the original form of the tribal name can hardly be accepted without demur. The non-mention of a town Oroanda by Ptolemy seems hardly sufficient ground on which to base an opinion that no such place ever existed, in face of the express mention by Livy² and Pliny³ of the town of Oroanda. That Ὀρονδέϊς was not the correct form of the tribe name would appear to be shown by the ethnic Ὀροανεύς of the Halikarnassian and Egyptian inscriptions: the Tiberiopolite Pappans were more likely to have been wrong herein than the Oroannians of over two centuries before. The correct form must have been Ὀροανδέϊς (Ὀροανεύς).⁴ Hirschfeld's idea that the Oroandians were the same as the Homonadians,⁵ about whose position the geographers were so ignorant (Pliny, *N.H.* v. 23), can hardly be accepted, alluring as an emendation of ΟΜΟΝΔΔΕΙC to ΟΡΟΔΝΝΕΙC may look, since Pliny mentions Oroanda as well as the Homonadeis and their town Homona (*l.c.* v. 24). In literature the Oroandians are mentioned by Polybios (xxi. 44, 46), and by Livy (xxxviii. 18, 37, 39) in connection with Gnaeus Manlius Vulso's final operations against Antiochos, B.C. 188, and by Pliny, as above noted. The epigraphic remains of them are: (1) the inscription relating to the

Pappans, (2) the signature of the sculptor Daïmenēs at Halikarnassos, (3) the mention of the elephant-hunter Alexandros, son of Syndaïos, in the new inscription of c. 207 B.C., nineteen years before Manlius' invasion, and therefore the earliest trace of Oroanda which we possess. No coins Ὀροανδέων are known.

Etenna, the town of Apoasis, lay some eighteen miles south-west of Lake Trogitis, and so about sixty miles south of the territory of Oroanda, near its double, the town of Kotenna or Katenna, the modern Godena in the valley of the Melas.⁶ In Byzantine times Etenna and Katenna were absolutely distinct cities (Ramsay, *l.c.* p. 418), and it is probable that this was already the case in Apoasis' time, since 'it seems impossible that the coins ΕΤΕΝΝΕΩΝ can have been struck at the place the inhabitants of which are called ΚΟΤΕΝΝΕΙΣ in the inscription from Ormana'⁷ (Hill, *Catalogue of Coins: Lycia, etc.*, p. cxix.). It is, however, obvious that the two names were originally identical; Ramsay considers that both places had been developed out of a single tribe of 'Hetenneis,' the aspirate representing in Greek mouths the barbarian guttural which is dropped in the Ἐτεννα-form and changed into a K in the Κότεννα-form.⁸ This can only have been a Semitic γ : the variation of the vowels (Hieroklēs calls the place Κότεννα) points also to a Semitic origin. The name may possibly be the same as that of the well-known Palestinian town 'Ētām עֵתָאם.

Αἰτάν or Ethan, the modern عَيْن عَطَان, 'Ain 'Atân. The Pisidians and their ancestors the Solymoi (Pliny, *l.c.* v. 24), appear to have been of Semitic origin. Is the resemblance between the name of Apoasis' father, Miorbollos, and the Semitic מִיֶּרְבֶּל

Mahërba'al purely fortuitous? The first literary mention of the Etennians is to be found in Polybios (v. 73), who tells us that 8,000 Etennians and 4,000 Aspendians reinforced Garsyëris, the lieutenant of the ill-fated usurper Achaïos, in his expedition to help the Pednelissians against the Selgians, who were besieging Pednelissos. This was in 218 B.C., some ten years before the date of this inscription. The great strength of this Etennian hoplite division gives us some idea of the prosperity and war-power

¹ *Hist. Geog.* p. 398.

² xxxviii. 18; 'L. Manlio Oroanda misso.'

³ v. 24: 'oppida Oroanda, Sagalessos.'

⁴ The name may be connected with that of the river Oraendos, on the other side of the Limnai, about thirty miles from the Oroandian country. Pliny (v. 27) vaguely notes a range of the Taurus called Oroandēs. This latter form occurs as a proper name; e.g. the Kretan merchant who so woefully deceived King Perseus at Samothrace (Plutarch, *Aemil. Paul.* c. 26; Livy, xlv. 6).

⁵ *l.c.* p. 145.

⁶ Strabo, xii. 570; Hirschfeld, *l.c.* p. 143.

⁷ *ib.* p. 143. This inscription, recounting honours paid to various persons by the Senate and People of the Kotennians and Erynnians, dates from Roman times.

⁸ In another form of the name, Ἐτεννα, the aspirate is kept.

of the little Etennian state at this time. We have earlier evidence of prosperity in the silver coinage of Etenna, the oldest known specimen of which dates to the fourth, *i.e.* preceding, century. I know of no epigraphic mention of Etenna or its inhabitants other than this of Apois and Miorbollos; and the inscription of Ormana, referred to above, contains the only similar mention of the twin-state of the Kotennians known as yet.

From the inscription of the Elephant-Hunters it is evident that Oroanda and Etenna, like the other towns of Pisidia, supplied mercenary soldiers to the armies of the Mediterranean world, which in the third century had become chiefly composed of the hardy mountaineers of Aitolia, Crete, and the uplands of Asia Minor. Among these mercenaries the Pisidian light-troops (and slingers especially) were well known. At this time one of the most important cities of the Pamphylian coast was the ancient Estvedys, or, as the name became on more purely Hellenic tongues than those of its inhabitants, Aspendos, near the mouth of the Eurymedôn. To this, at the time probably the chief commercial outlet of Pisidia, flocked those Pisidian warriors who wished to seek their fortunes in the service of the great dynasts of the day, and here they found the recruiting-sergeants of the Seleukid or of the Lagid kings and even of the Judges of the Carthaginians, ready to enlist them for whichever service might please them best. From the fact that they were chiefly recruited at Aspendos, the Pisidian mercenaries were usually known as 'Aspendians.'¹ The Aspendian soldiers seem, as usual, to have preferred the service of the Ptolemies to that of their own sovereigns, the Seleukids, and this predilection was strengthened by the probability that Aspendos, like the other coast-towns of Asia Minor, had long had far-reaching commercial dealings with Egypt. So great indeed became the number of the 'Aspen-

¹ Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, i. 86. The military reputation of Aspendos dates to an earlier period, and we find a trace of it in the coin-types of the state. The earliest of these is a Fighting Man; later a Slinger was adopted as a state-emblem, and though there is no doubt here a play on the word *σφενδόνη* and on the name of the town, yet it is probable that the idea first took shape on account of the fame of the slingers of Aspendos. The slinger-type was also used by Selgê. But far earlier than this had Pisidian mercenaries hired themselves out for war, if we are to accept the very probable identification of the Pidsa and Shakalasha who fought on the side of the Kheta against Egypt and raided the Delta *circa* 1300 B.C. with the Pisidians generally and Sagalasseis.

dian' troops in the Egyptian service that in the reign of Ptolemy Physkôn the street or district which some of them had occupied was known as 'Aspendia' (Athenaeus, iv. 174 d.). Alexandros the Oroannian and Apoasis the Etennian were no doubt ordinarily, like other Pisidian mercenaries, classed as Aspendians,² but in a formal inscription they give their designations in the old time-honoured form; first the name, then the father's name, then the deme.

The employment of these mercenaries on the service of the elephant-hunt was a frequent occurrence, for a force of trained war-elephants was still regarded as a military necessity, notwithstanding the bad behaviour of the great beasts at Raphia and the *débâcle* caused by them fifty years before in Italy, which apparently did not suggest to any of the military leaders of the time any doubts as to their real value in war: ten years after Raphia we find from this inscription that Philopatôr, debarred from the hunting-grounds of India by the hostile power of Antiochos the Great, still needed African elephants for war purposes, in spite of the fact that, as Polybios remarks, they are far inferior in intelligence to their Indian congeners.

The temporary closing of the Indian elephant 'market' would seem to have given some impetus to the exploration of African 'pastures new' in the reign of Philopatôr: it is noticeable also that this king seems to have turned his attention towards the south in the Nile Valley as well as on the Red Sea coast. We find him building at Dakkeh, which he apparently re-took from the Nubian chief Ârqâmen (Ergamenês), or from one of his successors,³ and elsewhere in the south.

The field of operations of the African

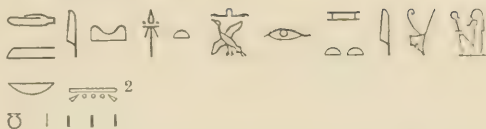
² The Aspendian Eumêlos whose epitaph has been found at Amathous (*B.C.H.* xx. p. 354), and the Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἀσπένδιος of an inscription from Larnaka (*ib.* p. 338) were probably mercenaries.

³ Prof. Mahaffy (*Ptolemies*, p. 273) wishes to place Ârqâmen in the reign of Ptolemy Philopatôr because both bore the appellation *Meri-Asit*, 'Beloved of Isis,' which he considers was copied by Ârqâmen from the cartouche of Philopatôr. Diodôros (iii. 6) places him in the reign of Philadelphos: Philopatôr added to a shrine at Dakkeh built by Ârqâmen. Prof. Mahaffy would make the very possible emendation of the cursive β' of Diodôros' text to δ', and then supposes that Ârqâmen revolted from Philopatôr and set up as an independent kinglet, imitating his late suzerain's cartouche, and, further, that the 'architectural combination' at Dakkeh 'points to a peaceful settlement between Ptolemy and the Nubian prince.' Undoubtedly the cartouche of Ârqâmen strongly resembles that of Philopatôr, and, as Prof. Mahaffy points out, it is unlikely that Philopatôr copied the cartouche of Ârqâmen.

elephant-hunters appears to have extended from the country of the Troglodytes, north of Sawakin, to the 'τελευταῖον ἀκρωτήριον τῆς παραλίας ταύτης, τὸ Νότον Κέρας' (Strabo, xvi. § 774) which is probably Ras Hafûn, on the Somali coast of the Indian Ocean. Somewhere near Sawakin was 'ἡ Πτολεμαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τῶν ἐλεφάντων, κτίσμα Εὐμήδους τοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ὑπὸ Φιλαδέλφου' (ib. § 770), the most northerly hunting post, mentioned also, as Ptolemaïs Epithêras, in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, and by Ptolemy the geographer. We possess a most interesting contemporary native Egyptian record of the founding of Ptolemaïs Epithêras and of the elephant-hunt in the before-mentioned great inscription discovered at Pithom (Tell Maskhutah) by M. Naville in 1883. In this inscription,¹ which celebrates the great deeds of the king in old Egyptian style, we read (l. 22) that



¹ Naville, *l.c.*



'He (*sc.* the chief general of His Majesty) proceeded into the Red Sea and reached Khathithet; they (*sic*) reached Negroland, and there were brought to him all the provisions of the King. He voyaged thence to the sea of . . . on the Sea of the Scorpion. There was brought to him everything which is agreeable to the King and to his sister the King's wife whom he loveth. A noble town was built there for the King, bearing the noble name of the King of the South and North and Lord of the Two Lands Ptolemaios. He took possession of it and organized it with the soldiers of His Majesty, with all the workmen of Egypt and of the subject-countries. He brought cultivated fields into existence: he caused them to be ploughed with ploughs and oxen; this had not happened (there) since the beginning. He netted elephants there in great numbers for the King; they were brought in ships to the King, in his transports over the heart of the Very Green,³ and were brought to him in the same manner through the Eastern Canal.⁴ No such thing had been done by any of the Kings of the Land.' 'The chief general' was evidently Eumêdês. We are told simply that he 'netted' the elephants: it would have been interesting to have known whether tame elephants were used as decoys in the Indian manner. The strange method of the Elephantophagi⁵ was evidently not followed by the King's elephant-hunters. Ptolemy Euergetês sent his hunters further south than Philadelphos: it was from the neighbourhood of Masâwah that, according to the inscription of Adulis (near Zulla), handed down to us by the foreseeing pains of the travelled monk Kosmas Indikopleustês, Euergetês procured his elephants: 'ἐξεστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν,' says the Macedonian pharaoh of himself 'μετὰ δυνάμεων περικίων

² This inscription exhibits the usual Ptolemaic inaccuracies, *e.g.*  for , &c. The text given above is that of the original monument as given by Naville: in Brugsch's transcription (*Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, 1894, p. 85) many of the original mistakes of the stonecutter appear to be corrected.

³ *i.e.* across the sea.

⁴ So Naville, *l.c.* This would be the canal joining the Nile to the Red Sea, through the Wady Tumilât (cf. Tozer, *Hist. Anc. Geog.* p. 146). But the translation 'canal' is doubtful.

⁵ Strabo, xvi. 772.

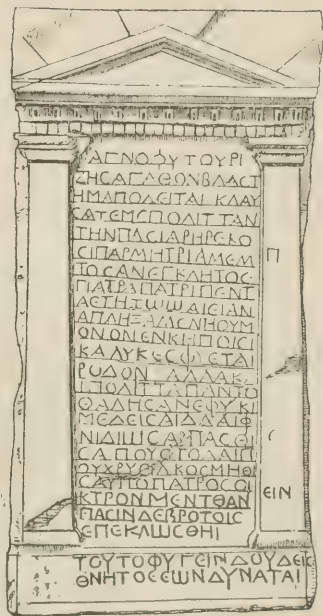
καὶ ἱππικῶν καὶ ναυτικοῦ στόλου καὶ ἐλεφάντων Τρωγλοδυτικῶν καὶ Αἰθιοπικῶν, οὓς ὁ τε πατήρ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐκ τῶν χωρῶν τούτων ἐθήρευσαν καὶ καταγαγόντες εἰς Αἴγυπτον κατεσκεύασαν πρὸς τὴν πολεμικὴν χρεῖαν.¹ Further south Strabo mentions 'κυνηγία ἐλεφάντων'; one, near Saba (Assab), he signalises as 'τὸ πρὸς τῷ φρέατι'; near here lived the elephant-eaters, whose method of hunting he describes with sundry marvellous details which he doubtless borrowed from some earlier geographer, probably Agatharchidēs. On either side of Deirê (in the neighbourhood of Obok) were two chases of elephants, the one of Pythangelos, the other of Lichas. Further on were the Watchtower of Leôn and Pythangelos' Haven: then 'ὁ Ἑλέφας τὸ ὄρος ἐκκείμενον εἰς θάλατταν' (Ras Fil), the headland of Arômata (Cape Gardafui), and the 'Horn of the South' (Ras Hafûn), beyond which the Ptolemaic elephant-hunters apparently did not pass.

The names of the elephant-hunters, all, with the exception of the last, probably στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν, which are now known to us are, taking them in chronological order: Satyros, who was sent by Philadelphos 'ἐπὶ τὴν διερεύνησιν τῆς τῶν ἐλεφάντων θήρας';² Eumêdēs, mentioned above, also sent by Philadelphos;³ Lichas, Charimortos, and Alexandros, sent by Philopatôr; the unplaced Pytholaos, Pythangelos, and Leôn, who probably ought to be placed between Eumêdēs and Lichas; and, finally, Alexandros' subordinate, Apoasis.

From the fact of Alexandros being sent out as 'διάδοχος' to Charimortos⁴ one might perhaps conclude that the soldiers of the hunt were kept in garrison in Erythraea, instead of being sent out specially from Egypt when occasion required, and that the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν⁵ was regularly relieved. Possibly also Apoasis and his soldiers were reliefs or reinforcements. The inscription was apparently set up in honour of Arês Euagros by Alexandros and Apoasis before crossing the Eastern Desert to Berenikê to embark for Ptolemaïs or

Deirê, where Charimortos awaited his successors.

II. The second inscription, No. 1206, is engraved upon an upright stele of limestone, fashioned in the form of a temple in antis, with a pilaster on either side, surmounted by a pediment with three akroteria. The inscription consists of twenty-five lines, carelessly ruled and cut. There are two or three miscalculations of space, necessitating the overflow of several letters on to the r. pilaster, and of two lines on to the base, while apparently in order to cram in the inscription at least two lines or more have been omitted. The letters, of the first or second century A.D., were filled in with red paint, of which traces remain in them and on other portions of the stele. The inscription is the epitaph of a child named Politta, who died aged five years, the daughter apparently of some family of lower-class Greeks, the 'mean whites' of Egypt under the Romans. Her virtues are commemorated in twelve couplets of what was originally intended to be elegiac verse, but which has been so mutilated by the careless engraver that in places it is hardly recognizable as poetry at all, and can only with difficulty be reconstructed. The general sense is, however, obvious. The epitaph is of course purely Greek: there is no Egyptian trait in it. The monument measures 20½ ins. × 10½ ins. It was found at Memphis.



¹ Boeckh, *C.I.G.* No. 5127. Salt, *Second Journey*, p. 452, speaks of a ruined town near Zulla, called 'Azoolé' (Azûl).

² Strabo, xvi. 769. A simple dedication, 'Ἀρσινόῃ θεᾷ φιλαδέλφῃ Σάτυρος,' has been found at the desert temple of Redesiyyeh. Letronne (ii. 241) identified this Satyros with the pioneer of elephant-hunting, but the name is a common one.

³ Eumêdēs was something more than a mere στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν, as his Egyptian title *hū tep n hen-f*, 'chief general of His Majesty,' shows.

⁴ Cf. note ¹ above.

⁵ The 'στρατηγὸς κυνηγεσιῶν' was the ordinary Greek equivalent of our 'M.F.H.'

1. 3. — ΚΛΑΥCΑΤΕΜΕΠΟΛΙΤΤΑΝ.

Here apparently an anapaest is substituted for a dactyl, which might be a possible license, with a proper name. 5.—

ΤΗΝΠΑΣΙΑΡΗΡΕΚΟCΙ must be *πᾶσιν ἀρηρεκόσιν*: ΤΗΝ is due to dittography after ΠολιτΤΑΝ. Ἀρηρεκόσιν, however, cannot stand: it is evidently a mistake of the lapidary for *πᾶσιν ἀρηρεκύναν*: for this expression cf. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 64, 3 *πᾶσιν ἀρέσκων* and *ib.* 163, 2 *πᾶσι βροτοῖς ἀρέσας*. Instances are not uncommon in careless epigrams of a participle wrongly made to agree with the word immediately preceding it.¹ 6.—*ῆ* must be inserted before

ΠΑΡΜΗΤΡΙ. 8.—ΠΑΤΡΑ = *παρά*: suggested by ΠΑΤΡΙ following. The mistake has been noted and the superfluous Τ half erased. *ib.* — ΠΕΝΤΑΕΤΗ: *sc.* χρόνον.

9.—ΑΙΕΙΑΝΑΠΛΗΞΑΜΕΝΗ: *αἰὲν ἀπληξάμενη*, ‘with never a stripe.’ *ἀπλήξ*, *ἀπληκτος* are classical, but no doubt *ἀναπληξαμένη* was more familiar to the stonecutter than the curious *ἀπληξαμένη*, and so he read ΑΙΕΝΑΠ . . . as ΑΙΕΙΑΝΑΠ

11.—ΕΝΚΗΠΟΙCΙΚΑΛΥΚΕCΦΥΕΤΑΙΡΟΔΟΝ. The omission of ΚΑΛΥΚΕC gives the original line ‘οὐ μόνον ἐν κήποις *φύεται ῥόδον*’ certainly enough. The word ΚΑΛΥΚΕC is here unmeaning, and is probably a mere interpolation of the stonecutter, who had perhaps mistaken the meaning of *φύεται*. 13.—ΑΛΛΑΚΑΙΠΟΛΙΤΤΑ. Prose construction; ΚΑΙ to be omitted. 15.—ΚΙΜΕΔΕΙCΑΙΔΑ, *i.e.* καὶ μ(ό)λεν) εἰς Ἀΐδαν. For this emendation, which would appear to give the original form of this corrupt passage, I am indebted to Mr. F. G. Gordon, of St. John’s College, Oxford. 16.—After ΑΙΦΝΙΔΙΩCΑΡΠΑ-

CΘΙCΑ, which is the beginning of a so-called hexameter, comes chaos. The following ΠΟΥCΤΟΛΑΙΠΟΥΧΡΥCΙΑ would also seem to have been meant for the commencement of a hexameter (though we must not inquire too closely into the nature of its scansion), so that the stonecutter appears to have left out a line and a half, *i.e.* the intervening pentameter and the last half of the preceding hexameter. 19.—After ΧΡΥCΙΑ it is probable that τοῖς should

be supplied. The writer of the verses evidently scanned the final *a* of *χρύσια* long without hesitation. ΚΟCΜΗΘΙCΑΥΠΟΠΑΤΡΟC appears to end l. (9) of the emended text below, so that l. (10), a pentameter, is also lost. The last couplet was understood, and not garbled, ΤΘΑΝΕΙΝ only having to be corrected to τὸ θανεῖν, and ΕΠΕΚΛΩCΘΗΙ to ἐπεκλώσθη.

- Ἀγνοφύτου ῥί|ξῃς ἀγαθὸν βλάσ|τημα,
πολείται,
5 κλαύ|σατέ με, Πολί|τταν, | <τὴν>
πᾶσι(ν) ἀρηρεκό|σι(ν).
(ῆ) παρ μητρί ἄμεπ|τος, ἀνέγκλητος |
πα<τ>ρὰ πατρί,
10 πεν|ταετῇ ξώω, αἰ<ε>α>ν | ἀπληξαμένη.
(5) οὐ μ|όνον ἐν κήποις<ι>|<κάλυκες> φύε-
ται | ῥόδον, ἀλλὰ <κα|> Πόλιττα
15 παντο|θαλῆς ἀνέφυ, κ(α)| μ(όλεν)
εἰς Ἀΐδα(ν).
αἰφνιδίως ἀρπασθ(ε)ισ<σ>α.....
20 ποῦ στολαί; π|οῦ χρύσια [τοῖς] κοσμη-
θε(ε)ῖ|σα ὑπὸ πατρός;
(10) οἰ|κτρὸν μὲν τ(ὸ) θανεῖν, | πᾶσιν δὲ
βροτοῖς | ἐπεκλώσθη,
25 τοῦτο φυνγεῖν δ' οὐδεῖς | θνητὸς ἐὼν
δύναται.

‘Weep, citizens, for me, Politta, fair offshoot of a righteous stock, who, beloved of all, lived unblamed of my mother, unhidden of my father, five years (of life), with never a stripe. Not in gardens only springs the rose; Politta too sprang up in full bloom, and is gone down to Hades, snatched suddenly away... Where now is her gay clothing, where the golden ornaments (with which she was) decked by her father?... ’Tis piteous to die, but ’tis the web spun for all men, and this none that is mortal can escape.’

III. The third inscription mentioned above, the elegiac dedication to Isis (No. 1043), was acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1888, and comes from Koptos. It is engraved upon one side of what is apparently a small cylindrical limestone pillar or pedestal, 8 ins. high, intended to support the (probably metal) votive antelope mentioned in the inscription. At the top are traces of the two holes in which the base of the antelope was fixed. The inscription is of six lines; the characters, apparently of the second century A.D., are painted red. At the end of the last line is an ivy-leaf, outlined, also painted red.

¹ This correction of *ἀρηρεκόσιν* to *ἀρηρεκύναν* was suggested to me both by Mr. Cecil Smith, to whom I am indebted for the two references to Kaibel, and by the Rev. S. C. Gayford, of Exeter College, Oxford.

ΙCΙΔΙΤΗΝΔΛΑΝΕ
ΘΗΚΑΜΙCΟΙCΑC...
ΔΟΡΚΑΔΑΕΥΧΗΝ
ΧΩΓΛΥΦΙΔΙΓΛΑ
ΨΑCΤΟΝCΤΙΧΟΝ
ΑΥΤΟCΕΦΥC

The only difficulty is in l. 2.—AMICOICA...
Ω would not scan, or Ἀμισοισάω might have been the proper name of the Egyptian who dedicated the gazelle. Also the first trace appears to be more like C or E than Ω. Is the word some epithet of Isis in the dat. sing. (Ἀμισοισάδι?), agreeing with ΙCΙΔΙ? But the trace has little resemblance to a Δ.

Ἰσιδι τήνδ' ἀνέθηκ' Ἀμισοισά...δορκάδα εὐχὴν
χω γλυφίδι γλάφας τὸν στίχον αὐτὸς ἔφν.

‘Amisoisa...(?) set up this gazelle as an offering to Isis, and has himself engraved the verse with a knife.’

In conclusion I must express my thanks to Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge, Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, for many hints and suggestions.

H. R. HALL.

[Prof. Mahaffy, who has read the above article in proof, has kindly sent us the following notes:—

(1) It is conclusively proved, by the discovery of Capt. Lyons at Philae, that Arqāmen was contemporary with Ptolemy IV. A fuller statement of this will appear in Prof. Mahaffy's new volume (in Petrie's *Hist. Egypt*, now shortly to appear).

(2) It is evident that Pisidian slingers would be specially useful against the huge bows and strong archers which were then to be found, as Strabo tells us, among the natives of Somaliland.

(3) As to the suggestion that a garrison was kept in Erythrea and occasionally changed, Prof. Mahaffy calls attention to the important text in *Petrie Pap.* II. xl. (a); a comparison with our inscription makes it seem possible that the arrangement of these changes was dependent on the seasons.
—ED.]

MONTHLY RECORD.

SWITZERLAND.

Windisch, Canton Aargau, the ancient Vindonissa.
—In digging a trench for a new water-course there

came to light some broken fragments of a stone with a Roman inscription:

TI· CLAUDIO · CA[ESA]RE · AVG · GERM
IMP. XII. P. M · TR PO . . . II COS · III · P · P ·
· · · · · LE[G] · AVG · PROPR
M · LI . . . NE · LEG · AVG · | · EC . . . A .

In the third line the name of Pomponius Secundus should be restored; in the fourth was the name of an earlier imperial legate. The legion mentioned in the last line is the twenty-first, which is known to have been stationed at Vindonissa. The date of the inscription is A.D. 53. Pomponius Secundus occurs on another inscription in Mommsen, *Inscr. Rom. Helvet.* 248.¹

ITALY.

Ostia.—On the road leading from the barracks of the *Vigiles* to the ancient theatre a remarkable brick construction has been discovered, also a well-preserved public fountain with a bronze dolphin for the spout, and various marble sculptures, including a small headless Victory and an unknown portrait, dating about A.D. 200.²

Cumae.—In a tomb eight rude clay figurines have been found, inscribed with male and female names in Greek. They seem to have served for the magic rites known as *devotiones*, which were used to consecrate unpopular persons to infernal divinities.³

GREECE.

Eretria.—A remarkable vaulted tomb has been excavated, with small *δρόμος*, and covered by an elliptical tumulus, which also contains another building. In the tomb were five marble structures, two in the form of beds, two of chairs, and one of a chest. They bear inscriptions of the Roman period, which show that all the persons buried here were related. The walls are painted, and on them were suspended a lyre, a sword, and wreaths. The style of the tomb is more like those of Pompeii and the Cimmerian Bosphorus than of Greece. Among its contents were bronze vases, two terracotta shields with coloured reliefs and gilt rims, an inscribed gold ring, a slab of marble with reliefs of an Asiatic deity wearing a tiara, a Gryphon, and a horse or ox. The adjoining structure is square and made of clay bricks; its purpose is unknown, but it may have been merely for supporting the earth thrown up to form the tumulus.²

ASIA MINOR.

Ephesus.—A theatre of the Roman period has been discovered, with auditorium of three rows of seats, and orchestra. Close by was a fountain in Ionic style, with spouts in the form of lions' heads. It was choked with rubbish, in which were masses of earthenware lamps, fragments of stamped pottery, a statue of Nemesis with palm-branch and cornucopia, and a Gryphon holding a globe and steering-oar. The water was conducted through earthenware pipes to about 300 feet above the sea-level. The whole district round the Artemision was supplied with water from a great distance through stone pipes.³

Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. xvii. part 2. October 1897.

12. The Greek Treatise on the Sublime: its authorship. W. Rhys Roberts.

13. Artemisium. G. B. Grundy.

14. The account of Salamis in Herodotus (three cuts). G. B. Grundy.

¹ *Athenaeum*, 2 April.

² *Ibid.* 26 March.

³ *Ibid.* 16 April.

15. The Homeric Hymns: IV. T. W. Allen.

16. Inscriptions from Mysia. J. A. R. Munro.

Publishes inscriptions collected in the country of the Rhyndakos and Makestos in 1894 and 1896. No. 48 is important for the knowledge of the Phrygian religion and the cult of Men.

17. Caeneus and the Centaurs: a Vase at Harrow (plate and cut). E. A. Gardner.

Publishes a krater of the latest style of Euphronios, and discusses the mythology of the Centaurs.

18. Votive Reliefs in the Acropolis Museum (two plates and ten cuts). C. A. Hutton.

Describes various terracotta reliefs, principally representing Athene.

19. On the Tumulus of Choban Tepeh in the Troad (cut). F. Calvert.

20. A Thracian Portrait (plate and cut). J. W. Crowfoot.

Publishes a head at Athens and a coin representing a King Kotys of the time of Augustus; the head probably by Antignotos.

21. Further Discoveries of Cretan and Aegean Script: with Libyan and Proto-Egyptian Comparisons (two plates, thirty-five cuts). A. J. Evans.

Publishes the results of his investigations in Crete in 1896, including the discovery of a table of offerings and a long inscription in a cave.

22. A Summer in Phrygia: I. (plate and cut). J. G. C. Anderson.

An account of explorations in the Lykos valley in 1897, with publication of new inscriptions.

H. B. WALTERS.

Journal international d'archéologie numismatique. (Athens). Vol. i., Part i., 1898.

The first number of this review has just appeared under the competent editorship of M. J. N. Svoronos. The number of existing periodicals devoted to numismatics is not, perhaps, insufficient: the new journal will, however, be open to all the world and each contributor will write in his native language. The present part contains valuable articles by M. Babelon on the coins of Getas, King of the Edoni, by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer on Bithynian numismatics, and by the editor on Athenian admission tickets. It is well printed and illustrated, though the polyglot resources of the printer are too prominent in such a reference as 'Journal of Hell. Stadies, Supplementa καὶ Papers, Excavations an Megalopolis.'

Revue suisse de Numismatique, vol. viii.

Imhoof-Blumer, 'Zur griechischen Münzkunde.' A valuable paper (reprinted, Genf, 1898) dealing with the numismatics of Cappadocia, Syria, etc. *Eusebeia Kaisarica*.—A complete list is given of the autonomous coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia (originally Mazaca). These are inscribed either ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ or ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ and are in many cases dated by the regnal years of Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, B.C. 36–A.D. 17. Imhoof shows from the dates on the coins that the name Eusebeia must have been changed to Caesarea between B.C. 12 and 9, the change being made by Archelaus in honour of

Augustus. It has been supposed hitherto that the change took place in A.D. 17 or in A.D. 41 (cf. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 303 f.). A new coin of Gordian III. inscribed ENTIXION shows that in the time of that emperor Caesarea became (or was already) a walled town. *Elaiusa Sebaste*.—A list of the coins of Elaeusa, renamed by Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, Sebaste, after he had received Cilicia Tracheia in B.C. 20. There is a gap in the coinage between A.D. 74 and Commodus which Imhoof proposes to fill by transferring to Sebaste various silver coins usually attributed to Caesarea in Cappadocia. These are, chiefly, the coins on which a prow occurs. Imhoof urges that such a type is not likely to appear at Caesarea, an inland town. I would remark, however, that the prow and numerous other types usually attributed to Caesarea are borrowed from the coins of Rome, and are not chosen (as Greek imperial coin-types usually are) on account of their local appropriateness. It hardly seems legitimate, therefore, to lay stress on the significance of the prow. *Imperial coinage of Syria*.—Additions to Imhoof's *Griech. Münzen*, pp. 231–243 in which he showed that many silver coins with the types of Antioch were struck at various Syrian mints (e.g. at Hieropolis, Beroea, etc.). *Era of Paltos* (in Seleucia).—Imhoof shows that the imperial coins of Paltos are dated from an era beginning (as at Aradus) in the autumn of B.C. 259 or 258. The two eras (i) B.C. 239, (ii) B.C. 97–81 hitherto believed to have been employed at Paltos rests only on the evidence of mis-read coins. *Gerasa* (Decapolis).—Two new imperial coins with inscription AN. ΤΩ. ΠΡ.

ΧΡ. ΤΩ ΠΡ. ΓΕ completed by Imhoof as Ἀντιοχέων τῶν πρὸς Χρυσόρογ τῶν πρὸς Γεράσιος. These must be of Gerasa itself or of some town in the neighbourhood.

Revue Numismatique, 1898, part i.

E. Babelon, 'La collection Waddington au cabinet des médailles. Inventaire Sommaire' (*contd.*). Coins of Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia—K. F. Kinch. 'Le prix d'Achéloos.'—On the silver coin of Metapontum with standing figure of Achelous (bull-headed man) inscribed ΑΧΕΛΟΙΟ ΑΕΘΛΟΝ (in archaic letters). The inscription is usually interpreted to mean 'This is prize money of the games of Achelous.' Kinch points out some difficulties in the interpretation, but it is doubtful if his own is to be preferred. He takes the words separately, treating the first as a descriptive label of the standing figure. This is possible; but his reference of ἄεθλον ('prize') to the patera held by Achelous (silver pateras being given as prizes in the games) is far-fetched and not in accordance with numismatic usage (the ΑΘΛΑ of Syracusan medallions is a different case). I should say that Achelous was here represented—as are numerous divinities on coins—awaiting a sacrifice or libation, not as displaying his prize patera. Rostovtsew, 'Étude sur les plombs antiques.' Part ii. Tessères officielles.

WARWICK WROTH.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 21. Part 4. Oct. 1897.

Comment Poppée devint impératrice, Ph. Fabia. Continued from the last vol. [Cl. Rev. x, 267]. Poppaea was faithful to Nero. She was unchaste by policy not by inclination, and so cannot be compared to Messalina. The great blot upon her character is the murder of Octavia. *Lire dans Horace* Sat. i. 10, 27 patrisque, latine et non patrisque Latini, A. Cartault. A successful vindication of the former reading, though the latter has been adopted by several recent editions.

Vol. 22. Part 1. Jan. 1898.

L'art poétique d'Horace et la tragédie romaine, G. Boissier. We may reasonably believe either that Varius has in his *Thyestes* faithfully followed the advice of Horace, or that (if *Thyestes* preceded the A.P.) Horace has modelled his rules acc. to the practice of Varius. *Avillius Flaccus préfet de l'Égypte et Philon d'Alexandrie, d'après un papyrus inédit*, J. Nicole. Bought some years ago at Cairo. An official circular of A. F. who was governor of Egypt during part of the time of Tiberius and Caligula and was bitterly attacked after his death by Philo for persecution of the Jews. *Vitruvius Rufus* § 39 mesure des hauteurs, et § 39 bis, formule de l'arc surhaussée, V. Mortet. A fragment of a MS. from the library of Valenciennes. *Le temple d'Apollon Didyméen. Questions chronologiques*, i, B. Haus-soullier. In this art. the text of two fragmentary inscriptions is translated and explained. *Plautus Curculio*, G. Ramain. Some critical notes. *Quelques passages de Phèdre*, L. Havet. On i, 16, 2 (is not now so certain of nos laqueare, see Cl. Rev. xi, 369), iv, 9, 6 and iv, 21, 5. *Ad ἐφημερίδα ἀρχαιο-λογικὴν* 1897, p. 177, B. H. In the decree which fixes the time of the construction of the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis of Athens, here first published, τὸν δημοσίον = τὸν δημόσιον and not τῶν δημοσίων. *Observations sur le texte de Dion Chrysostome*, H. Weil. *Chronologie des oeuvres de Tertul-*

lien, P. Monceaux. The writings of T. are divided into four periods, (1) before 200, (2) 200–206, (3) 207–212, (4) after 213. The last is the *De pudicitia*, between 217 and 222.

Mnemosyne. N.S. Vol. 26. Part 1.

De templis Romanis, J. M. J. Valetton. On the *Pomerium* (continued). On the extensions of the *Pomerium*. On certain questions pertaining to its history, (1) on the true boundary of the city, (2) on the measurement of the city given by Pliny (N. H. iii, 66 sqq.), (3) on the gates and stones of the *Pomerium*. Finally, a list of the various extensions is given. *De codicum Aristophaneorum Ravennatis et Veneti* (Marciani 474) lectionibus, H. van Herwerden. *Ad Plutarchum*, J. v. d. V. Two emendations to the Life of Galba, cc. 1 and 16. *Scholium Juvenalianum emendatum*, J. v. d. V. On i, 22 for *curatus* read *excuratus*. *Ad Thucydicum*. *De fragmento papyri nuper reperto*, J. v. Leeuwen jr. On the report of the Egypt Exploration Fund 1896–1897 describing the finds of Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt. *Μωσῆς ὁ προφήτης καὶ νομοθέτης*, J. C. Vollgraff. In Longinus *De Sublim.* ix, 9 for ἐχάρησε proposes ἐχρησε.

Part 2. *De Horatii odis ad rempublicam pertinentibus*, H. T. Karsten. Continued from the last vol. [Cl. Rev. xi, 462]. The first six odes of Book 3 are here dealt with. K. thinks that they were composed separately between 29 and 27, then published together in 27 with two stanzas inserted between odes 3 and 4 and 4 and 5, and a preface of two stanzas to the whole. *Ad Plutarchi Galbam*, J. v. d. V. Critical notes on cc. 5, 9 and 15. *Annotationes ad Aeneidem*, P. H. Damsté. On i, 35, 321; ii, 538; iii, 99, 445, 509; iv, 538, 587; v, 125, 426. *Thucydidica*, H. van Herwerden. With reference to Hude's edition of Books I–IV. *Epistula critica de Aristophanis Nubibus, qua Mauritio Beniamin Mendes da Costa summus honores in litteris nuper acceptos gratulatur amico amicus*, J. v. Leeuwen jr.

[The Bibliography is held over for next month.]

The Classical Review

JULY 1898.

It is with much regret that I find myself obliged to retire from the Editorship of the CLASSICAL REVIEW, for which I have no longer sufficient time at my disposal. I am glad, however, to be able to announce that my place will be taken in October by DR. POSTGATE, and also that MR. A. BERNARD COOK, of Trinity College, Cambridge, will be added to the Staff as an Assistant in the Editorial work. I cannot let this announcement go forth without adding an expression of deep gratitude, not only to my Colleagues on the Staff, but also to those many distinguished scholars, both of this country and of America, who, during the past five years, have contributed their writings, and in several cases have aided me by their counsel on matters of difficulty.

G. E. MARINDIN.

THE MINOR WORKS OF XENOPHON.

(Continued from p. 195).

XI. THE CYNEGETICUS.

WE come lastly to the *Cynegeticus*. Two parts of it are so peculiar that great doubt has been felt as to their genuineness, and this doubt has sometimes extended to the body of the work. The latter is a very plain, business-like, technical account of hunting, chiefly hare-hunting, full of matter-of-fact details about hares, dogs, nets, and all the incidents and methods of the sport. But to this is prefixed a curiously high-flown introduction about the legendary heroes of Greece who were taught 'hunting and other noble things' by the centaur Chiron. Each of these heroes is briefly commemorated in a very artificial and florid style. The sudden drop from this ornate proemium to practical hints on the con-

struction of nets is somewhat grotesque. When the practical details have been given, the writer goes on to remark upon the excellent training, bodily and mental, which young men get from their hunting, contrasts it with other and inferior ways of spending time, and passes into a vehement attack upon the sophists and such men as in politics or private life seek their own advancement by unfair means. This is so unnecessary an appendage to a book on hunting, that it has not unnaturally been regarded with great suspicion.

It will conduce to clearness if we take the three parts separately. I will begin with chapters i.-xi., the body of the work, and examine the language of it, trying to ascertain first what things it contains, if any, that are at all characteristic of X., or that,

being noticeable, are at least not inconsistent with his style: and secondly what there is, if anything, that points the other way.

In dealing with the *Cynegeticus* I have derived some help from Brennecke's dissertation *de authenticia et integritate Cynegetici Xenophonte* (Posen 1868) and from Vol. 3, Part 2 (London 1897) of Mr. Dakyns' *Works of Xenophon*, containing his translation of the treatise with notes and other remarks.

We have seen more than once that X. is fonder of ἐγχειρεῖν (2. 2) than most Attic writers, who prefer ἐπιχειρεῖν. Μή with third person aorist imperative, (2. 2 μηδεῖς-νομισάτω) is not at all common in prose, but X. has it sometimes: Kühner § 397. 3 quotes *Cyr.* 7. 5. 73: 8. 7. 26. In 2. 5 τῶν βρόχων τὸ διάστημα (i.e. in the δίκτυα) ἴσον ταῖς ἄρκυσιν is an elliptical form of expression, and the same is probably the analysis of 9. 10 τὸ τε τάχος οὐδενὶ εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τῶν τηλικούτων νεβρῶν, where I take οὐδενὶ to be short for 'the speed of any animal,' οὐδενὸς τάχει. This ellipse is found in X.: cf. *Oec.* 7. 32 ἡ ἡγεμὼν ἐξομοιοῦται τοῖς ἔργοις οἷς ἐμὲ δεῖ πράττειν: *Hiero* 1. 38 ἐξεκάζουσιν αὐτοὺς ταῖς τῶν φιλοῦντων ὑποურγίαις: *Cyr.* 5. 1. 4 ὁμοίαν ταῖς δούλαις εἶχε τὴν ἐσθῆτα. ὁμαλῆς (2. 7) = ὁμαλός is accepted by Hug in *An.* 4. 6. 12. ὅτι and διότι in successive sentences (3. 1), both meaning 'because,' are found *Symp.* 8. 19. We observed on the *Apologia* S. that X., unlike most prose writers, but like the tragedians, prefers ὄμμα to ὀφθαλμός. Here ὄμμα is used some nine or ten times (3. 3: 4. 1. 3, 4 etc.) and ὀφθαλμός I think only once (5. 11). The usually poetical ἄλγος (3. 3) occurs *Symp.* 8. 37: λύπη is the common prose word. The place of μέν, δέ, οὖν, which we notice several times in this and other chapters (3. 3 αἱ ὑψηλαὶ μέν..., αἱ ἄψυχοι δέ κ.τ.λ.: 3. 4 τὰ ὦτα μέν) is quite Xn.: cf. Kühner § 528. 1. Εἰσὶ δ' αἶ (3. 6. and 10), ἐστὶ δὲ οἷς (11. 4), ἐστὶν ὅτε (5. 16) agree with X.'s preference of these forms to ἐνιοι (5. 18 MSS. ἐνιοι, edd. ἐνιον: but see note below) and ἐνίοτε (9. 19). So too I make the book to contain eight instances of πρόσθεν (3. 6 etc.) against five of ἔμπροσθεν (4. 1 etc.); and this again, as we have several times seen, is characteristic of X. Θαμινά (3. 7) = πολλάκις occurs four or five times in X., hardly elsewhere in prose (neither Plato nor Aristotle). Ἠγμέναι (3. 11) is an uncommon use of ἄγειν, bring up, educate, to be illustrated by ἀχθεῖσαι, also of dogs, in *Mem.* 4. 1. 3. Πολὺ μείζω (4. 1 and 5. 30) agrees with X.'s preference of πολὺ to πολλῶ with comparatives, but we find πολλῶ μείζω

in 10. 12. The usually poetical ποδώκης (4. 2: 5. 17: 9. 1: ποδώκεια 5. 27) occurs in *Mem.* 3. 11. 8 and *De R. Eq.* 3. 12: perhaps it should be regarded as more or less technical. Πυκνά (4. 3, 5: 5. 11), like θαμινά, occurs a few times in X.: in 6. 22 we have the rare πυκνῶς. For the double comparative (4. 4) θάπτον φοιτῶσαι μᾶλλον cf. *Mem.* 3. 13. 5 χαριέστερον...μᾶλλον with Kühner's note. The Xn. use of σύν for μετά appears in 4. 5 σύν πολλῇ κλάγγῃ: 9. 6 σύν πόνῳ διωκόμενος: less decidedly in 6. 16 σύν ταῖς οὐραῖς τὰ σώματα ὅλα συνεπικραδαινόνσαι, tails and all. For the importance of this we must bear in mind such facts as Tycho Mommsen points out, e.g. that in all Lysias there are only two examples of σύν, and in all Isocrates no certain example at all. But μετά is also used here (4. 5, 6: 9. 8: 11. 3), as it is by X. Πάντη (4. 5) is rare in most prose (e.g. never in Thucydides, Demosthenes, Lysias), but occurs now and then in X., more often I think in Plato and Aristotle, though in them it usually refers to manner, not to place. X. is rather noticeably fond of an accusative joined to verbs of motion to express the ground traversed. Thus *de R. Eq.* 8. 1 τρέχειν δεῖσει...καὶ πρηνῇ καὶ ὀρθῇ καὶ πλάγῃ: *Hippiarch.* 3. 14 τὰ ὀρθὰ ταχὺ ἐλαύνειν χρή: *An.* 4. 4. 1 πορεύεσθαι πεδίον: *ib.* 2. 4. 27 τὰ δύσβατα πορεύου: *Cyr.* 2. 4. 22 ἴθι τὴν ὀρεινὴν (γῆν or χώραν). This is a construction occasionally, though but rarely, found in poetry, both Greek and Latin (e.g. *Il.* 7. 6: *Prom.* V. 708: *Aj.* 30: *Aen.* 1. 524: *Prop.* 2. 28. 19); in Greek prose I do not know whether it occurs except in X. and the Ionic of Herodotus (e.g. 7. 121 ἦε τὴν μεσόγαιαν: 2. 24. 2 ἔρχεται τῆς Διβύης τὰ ἄνω). But in the *Cynegeticus* we have it three or four times: 4. 6 τὰ ὄρη θεουσῶν: 5. 17 θεοῦσι...τὰ ἀνάντη ἢ τὰ ὁμαλά: 5. 18 ὅταν τοὺς λίθους, τὰ ὄρη, τὰ φέλλεια, τὰ δασέα ἀποχωρῶσι (cf. particularly *de R. Eq.* 8. 10 φεύγῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου παντοῖα χωρία): in 4. 9 it seems to be used once, if not twice, and perhaps in 5. 15.

The poetical φέγγος (5, 4: 10, 7), νεογνός (5. 14: 9. 1), νάπη or νάπος (5. 15: 9. 11: 10. 19) are all found in X., the last several times. Τέκνα is used here (5. 24) in the unusual sense of the young of an animal, but we have seen before that X. makes use of the word, although most prose and Aristophanes abstain from it, presumably as poetical. Τὰ ἐργάσιμα (5. 15) is found in *Cyr.* 1. 4. 16: σιμός (5. 16: 6. 5) up-hill in *Hell.* 4. 3. 23: κατάδηλος (18 bis) often in X. Ἐπομαι (5. 28 and seven or eight times in Chh. 6 and 10) we have seen

to be a Xn. word by no means in universal use. With *ἔφηνεν ὀρθὸν* in 5. 29 cf. *An.* 4. 6. 12 *ῥᾶν ὀρθιον ἵνα* ἡ ὁμαλές. *Ὀψίζω*, *ὀψίζομαι* (6. 4) is scarcely cited except from *An.* 4. 5. 5 : *Hell.* 6. 5. 21 : and the disputed *Resp. Lac.* 6. 4. *Ἀμφί* (6. 5) is a preposition all but confined among Attic prose-writers to X., for with the doubtful exception of *Menex.* 242 E Plato uses it only in the phrase *οἱ ἀμφὶ τινα* and other writers not at all. *Ἀέναος* (6. 5) is a poetical word found not only in the disputed *Ages.* 1. 20 and *Vect.* 4. 17 but also in *Cyr.* 4. 2. 44 : *Hell.* 3. 2. 19. *Μένος* (6. 15 : 10. 16) is still more poetical, but occurs three or four times in X. (*Hell.* 7. 1. 31 etc.), and the mainly poetical *κόπος* (6. 25 : cf. *ὑπόκοπος* *ibid.*) may be found *de R. Eq.* 4. 2 : *An.* 5. 8. 3. *ὁμοῦ near* (6. 6) is very rare in prose, but occurs a few times in X. (*Cyr.* 3. 1. 2 etc.) : so too *ὁμόθεν* (7. 8) in *Cyr.* 1. 4. 23 etc. With *ἡμελημένην ἐσθῆτα* (6. 11), a sort of *négligé*, cf. *An.* 1. 7. 19 *ἐπορεύετο ἡμελημένος* ; *ἀμ' ἡλίω ἀνέχοντι* (6. 13) occurs in the same form or with *ἀνίσχοντι* in *An.* 2. 1. 3 and *Hell.* 2. 1. 23. *Πολλά* = *πολλάκις* (6. 14, 23 : 8. 3) is rare in prose, but cf. *An.* 4. 3. 2 *πολλά τῶν παρεληλυθότων πόνων μνημονεύσαντες* and one or two other places. *Μέχρι* as a conjunction (6. 21 *μέχρι ἂν σαφῶς γνωρίσωσιν*) occurs a good many times in X. and Plato, seldom elsewhere in Attic prose. For *κατέχειν* in the unusual sense of *in-stare* (6. 22 and the passive in 9. 20) cf. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 22.

A remarkable phenomenon is the appearance six times in the sixth chapter and three times later (6. 7, 8, 12, 23, 25, 26 : 9. 12 : 10. 7, 8) of the final conjunction *ὅπως ἂν* with a subjunctive. Although *ὅπως ἂν*, not *ἵνα* (which hardly occurs) is the regular final conjunction in Attic official inscriptions, it will be seen from the table which Goodwin has put together (*Moods and Tenses* p. 398) out of Weber's statistics that in literature it is infrequent on the whole, occurring with the subjunctive four times in Demosthenes, twelve times altogether in the Ten Orators, never in Thucydides. Weber (*Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze* 2. 74 foll.) cites outside the *Cynegeticus* five passages of X., namely, *Hell.* 1. 6. 9 : 3. 4. 9 : *Cyr.* 5. 2. 21 and 4. 37 : 8. 3. 6 : also four passages where it goes with an optative (*Hell. Cyr. An.*). It is therefore very noticeable and, though rare in X., may be called Xn. Its extraordinary comparative frequency in these three Chh. is curiously paralleled by the unusual frequency (nine times) with

which it occurs in the *Lysistrata* (Weber i. p. 115) and by the fact of its occurring in only five of the dialogues of Plato (*ib.* 2. 62).

Weber's statistics are useful to us on another point. We find in 7. 10 and 10. 14 the use of *μή* as a final conjunction = *ἵνα μή*, *ὅπως μή*. Weber shows (2. pp. 70 and 92 : cf. note in Goodwin p. 112) that this occurs twelve times in the works ascribed to X. (five times in *Cyr.* three in *An.*, twice in *Mem.*, twice here) and twenty-four times in Plato, but that otherwise it is almost unknown to prose (e.g. twice in Demosthenes). Its occurrence here is therefore certainly important. In 7. 12 the editors have no doubt rightly received the correction *ὡς τὰ πολλά* for *εἰς τὰ πολλά*. This phrase, which is found again in 10. 7, is not a common one, but it occurs a few times in X. (e.g. *Cyr.* 2. 1. 30 : 8. 1. 14). *Κατασκέψασθαι* (9. 2) is an uncommon compound found in X. *Ἀντιπέραι* (9. 3) is Xn. too. Weber (2. p. 83) gives six examples from X. of a purely final *ὅπως* with future indicative, one of which is 9. 4 *τῶν τόπων ἐνθυμούμενον, ὅπως μὴ ἀμαρτήσεται*. It was probably by an oversight that he failed to add 8. 6 *τῆς ὥρας ἐνθυμούμενον, ὅπως . . ἔσται ἡ λειπομένη ἱκανὴ περιστήσασθαι* (i.e. *τὰς ἄρκυς*). But in both places the use of *ἐνθυμίσθαι* seems to me to make the *ὅπως* clause not purely final but rather what Weber calls an 'incomplete final clause,' by which he means the use after *σκοπεῖσθαι*, *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι*, etc., Goodwin's 'object clause.'

The *τε . . τε* of 9. 10 and 18 (instead of *τε καί*) is occasionally found in X. : see the table in Roquette's *De X. Vita* p. 39. He says there are six examples altogether in the book : I have not noticed so many. A single connecting *τε*, which is also just noticeable and not un-Xn. will be found in 10. 23. *Νεαρός* (9. 10) is mostly poetical, but see *Cyr.* 1. 4. 3. In 9. 10 and 11. 4 we have the plural verb with a neuter plural subject. This is much commoner in X. than in most authors. The rare *δυσωπείσθαι* (9. 16) occurs *Mem.* 2. 1. 4, and the rare *ἀλεινός*, *ψυχενός* (10. 6) are both used by X. more than once. *Περί* (or much more often *ἀμφί*) *τι ἔχειν* is a regular Xn. expression for being engaged with something. With *περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχειν* (10. 9) cf. for instance *Hell.* 7. 4. 28 *περὶ τοὺς Ἡλείους εἶχον*. *Ἐγκρατής* (10. 10) very seldom means *strong*, but cf. *de R. Eq.* 7. 8 : *Hell.* 7. 1. 23. With *ἐκρεύω* (10. 12) cf. *de R. Eq.* 5. 4. The poetical *ἀμφιβαίνω* (10. 13) reminds us of X.'s liking for *ἀμφί* : see above on 6. 5. *Φέρεσθαι* (10. 21) is used by him several times of a rapid on-

set. Ἐκπονεῖν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν (10. 21: cf. the disputed *Ages*. 11. 9) is an uncommon phrase, but X. like Euripides is distinctly fond of ἐκπονεῖν.

I turn now to look for evidence on the other side: noticeable words, forms, phrases, constructions, not found in X., which can be regarded as grounds for suspicion. There are, according to Brennecke, not less than 360 words in the *Cynegeticus* which are not found elsewhere in X., but of this great number much the larger part may be set aside at once as unimportant. Technical terms are of no value for our inquiry. X. has no occasion elsewhere to use them, and therefore their non-appearance elsewhere has no significance. Semi-technical perhaps are a few words like γεγωνεῖν (6. 24), σκοπιωρεῖσθαι (9. 2), συνεπικραδαίνειν (6. 16). The second of these occurs once in Aristophanes (*Wasps* 361 anapaests), and Ar. *Ach.* 965 (mock-heroic) seems the only passage where κραδαίνω is used by a good author in anything like the language of prose. Probably we may also set aside many late imperatival forms, such as προῖτωςαν and ποιείτωςαν (4. 3 and 4), which appear in the MSS. but have been held by editors to be due to copyists and do not now appear in editions. This, however, should not be taken quite for granted. A third class to be noticed is made up of words such as we have often seen to be really characteristic of X., though these particular examples do not elsewhere occur in him. They are words of a more or less poetical cast, otherwise known to us mainly or even entirely from use in the poets. In all the minor works which we have examined we have found such words, sometimes occurring only once in the Xn. corpus, sometimes more often. Among them we may perhaps class πλάνος (3. 6), λέχριος (4. 3), βρώ (5. 12), ρείθρον (5. 15 and 34: 9. 11), ρεύμα (5. 16: used two or three times elsewhere in X., but not in the sense of *stream*), νῆμα (5. 34: Plato), θραύω (6. 1), ροῦς (6. 5), ἀνάσσω (6. 17), προσπελάζω (6. 19), ἀμείβομαι (9. 14), ἴζομαι (9. 14), though one or two may be uncertain. Such words as γεγωνεῖν, etc., mentioned above will have to be added, if they are not technical. The simple εὔδω (5. 11) is also distinctly poetical, like the simple ἴζομαι (καθεύδω, καθιζομαι being the common prose words), but it follows immediately upon καθεύδω, and there is reason to think the Greeks liked to put the simple after the compound instead of repeating the compound form. All these words, therefore, though not used by X. elsewhere, tell really rather for than against Xn. authorship.

The following words or expressions, not found elsewhere in X. so far as I know, strike me as worth noticing: ἀλλάττειν τὴν ἡλικίαν (2. 1) and the intransitive ἐξάλλάττων *diverging* (10. 7): ἡσυχῇ (2. 8) in the rare sense *slightly* or approximating to it: ὑπερλαμπρύνομαι (3. 7: λαμπρύνομαι is not found in X.), τὸ ἀνήκουστον (3. 8), στιφρός (4. 1), ἐπίπαν (4. 1) and ἐπὶ τὸ δυνατόν (5. 8), γνωρίζω (4. 4), in the rare sense *make known*, αἰωρεῖσθαι (4. 4), ἐπανιέναι, *stop* (4. 5: 7. 1: 10. 11), φθινόπωρον (5. 9: μετόπωρον a few times here and elsewhere), ἰσόπεδος (5. 18), and ἄπεδος (6. 9: 10. 9), τηρῶ (6. 1), ἐκπεριέναι (6. 10: 8. 3, 5), ἄγνωστος (6. 15), ἐπιγνωρίζω (6. 23), ἐνδελεχῶς (7. 2), περιφοβεῖσθαι (? 9. 17: πεφοβῆσθαι Dindorf), ῥιπτεῖν neuter (9. 20) and the compounds διαρριπτεῖν, ἐπρριπτεῖν, ἐπαναρριπτεῖν (whether the contracted form is right is uncertain), καταφερέης (10. 9: cf. 5. 30), νεογενής (10. 23).

I take finally a few points of a more grammatical nature. Four times (5. 8, 20: 9. 8, 20) we find ὅτε δέ meaning *at other times* and with no ὅτε μὲν preceding. This ὅτε is quoted (Krüger 25. 10. 12) from Thuc. 7. 27. 4: Plat. *Phaedo* 59 A: *Theaet.* 207 D; but these examples, if right, seem to be the only other ones between Iliad 11. 568 (?) and Aristotle (see Bonitz' Index). It is in fact a use characteristic of late Greek, and the absence of anything like ὅτε μὲν makes the phrase somewhat more noticeable. Ἐνιον ἐρύθημα is read by both Dindorf and Sauppe in 5. 18, but the MSS. have ἔνιοι and ἔνιον is extremely doubtful (see note below). Ἐνιος in the singular seems not to be known before Aristotle. Ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τινά τινος, *deprive a man of*, is an unusual construction (6. 4). In ὅποσαχῇ οἶόν τ' ἂν ᾗ (6. 20) the ἂν occupies an unusual position, but besides Pind. *N.* 4. 91: Ar. *R.* 259 there are parallels even in prose, cf. *Laws* 647 E ὁπόσῳ πλέον ἂν ἐλῇ (so too 850 A): 739 C ὅπου τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον ἂν γίγνηται. Αἱ τίς κα is common in Doric inscriptions (see Cauer's *Delectus passim*, e.g. No. 8, lines 120, 127, 152, and so in the *Laws* 862 D and 890 A ὅτι τις ἂν, 909 E ὅῃ τις ἂν, Demosth. 2. 14 ὅποι τις ἂν. In X. we find *Hiero* 1. 38 ᾗ μάλιστ' ἂν δύνωνται, where I needlessly proposed to read ᾗ ἂν: *Cyr.* 4. 5. 52 ὅ τι ἄλλο ἂν: *Vect.* (?) 1. 1. ὁποῖοί τινες ἂν (cf. Platonic *Epist.* 13. 362 c). Κάτωθεν governing a genitive (8. 8: 4. 1 is, I suppose, different) is found in Aristotle *II. A.* 8. 24. 604 a 28. In 8. 8 σκεψάμενον οἷν δεῖ ὅπου ἂν ᾗ περιστασθαι and 9. 18 σκοπούμενον ὅποι ἂν φέρηται it certainly looks as if the clauses with ὅπου and ὅποι were dependent questions, in which case the

subjunctive would be very remarkable: but perhaps it is not absolutely necessary to take them so. There is probably no precise parallel in X. to the use of the participle with ἔχω (10. 11 ἐὰν...ἐπαινεῖς ἔχῃ) as in tragedy, Herodotus, and occasionally, I think, Plato; for in the nearest passages quoted (*An.* 1. 3. 14: 4. 7. 1: 7. 7. 27: cf. Goodwin § 47) ἔχω hardly loses its own ordinary meaning, and here moreover the participle is neuter, which is unusual even in tragedy. The middle θηρᾶσθαι of literal hunting is unusual, but cf. *Ar. Eq.* 864. A very well-marked grammatical peculiarity of the book is the incessant use of the infinitive in the rules laid down for the young huntsman. This is not precisely the infinitive for imperative that we sometimes find in Greek, because that infinitive does not take its subject in the accusative as here. It is the infinitive used in laws and proclamations (*e.g.* *Dem.* 23. 22: *Ar. Ach.* 172) 'depending on some word (understood) like εἶδοις or κελεύεται' (Goodwin, § 750). It is said not to occur elsewhere in X., not even in the *Hipparch.* and *de Re Eq.* which are similar in nature to the *Cyn.* and might be expected to contain it: but Aristotle occasionally has something like it (Bonitz' Index, p. 343 a). This peculiarity of the *Cyn.* reminds one in a way of the peculiar imperative use of the future indicative throughout the epicure's rules in *Hor. Sat.* 2. 4. The only other thing which I have noticed in the grammar is the unusual amount of asyndeton, words and occasionally clauses being just put side by side without a particle to connect them. In a few cases (*e.g.* 7. 4) the text can hardly be right: in others, where there is an enumeration of qualities, the asyndeton is not unnatural, though, especially when only two adjectives are thus coupled together (*e.g.* 6. 1 ἔστω δὲ τὰ μὲν δέραια μαλακά, πλατέα: 6. 8 στοιχίζετω δὲ μακρὰ ὑψηλά), it deserves notice. Twice in 4. 1 we have a curious asyndeton, μεταξύ μακρῶν βραχέων and μεταξύ μεγάλων μικρῶν. One or two other things will be noticed presently in the critical notes on separate passages.

The facts of language, however, which tell most against Xn. authorship are of a negative, not of a positive, kind. There is a total absence of certain things which we have seen to be Xn. The particle μήν, of which X. is fond to excess and which he uses sometimes with extraordinary frequency (*e.g.* in the *de R. Eq.*), does not occur once, nor does καί—δέ, to which he is much addicted. The figure called *anaphora*, very frequent in him, is not found either, but perhaps one

may fairly say there is little occasion for it. Final ὥς is never used, though ἵνα occurs often, simple ὅπως once or twice, and ὅπως ἄν, as we have seen, with noticeable frequency in certain chapters; nor does ὥς ever take the place of ὥστε (which is frequent) with either infinitive or indicative, though X. often makes it do so. There is no ἔστε and no ἔνθα, though there are many places where they might have been used. But with regard to μήν and to final ὥς the following facts should be borne in mind. In what Roquette calls the first part of *Hell.* (Books 1 and 2 as far as ch. 3. 10), which in bulk exceeds *Cyn.* by about a third, μήν never occurs: in *Oec.*, which is twice the length of *Cyn.*, it occurs only four times (Roquette, p. 39). As for final ὥς, though it is conspicuous in *An.* and *Cyn.* and in proportion to their length in *Hipparch.* and *de R. Eq.*, it is found according to Roquette only twice in *Oec.*, six times in the whole of *Hell.*, and only once in *Mem.* As to the other words mentioned, I am not aware of any statistics that give their distribution. But perhaps these figures are enough to show that, though the occurrence of a word may be taken as in some degree a mark of Xn. authorship, the fact of its not occurring cannot at present be used as telling much, if at all, on the other side. I say 'at present' because if further inquiry should ever establish clearly the chronology of the works of X., the case might then possibly be altered. Even as it is, the absence of μήν has been taken as a mark that *Cyn.* was early in date, a subject to be touched upon below.

On a careful consideration of all the linguistic evidence for and against, so far as I have been able to marshal it, I come to the conclusion that chapters i.-xi. of the *Cynegeticus* were written by X. This was not my first impression, but further study has brought out a good many things which I then overlooked, and I attach less importance now to the want of a very markedly Xn. diction. There are in point of fact a good many things in the language that point more or less to X., and we must remember that the nature of the subject debarred him from the use of many words and turns of expression that we find in his historical and miscellaneous writings. With one or two exceptions the language is perhaps as Xn. as could be fairly counted upon.

Cobet pronounced the *Cynegeticus*, the whole of which he held to be genuine (*Nov. Lect.* p. 774), to be the earliest of X.'s works, not on the ground of language, but because of the 'youthful fervour' which he considers

it to breathe. If it really was in whole or in part an early work, this might further explain the less distinctly Xn. character of it. But the tone is rather that of an experienced huntsman, no longer young, advising beginners what to do, and the position taken up at starting in 1. 18 (ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν παραινῶ τοῖς νέοις κ.τ.λ.) would be rather ludicrous in a quite young man. Hare-hunting too cannot even in X.'s boyhood have been a common amusement in Attica. The war must have prevented it, and hares must even then have been scarce. Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1203 (422 B.C.), puts the hunting of a boar or a hare and running in the torch-race all together as rather creditable manly performances, nor does he seem to be joking. Nausicrates (probably of the Middle Comedy, that is of X.'s time) speaks of Attica as a land οὐ δασύποδ' εὐρεῖν ἔστιν οὐχὶ ῥάδιον. This difficulty rises up against the theory which Mr. Dakyns briefly propounds, that the *Cyn.* 'is probably an early work of X.'s rehandled and re-edited, with additions (not improbably) by himself or under his inspiration when an old man.' For this and for other reasons, I think, it seems more natural to connect the book with his residence at Scillus in Elis, of which he himself records in *An.* 5. 3. 8 ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι χωρίῳ καὶ θήραι πάντων ὅποσα ἔστιν ἀγρευόμενα θηρία, and afterwards θήραν ἐποιοῦντο εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν οἷ τε Ξενοφῶντος παῖδες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ ἄνδρες συνεθήρων, and Diogenes 2. 52 τούτωνθεν διετέλει κυνηγετῶν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐστῶν καὶ τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράφων, speaking of X. at Scillus. It is then or later that the two books relating to horses and cavalry are generally thought to have been written. The chapters on deer and wild boars are also evidently more suited to other parts of Greece than to Attica. I would add that the whole treatise breathes the spirit of the country, not of a big city. Nothing is said about going out of a town into the country for hunting purposes.

We now turn to the concluding chapters of the book. It may be right to accept the twelfth and reject the thirteenth, or to draw the line after § 9 of the twelfth; but I will take them together.

Oec. 1. 8 ἀντὶ τοῦ τρέφειν πεινῇν παρασκευάζει is the best parallel I can find anywhere for the rather noticeable construction of the simple infinitive in 12. 1 ὑγίαιαν τε γὰρ τοῖς σώμασι παρασκευάζει καὶ ὄραν καὶ ἀκούειν μᾶλλον. Ἐννή, *bed, sleeping-place* is very uncommon in Attic prose, but occurs a few

times in Plato and X., and the use of ἐννάζεσθαι in 12. 2 agrees with this. (Εὐνάζω in 9. 3, like εὐναῖα ἔχνη which occurs frequently in the body of the work, should probably be regarded as technical). 12. 3 gives us πρόσθεν: 12. 4 a construction of παρέχω with the infinitive (παρέχει αὐτοῖς πλέον τι εἰδέναι), like that of παρασκευάζω above, which is paralleled in the doubtful *Vect.* 4. 12 (ἡ πόλις) παρέχει...ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις: it is, I think, quite uncommon. Ἐτρέφθην (12. 5) is as Xn. a form as ἐτρέπην. Δυσχωρία (12. 5) occurs several times in *Cyr.* In 12. 6 εἰδότες...ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν ἡτύχουν..., ἐπιμέλειαν...ἐποίησαντο seems an instance of what we have seen before to be much more common in X. than in any one else, the use of the imperfect indicative in *oratio obliqua* instead of the present indicative or optative. Ἐνόμισαν in 12. 6 ἐνόμισαν ὁμῶς τοὺς κυνηγέτας μὴ κωλύειν...ἀγρεύειν means perhaps only 'they had the practice': νομίζω in this sense with an infinitive is unusual out of Herodotus, but perhaps occurs in Hiero 3. 3 τοὺς μοιχοὺς νομίζουσι πολλὰ τῶν πόλεων νηποινὶ ἀποκτείνειν. It may, however, have the meaning to which I called attention in a note on *R. L.* 1. 7 of 'laying down a rule.' 'To make a thing a practice' is equally ambiguous in English. In writing on the *R. L.* I overlooked the fact that at least one clear instance of the use is found in *Cyr.* 8. 5. 3 εἰθὺς δὲ τοῦτο ἐνόμιζε Κῦρος, πρὸς ἑὼ βλέπουσαν ἵστασθαι τὴν σκηνήν. Sturz and Holden explain the words in the *Hiero* in the same way, and may very well be right. Ἀγρεύω in 12. 6 is a word found in the poets, but hardly to be found, I think, in good prose except *An.* 5. 3. 8: *Hipparch.* 4. 18: *R. L.* 5. 3. Plato uses *θηρεύω* frequently, but not *ἀγρεύω*; nor apparently *θηρῶ*, which is common in X. In 12. 8 we find once at least the simple τε, tacking on a clause to what goes before. This occurs again in 13. 11 (τά τε σώματα). X.'s characteristic σύν presents itself in 12. 11 (μετά in 12. 2: 13. 15); μοχθεῖν, a distinctly Xn. word, in 12. 15. Θεοσεβής is uncommon, but cf. *θεοσεβῶς* *Cyr.* 3. 3. 58 and *θεοσεβεία* *An.* 2. 6. 26. X. repeatedly uses ἔσθαι of rapid movement, *rushing*, etc., but except in him it is practically confined to poetry. Ast gives it as occurring three times in Plato: two of these are purely etymological passages in the *Cratylus*, the third (*Phaedr.* 241 B) is part of a composition described by Plato himself as διθύραμβοι (*ib.* 241 E). Its use in a fragment of Pherecrates is uncertain. We may therefore note particularly the occurrence of the word here in 12. 22.

Κωλύω with a genitive (13. 2 ἐτέρων κωλύει χρησίμων) is Xn.: cf. *Hell.* 4. 3. 4: *An.* 1. 6. 2. With μειζόνως (13.3) cf. ἐχθιόνως *Symp.* 4. 3. I do not know if X. has παρά, roughly equivalent to ὑπό, after διδάσκεισθαι (13. 4), but he certainly has it after ὁμολογεῖσθαι, λέγεσθαι, σημαίνεσθαι, δίδοσθαι, ὠφελεῖσθαι. The plural verb παιδεύσειαν (13. 5), with a neuter plural subject, if right, is not un-Xn. Ἀνεξέλεγκτος (13. 7) occurs *Oec.* 10. 8. Ἐνθύμημα (13. 9 and 13) is found two or three times in X. He makes use of the poetical words εὔκλεια, εὐκλής, δυσκλής: here (13. 12) we have δύσκλεια and εὔκλεια. Φιλοκέρδεια (13. 12) is not elsewhere found in him, but he has φιλοκερδής, φιλοκερδεῖν four or five times. With ἐν ἰσχύϊ ἐστίν (13. 14) cf. perhaps ἐν ὠφελείᾳ εἶναι *Cyr.* 8. 5. 15: *Vect.* 4. 35. When Roquette (*Vita X.* p. 90, note) wrote *pluralem maiestaticum praeter Cyrop.* 1 *apud Xenophontem non nisi in libro de re equestri legisse memini* (π. ἱππ. 1. 1. *sqq.*), he might have added from 13. 13 here βελτίους γίνονται...δι' ὧν διδάσσομεν· εὖν γάρ κ.τ.λ. The poetical τοκεύς (13. 17) occurs *Mem.* 2. 1. 33. Finally be it remarked that no attention is paid to hiatus in these chapters any more than in the body of the work.

There are therefore various things pointing to X. as the writer, and nothing I should say that points the other way. Ἐνανξάνω (12. 9) is unique or very rare in good Greek, but not objectionable. The passive ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι (12. 21) is also very rare. The absolute use of ἐναντίον (*ibid.*) is a little curious, if right. With σεσοφισμένος (13. 5) cf. not only πεπλασμένος (3. 10) but many other such adverbs in X. (πεφοβημένος, πεφυλαγμένος etc.: Sauppe's *Lexilogus* p. 19b). Παράγγελμα (13. 9) is not elsewhere used by X. nor the somewhat poetical εὐεπής (13. 16), but the latter is just his kind of word. I do not think he has μάτην γίνεσθαι (13. 14), or a plain infinitive after ἐμποδῶν (13. 16 οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἀσβεῖν), or the phrase λόγος κατέχει (13. 17 λόγοι κατέχουσι). These are all the points I can see, and they are quite unimportant. But we have to add, as before, the curious absence of the particle μήν.

Certainly the contents of Chapter 13, directed against οἱ σοφισταὶ καλούμενοι, are at once violent and weak, but we do not seem warranted in saying X. cannot have written it. The sentiments are quite natural to him, much more so than to any Ἰσοκρατεῖς, such as Hartman takes the author to have been. Such a person is indeed just the sort of man at whom they

are aimed. Chapter 12 is markedly Xn. in sentiment, at any rate in the earlier part. In *Cyr.* 1. 2. 10: 1. 6. 28 and 39-41 hunting is treated as training and education in just the same way. But the manner in which the point is argued in the later part of this chapter is foolish.

We come finally to the curious and tasteless mythological preface with which the *Cyn.* begins. It is to be observed first that a preface of some kind is needed. We could not begin abruptly with 2. 1 or 1. 18. If therefore the preface is spurious, it has ousted another which was genuine; unless indeed the treatise was never published or finished by its author. Secondly there is a distinct reference back to it in 12. 18 οἱ παρὰ Χείρωνι ὧν ἐπεμνήσθην. Unless we adopt the very unlikely theory of this being an interpolation, it shows that the writer of 12 (and not of 12. 1-9 only) was the writer of 1. Thirdly we must observe that the writer of 1, whoever he was, clearly meant in some degree to suit his style to his subject, and in writing about heroes to adopt a more or less heroic or, as Plato might have called it, dithyrambic tone. In §§ 7, 10, 13 the expressions and the order of words appear to me to depart deliberately from the prosaic, though not in a very marked way, and though the vocabulary is not poetical. Other poetical touches are the plurals ἀγραί (1: cf. κυνηγέσια), αἰτίαι (10), perhaps γάμοι (7 cf. ὡς ποτ' ἡράσθη γάμων Σεμέλης *Eur. Hipp.* 453 for the whole phrase) and the words κλέος (6), νείκος (17), ἀνίκητος (17). Θεά (6), though not usual in prose, must be taken here as necessary to avoid the ambiguity that would have arisen from θεός: we have the more usual ἡ θεός in 10. Θεός ὥς (6) is borrowed from the poets almost as straight as ἐρίζειν (12) from *Il. B.* 555. Ἐτυχε τιμᾶσθαι (8) is a very unusual construction, and perhaps not right, as τοῦ may easily have fallen out. But possibly there was poetical warrant for it. On ἐν λόγοις ἦν (11) see note below. The most markedly poetical expression in the chapter is ἐχάρη τῷ δώρῳ (2). Δῶρον itself is a word mainly poetical, except in the technical sense of *bribery*, which δῶρα bears in the orators and laws: δωρεά is the regular prose word. X. however and Plato make free use of δῶρον. But there is no mistaking the poetical character of ἐχάρη (see Veitch, *Greek Verbs*, p. 696), whether we adhere to χαρῆς in *Plat. Rep.* 606c or alter it to χαίρης. The writer certainly had poetry, perhaps some particular passage, in his mind. Ἀναγορευθῆναι

(14) is a somewhat disputed form, but similar ones appear in X. (*Mem.* 1. 2. 35) and elsewhere, and this may stand or fall with them.

Δικαιότης (1) is an uncommon word which both X. and Plato use two or three times. The markedly substantival use of καλά with or without an article, sometimes with a pronominal or adjectival word attached to it (2. ἐτέρων καλῶν: cf. 12. 8 τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν, and ἐτέρων χρησίων in 13. 2) is familiar, like that of ἐσλά, in Pindar, but not common in prose. In X. cf. *Mem.* 2. 1. 27 καλῶν καὶ σεμνῶν ἐργάτην: *Sympr.* 8. 17 τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς καλά: *Hell.* 2. 4. 42 πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς. For θαυμαζέτω μηδεὶς (3) cf. the remark on 2. 2 above: for πολλὸν ὑπερέσχε (11) that on 4. 1. Cf. πολλὸν διενεγκόντες (5), τοσοῦτον ὑπερέσχε (7), τοσοῦτον ὑπερέβαλε (12). Αἵτιοι Τροίαν ἁλῶναι (13) is paralleled by *Hell.* 7. 4. 19 (αἷτιος ἐδόκει εἶναι τὴν μάχην συνάψαι): 7. 5. 17: *An.* 6. 6. 8, and the only parallel which I find quoted to τοὺς πατρώους καὶ μητρώους θεούς (15) is *Hell.* 2. 4. 21 πρὸς θεῶν πατρώων καὶ μητρώων. The single connecting τε (cf. 10. 23: 12. 8: 13. 11) occurs in 18.

In spite of the ornate style, no attempt is made to avoid hiatus. Notice for instance 10 πατὴρ δ' ἐν γήρᾳ ἐπιλανθανομένου τῆς θεοῦ οὐχ αὐτοῦ αἰτίαις ἔδυστύχησε.

Without pretending then that in this chapter there is much to be recognised as Xn., I think we may say that it certainly contains nothing in the vocabulary which is

inconsistent with his authorship. He was at all times addicted to the use of semi-poetical words, partly perhaps from natural inclination, partly from having picked up outside Attica words and usages not so familiar in Attic speech as among other Greeks. As to the topics and tone of the chapter, it seems arbitrary to say that X. can never have written so. In the *Cyropaedia* there are long passages of a tiresome and to some extent ornate kind. We have seen reasons for accepting the whole of the *Agésilas*, which contains a good deal of writing not in his usual vein. There is indeed nothing in *Cyropaedia* or *Agésilas* so bad as this. But we do not know at what time of his life X. may have written it. It need not have been composed at the same time as the body of the book. It may proceed from the immature taste of boyhood or the failing judgment of old age. We should be sorry to think that he composed it in the full vigour of his faculties, but still with all his merits X. was far from being a great writer, and there is no knowing what he might do in some ambitious attempt. The writer of the *Cynegeticus* carefully separates himself from the Sophists and modestly professes to be a mere layman in writing (13. 4): but a man does not always mean what he says, and he may very well have thought that he could, if he chose, beat them at their own weapons.

H. RICHARDS.

(To be continued.)

UPON MANILIUS.

i. 269, sq.

in cuius caudam contento derigit arcu
mixtus equo, uoluerem mittens iam iamque
sagittam.

So we should write for the *missurus* of the MSS. It is an insult to the memory of Manilius to suppose that he wrote the vulgarate with its postponement of *que* as feeble as it is licentious. Nothing parallel has been adduced. It is quite a different thing to place *-que* where it can eke out a dactyl in the second half of the pentameter, an affectation of Tibullus found in some other poets; and any one can feel that the position of *-ne* in Prop. 3, 16, 5 'quid faciam? obductis

committam mene tenebris?' bold though it is, is amply defended by the emphasis. The cause of the corruption is obvious, one of the two following *iam*'s was omitted and *missurus* was an inevitable metrical correction. If some prosaic reader had glossed *mittens* by *missurus*, the corruption was still easier. I see that in essentials Bentley has anticipated this correction, though he writes with less probability *iam mittens*. For *iam iamque* with the pres. part., compare v. 435 'intentans morsum, similis iam iamque tenenti.'

i. 412, sqq.

tum nobilis Argo
in caelum subducta mari, quod prima cucurrit,

emeritum magnis mundum tenet acta periculis,
servando dea facta deos.

Palaeographically nothing could be easier than Prof. Ellis' proposal to read *apta*, in the sense of 'adepta,' for *acta*, which is quite indefensible (*Noctes Manilianae*, p. 9). But the participle is weak and superfluous. Nothing else worth mentioning has been proposed. I would suggest that we should read 'emeritum magnis mundi tenet alta.' Though I change more letters than Prof. Ellis, I obtain a construction which would have been very puzzling to a copyist and therefore very liable to corruption. For 'emeritum magnis periculis' is in apposition to the whole verbal notion 'mundi tenet alta.' The Argo has gained the heights of heaven—a distinction fairly earned by the great perils that she has undergone (*periculis*, it may be observed in passing is a quite indefeasible expression). The construction may be illustrated from Hor. *serm.* 2, 1, 53 'dente lupo, cornu taurus petit, unde nisi intus monstratum?'

ii. 581 *sqq.*

In the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xxv. p. 267, I have proposed a restoration of this passage which is not however complete, as it leaves the incoherent order of the manuscript. It should be read and arranged as follows:

idcirco nihil ex semet natura creavit
582 pectore amicitiae maius nec rarius umquam,
589 perque tot aetates hominum tot tempora et annos
tot bella et varios etiam sub pace labores
591 cum Fortuna fidem quaerat, uix inuenit usquam.
583 unus erat Pylades, unus qui mallet Orestes
ipse mori: lis una fuit post saecula mortis,
alter cum raperet mortem, non cederet alter.
haec duo qui potuere sequi uestigia, poenis
optauitque reum sponsor non posse reuerti
sponsoremque reus timuit, ne solueret ipsum.
592 at quanta est scelerum moles per saecula cuncta
quamque onus inuidiae non excusabile terribis!

The three lines 582–591 clearly belong to the general statement of the proposition,

afterwards proved in detail, that nothing is so rare as true friendship. Not only so, but when they are placed in their true position, we can at once understand the cause of their displacement. It is that frequent source of error—homoioteleuton. The scribe's eye travelled from the *unquam* of 582 to the *usquam* of 589. The omitted lines were inserted in the first convenient place, that is before 592.

I should feel ungrateful if I failed to avail myself of the opportunity to thank Mr. E. J. Webb for the very full and kind review of my *Silua Maniliana* in the *Classical Review* of last July. At the same time I would add a few observations which were suggested by the perusal of that review.

On ii. 538 *sqq.*

ipse suae parti Centaurus tergo cedit;
usque adeo est homini uictus. quid mirer ab illis
nascenti Librae superari posse trigonum?

Mr. Webb dwells on the difficulty of the datives of the agent, *homini*, *Librae*, which seems to him increased by their occurrence in two consecutive lines. I confess that I do not feel that Jacob's *homini uictus* 'subjected to the man' is a whit more difficult than 'cuiquam genitus' (iv. 896) which I quoted or 'abreptusque patri Torquatus' (v. 107) of Torquatus ordered to execution by his father, and 'indutusque Ioui est' (ii. 491) of the Ram whose shape Jupiter assumed, which I might have quoted. As to 'terrae... remissa' i. 759 it seems impossible to me to translate it 'excused the earth'; but let that pass. However I do and did feel the obscurity of the second dative very acutely; and hence in the *Silua* I proposed '*Libra*' which would do away with all difficulty, and though I said that Manilius 'perhaps' wrote *Librae*, I am now prepared, it may be boldly, but I trust not audaciously, to maintain that the vicinity of *nascentis* corrupted *Libra* into the genitive.

I think Mr. Webb has hardly apprehended my argument on iv. 204 *sqq.*, which perhaps was not made sufficiently clear in my discussion. The MSS. have

Libantes noctem Chelae cum tempore lucis
[per nova maturi post annum tempora Bacchi]
mensurae tribuent usus ac pondera rerum.

As the whole context shows, Manilius is speaking only of the effects which being born under a 'Balance' would have upon the character and history of the *partus*. He

will be able to weigh and measure and assign. He will be a second Palamedes—a jurisconsult—a Seruius. Lastly he says ‘denique in ambiguo fuerit quodeumque locatum | et rectoris egens, diriment examina Librae.’ Now it is quite true, as Mr. Webb, quoting iii. 662 and ii. 658 *sqq.*, says, that Libra is connected with Bacchus as presiding over the time of the vintage. But this reference is entirely beside the mark here where the essential potency of the sign is set forth. Hence I regard v. 205 as an interloper, which has found its way into the present passage, because *Librantes*, which has been restored to the text by conjecture, was early corrupted into *Libantes*, the actual reading of every known manuscript of Manilius; and this corruption naturally suggested the connexion between Libra and the vintage.

The star which rose with the 26th degree of Libra (v. 338) will I am afraid never be discovered. For Mr. Webb says that we have ‘no right to suspect that Manilius made Antares rise with the 26th degree of Libra.’ But my friends of the Greenwich and Cambridge Observatories (Silua, p. 68), unless I have altogether misunderstood them, said that in the time of Manilius it did approximately rise then.

In conclusion let me touch on two literary points. Like Mr. Webb, I do not feel certain that Manilius has imitated Propertius. I have always used the word ‘uidetur’ (Silua, pp. 23, 46, 70) in speaking of their resemblances, to which I would here add two: Manilius i. 326 *sq.* (of Orpheus), ‘Manesque per ipsos | fecit iter domuitque infernas carmine leges.’ Prop. 4, 11, 3 ‘cum semel infernas intrarunt funera leges.’ Manilius ii. 24 ‘paciis opus’ may be a re-

miniscence of Prop. 3, 1, 17 *sq.* ‘sed quod pace legas, opus hoc de monte sororum | detulit intacta pagina nostra uia’ as the general subject of the whole context is the same. The difficulty of determining the question of obligation is that Manilius so frequently gives a fresh turn to a thought or expression of his predecessors which prevents its provenance from being apparent, and, as I have said in my preface, ‘priors... non tam exprimit quam aemulatur.’ I believe that he had read Catullus; but I have only noticed one clear imitation, and that is not apparent until we have accepted Prof. Ellis’ excellent emendation of ii. 476 *sq.* ‘affectus quoque diuisit uariantibus astris | atque aliorum oculos, aliorum contulit aures’ (*aliorum—aliorum*)=Catullus in the epithalamium 62, 15 ‘nos alio mentes, alio diuisimus aures.’ The resemblance is unmistakable; but how different the surroundings! Finally as Mr. Webb has protested against my selection of i. 715 ‘resupina facit mortalibus ora’ as a fine line (I am sure he would agree that it forms part of a fine passage), it may interest some of our readers to know that in the blank pages at the end of H. A. J. Munro’s copy of Jacob’s Manilius, a book now in my possession, there is only one entry and that is a transcript of the words in question. Though Munro was no great admirer of Manilius, as we know from the references to him in the commentary on Lucretius, it would seem that he thought the line a remarkable one. The idea which it conveys is, it is true, a simple one, the upturning of the face to the sky; but the expression is vivid and novel.

J. P. POSTGATE.

CICERO, PRO CLUENTIO.

§ 6. *Tum si quid erit praeteritum animo requiratis.* Some MSS. have a *me* for *animo*: read *animo a me requiratis*.

§ 9. *Quoniam caput illius atrocitatis... fuit innocentem pecunia circumuentum.* ST give *quoniam illius caput etc.* Read *quoniam illud caput illius etc.*

§ 15. *O mulieris scelus incredibile et praeter hanc unam in omni vita inauditum.* I incline to think that Cicero may here have written *unum* instead of *unam*, though the latter seems to occur in all MSS.

§ 31. *Hanc a natura [propriam] lucem accipere.* *Propriam* should be entirely removed from the text: it has probably resulted from the misunderstanding of an adscript *propitium*.

§ 34. *Quid de Oppianico suspicatus sit videtis, [quid iudicarit obscurum non est]; nam cuius etc.* The parallelism with what follows (*videtis... cognoscite*) suggests that the words which I have bracketed are superfluous, and have come in from the margin.

§ 39. For *tum suffragiis* read *tandem suffragiis*.

§ 51. *Quod non possim* [implere]. *Implere* does not occur in ST, the archetype of which seems to have abounded in contractions: read *quod non possim praestare*.

§ 53. *Quaerebat cur in eiusmodi locum [tam abditum] cur solus cur cum obsignata pecunia venisset. Tam abditum* has all the appearance of an adscript.

§ 72. *Hic ille planus improbissimus condemnatum iri*. In this passage Madvig proposed to delete *sese ab Oppianico destitutum*. But the source of the corruption does not lie there. Earlier in the sentence occur the words *queritur se ab Oppianico destitutum*. The removal of these words effects a great improvement in the whole period. And there can be little doubt as to where they came from. They are obviously 'index-words,' written in the margin to serve as a guide to a famous passage. Another instance of such 'index-words' creeping into the text will be found in *agitur causa* § 58: possibly also *aliqui Oppianicum gratis condemnavit* § 113. Cp. § 173.

§ 76. *Statuerunt*. Madvig proposed *statuerent*: perhaps rather *statuerant*.

§ 79. *Clamore hominum* ST is probably right for the vulgar *clamore*. The source of the confusion may be looked for in the preceding line where *opinionibus hominum* should perhaps be *opinionibus omnium*.

§ 83. *Cur cum in consilium mittebant Staienum iudicem cui quod tu dicis pecuniam dederant non requirebant*. Here S gives *cui quod*, T *quod*, and most codd. *cui*. Accept the reading of S and insert the words *tu dicis* after *quod*. Their resemblance to *iudicem* in what goes before may have caused their omission.

§ 84. *istam dedit conciliationis et gratiae fabulam*. These words, rejected by most editors, do not seem to be of the stuff of which adscripts are made. There is, in fact, something contemptuous in the repetition of the words used by Accius, which Cicero is, as it were, pillorying: cp. *haec illius reconciliatio* § 101. For *dedit* I should, however, read *edidit*.

§ 98. *Qui . . . dixerunt, qui accusati sunt ab iis qui erant . . . condemnati, quos ego*. Müller and Fausset retain this intolerable sentence in the form in which it occurs in the MSS. But there should be a full stop at *dixerunt*, and perhaps the best way to emend what follows is to read *Quid? Accusati sunt etc.*

§ 103. *Potest . . . accepisse tamen ob rem iudicandam pecuniam sicut causam pecunia*

capta nusquam Staienus eadem lege dixit. The words which I suggest for insertion here in order to fill a lacuna in the text will be found to convey the essence of the argument. The suggestion is of course based on the homoeoteleuton *pecuniam*—*pecunia*: cp. § 66 *ante iudicium datam, post iudicium ereptam*, where the words *datam, post iudicium* have slipped out in ST. In the text, the first *pecuniam* is not essential, as *accepisse* is often used absolutely.

§ 107. *Longum est de singulorum virtute ita dicere; quae [quia] cognita sunt ab omnibus verborum ornamenta non quaerunt*. In this much discussed sentence, the simplest remedy is, retaining the *ita* before *dicere* (Madvig altered it to *illa*), to remove *quia* from the text. Its presence is probably due to dittography, and the reflection which Cicero intended to make was a general one.

§ 113. *Iam *putaretur aliqui . . . sedisse*. *Putaretur* occurs in ST. Now in § 31 ST and b² all agree in *putaretur* while the other codd. give *videretur*. Unless *putaretur* be a mistake for *putetur* (cp. *arbitraretur* in the codd. for *arbitretur* §§ 25 and 96) I am inclined to think it is the result of a misunderstood contraction for *videtur* (or *videntur*?). The other MSS. have worked out the problem to *potuit*, which Müller adopts: but *potuit sedisse* is not likely,—*poterit* would be preferable. Read therefore *iam videtur* (*videntur*?) *aliqui . . .*

§ 124. Read *unum denique aliquod a Cluentio aliquando profectus pecuniae vestigium ostende*. T omits *aliquod* after *denique*: S has *aliquid* after *Cluentio*. Probably both *aliquod* and *aliquando* should find a place in the text: cp. § 92 *si in aliquam legem aliquando non iuraverat*.

§ 127. *Aliquid esse et quod de his duobus habuerint compertum de ceteris comperisse*. The insertion of *non* (before *comperisse*) by editors, following Graevius, does not seem to be the true line of emendation for this difficult sentence. There is a parallelism in *aliquid esse* and *comperisse* which must not be overlooked. The insertion of *et* before *quod* seems to be the first step required in order to recover this parallelism. Then if *aliquid esse* cannot mean by itself 'that there is still a something' (i.e. something not generally known, cp. § 149), which is the sense required by the context, it is here that emendation must be attempted. *Aliquid esse postea cognitum et quod . . . habuerint compertum . . . comperisse* may be taken as representing the sense of the passage, as I understand it.

§ 153. *ceterique eiusdem ordinis*. This

reading is now generally adopted by editors. Most codd. have *ceterique huiuscemodi (eiuscemodi ST) ordinis*. Perhaps in a direct appeal to the representatives of the equestrian order on the bench before him, Cicero may have said *huiusce vestri ordinis*.

Ibid. I suspect the words *haec recusarent et*: they may have arisen out of a marginal gloss on *recusando* in the line above, *cum haec recusarent*.

§ 173. There is something odd about *Faciliusne potuit quam in poculo*, which seems again a sort of abridgment of the whole argument that may have come in from the margin. Following *venenum* at the close of the preceding sentence, I should propose to continue at once *Num latius potuit abditum aliqua in parte panis etc.*

§ 192. *Mulierem quandam Larinatem illum usque a mari supero Romam proficisci*. This is Müller's reading, adopted by Mr. Fausset. Madvig proposed *Larino atque illum*: the codd. give *Larino atque illum*. It seems to me that *Larino* ought to stand: and the

exclamations of the bystanders might best be expressed by *Mulierem quandam Larino adesse: illum usque etc.* In the direct 'Mulier quaedam Larino adest' would naturally be followed by some such 'nearer definition' as 'Illa usque a mari supero Romam proficiscitur' etc.

§ 195. *Vos iudices, quos huic A. Cluentio quasi aliquos deos . . . fortuna esse voluit*. 'Quasi aliquos deos' is Halm's emendation, and is accepted by Müller and Fausset. But *deos* here cannot be disconnected from *deos* in the preceding sentence,—*deos . . . aspernatos esse confido*. The MSS. give *quos alios* T, *alios* S. Here *alios* is undoubtedly right, 'other gods,'—different, that is to say, from the *di immortales* of the previous sentence. I propose, accordingly, to return to the reading of Lambinus (adopted by Classen and Ramsay) *quosdam alios deos*, or rather (on palaeographical grounds) *alios quosdam deos*.

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QUIS FOR ALIQUIS?

The following essay will treat either textually or exegetically these passages:

- Plautus, *Captivi* 45 sq.
 „ (*Rudens* 925)
 „ *Bacchides* 274
 „ *Mostellaria* 655 (cf. *Amph.* 563,
Pseud. 1130)
 Terence, *Eunuchus* 252
 „ „ 511
 „ *Heautontimorumenos* 458
 „ *Adelphi* 443
 Cicero, *de Finibus* 3, 21, 70–71
 Horace, *Sermones*, 1, 3, 63
 Cicero, *ad Atticum* 6, 1, 6
 „ *de Officiis* 3, 6, 60
 „ *de Natura Deorum* 1, 24, 66.

It has been supposed that in these passages we have *quis* used at random for *aliquis*, in exception to the well known substitution of *quis* for *aliquis* after (1) *si* and its compounds, (2) negatives (*nē*), (3) interrogatives (*num*, *an* etc.), (3) relatives.

Plautus's usage of *quis* has been studied by Prehn in his *Quaestiones Plautinae*.¹

He makes the following classification:

	<i>quis</i>	120 times
i <i>si</i>		
ii <i>quasi</i>	„	3 „
iii <i>ubi</i>	„	6(?) „
iv <i>quando</i>	„	2 „
v <i>quom</i>	„	1 „
vi <i>num-</i>	„	very common
vii <i>ec-</i>	„	„ „
viii <i>an</i>	„	3 times
ix <i>-ne</i>	„	1 „
x comparative } + <i>quam</i> }	„	1 „
xi <i>ne</i>	„	passim
xii <i>nisi</i>	„	„

None of these usages would be held to run counter to the classical prose style. In a few examples however an at random use of *quis* for *aliquis* has been claimed; these Prehn reviews, and denies the claim. *Capt.* 43 sq.

*reducemque faciet liberum in patriam ad patrem
 imprudens, itidem ut saepe iam in multis locis
 plus insciens quis fecit quam prudens boni.*

¹ Strassburg, 1887.

By denying the 'Plautinity' of the prologues Prehn removes the difficulty here. The question of the genuineness of the prologues may after all be an open one (cf. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen* p. 184 sq.) and we need not go into it now. It may be that we should correct *quis* to *qui* in this passage, a correction involving no more than the assumption that *quis fecit* is dittographic for *qui fecit*. The passage lends itself to the following translation :

'And he will fetch him back free into his own country to his father,
All unawares,—just as often times before now in many a place,
The man who (*qui*) 'builded better than he knew.'

We may consent to waive the difficulty of the position of *qui*, I think, if we examine some of Vergil's trajections; *Aen.* x. 530 sq. :

Aeneas contra *cui* talia reddit :
argenti atque auri memoras *quae* multa
talenta etc.

Aen. x. 708 :

...aper multos Vesulus *quem* pinifer annos
etc.

Vergil may also be cited for a simile very like the one under discussion, so far as construction goes; *Aen.* ii. 379 sq. :

improvisum aspris *veluti qui* sentibus anguem
pressit humi nitens trepidusque repente
refugit
attollentem iras et caerulea colla tumentem,
haud secus Androgeos visu tremefactus
abibat.

For my own part I am inclined to doubt whether an indefinite *aliquis* might stand at all in our passage. We know how in Greek the gnomic aorist arose out of the typical specific instance, and so here I take *qui fecit* as a gnomic phraseology such as we see in the *qui pressit* of the Vergilian sentence.

The next passage cited by Prehn, *Rud.* 925, falls away, for the manuscript reading does not give *quid* but *quidem* and so all the late texts read.

At *Bacch.* 274 etiamn'est quid porro ?

Prehn corrects quite unnecessarily by put-

ting a question-mark after *est*, instead of simply referring the example to his class ix.

The three remaining examples amount to but one, being but varieties of the same oath-formula. I cite only *Most.* 655 :

malum !—quod isti di deaeque omnes duint.

Prehn's explanation of this oath is as follows : "ne id quidem constat, tres ultimos versus, in quorum introitu *malum quod* legitur, huic usui vindicandos esse. Fortasse '*quod*' illud nihil aliud est nisi particula aliqua optativa, ita ut idem fere atque '*qui*' valeat." As my punctuation has already hinted I propose to take *quod* as a relative, interpreting 'the deuce ! may it take you (and not me) etc.'

From Terence Prehn cites *Eun.* 252 :

negat *quis* ; nego etc.
and *ib.*, 511
roget *quis* - - ne noram quidem.

It does not seem to have occurred to him that these are protases, and that thus *quis* for *aliquis* gives a very broad hint that *si* has been omitted.

The examples for *quid* are as follows :

Heaut. 458 :

pytissando modo mihi
quid vini absumpsit, 'sic hoc' dicens, 'asperum,
pater, hoc est etc.'

Here *quid* is clearly equal to *quantum*. I compare Cic. *Rosc. Amer.* 133 : *quid* praeterea caelati argenti ? *quid* stragulae vestis ? *quid*...? *quid*...? *quid* marmoris apud illum putatis esse ? *tantum* scilicet *quantum* e multis splendidisque familiis in turba et rapinis coacervari una in domo potuit.

The remaining Terence example is *Adel.* 443 :

haud cito mali *quid* ortum ex hoc sit publice

and here it is most easy to read *mali <ali> quid*. I feel some difficulty, however, in the interpretation of this line but chiefly if *ortum...sit* be taken as a perf. subj. ; I can see no reason why we should not confine *ortum* to predicative apposition with *<ali> quid*, and render the verse as follows : 'there would not likely be any evil to the state with him as its source (*ortum ex hoc*).'

It is barely possible however to take *cito* as a verb, used here in a mock-solemn, mock-official sense 'I will not undertake to pro-

claim etc.' In that case *hoc* must needs be neuter referring to what has gone before, with the sense of 'this ill custom.' Terence seems however not to have used the verb *cito*, if the Delphin index can be trusted, though Plautus has it two or three times.

Lewis's article on *quis* in Harpers' Latin Lexicon (q.v. i. A.) is particularly inadequate in its treatment of *quis* as a random substitute for *aliquis*: Plaut. *Pseud.* 1284 has to fall away since the Ambrosianus reads *aliquis*. The two citations from Tacitus show *quis* after *quantum*, and fall of course under the rule for relatives. Cicero *de Fin.* 3, 21, 71 is a stock citation, but Riemann (*Syntaxe Latine*² § 12 Rem. 1) tacitly explains it in explaining in the same connection *de Fin.* 3, 21, 70: *fatentur alienum esse a iustitia—detrahere quid de aliquo*: here *detrahere quid* is a substitute for *si quid detrahas*.

An instance is cited from Horace *Serm.* i. 3, 63:

simplicior quis et est qualem me saepe
libenter
obtulerim tibi, Maecenas, ut forte legentem
aut tacitum inpellat quovis sermone: 'mo-
lestus
communi sensu plane caret' inquit etc.

Here *simplicior quis* is a protasis with omitted *si*, just such as we saw in the two passages of Terence's *Eunuchus* cited above.

The Latin grammars sometimes give the formula *dixerit quis* when they treat of the potential subjunctive, and some of them treat this subjunctive as apodotic, always implying an omitted protasis (e.g. Allen and Greenough 311a). Roby (*Latin Grammar* ii. p. ci. sq.) makes a strong argument to prove that this is a future perfect. He could cite, in what is presumably a nearly complete list of examples, but two examples of *dixerit quis*, the rule being *dixerit aliquis* or *quispiam*; the passages are Cic. *de Off.* iii. § 76: 'non igitur faciat' *dixerit quis* 'quod utile sit, quod expediat?' immo intellegat nihil nec expedire nec utile esse, quod sit injustum, and *ib.* § 102: 'quid est igitur,' *dixerit quis* 'in iure iurando? num iratum timemus Iovem?' To me it seems perfectly clear that in the former passage *dixerit* and *intellegat* are a protasis and apodosis, while in the latter *dixerit* is taken up at the end of § 103 in the apodosis (*sed*) *prima videamus*.

I cite from Roby (§ 1545, 1542) the following examples with *aliquis* which seem to me to make for this explanation: Cic.

Verr. 4, 5, § 10: *dicet aliquis*; 'noli isto modo cum Verre agere.' sic *agam* etc., where *agam* is a clear apodosis to *dicet*. At Livy 37, 53, 25: 'quid ergo postulas?' *dicat aliquis*. ego, patres conscripti... nullos accolas nec finitimos habere quam vos *malo* etc. the apodosis in *malo* (= *dico me malle*) to *dicat* is very clear. These passages bring to mind the standing ellipsis with the parenthetic purpose clause of a principal sentence with *dicam* (*dico*), though Cicero uses the fuller form occasionally (cf. *pro leg. Manil.* § 20). The protactic nature of this construction is clear from the nearly fixed position of the pronoun after the verb, with the verb at the head of the sentence; while the use of *quis* for *aliquis* seems also to lend weight to this explanation. It may be noted however that *dixerit quis* is inserted within the bounds of the statement under quotation, and this seems not to be true of the longer indefinite *aliquis*, though *dixerit quispiam* corresponds in regard of this once to *dixerit quis*, and once to *dixerit aliquis*. Of course the greater frequency of *dixerit aliquis* shows that the Romans had lost consciousness in Cicero's time of the finesse shown by Terence in using *negat quis* for *siquis negat*. The preference for *aliquis* was due to the formal absence of *si*, though we cannot doubt that in Terence's time *quis* might have been used to palliate that formal absence.

Zumpt's *Grammar* cites Cic. *ad Att.* 6, 1, 6: [His de causis] *credo Scaptium iniquius quid de me scripsisse*, but Nobbe reads *de me aliquid* and so do Boot and Wesenberg. If there is any manuscript warrant for *quid* here we may well believe that *quid de me scripsisse* stands for *quid de me <scripserit> scripsisse*, *quid...scripserit* echoing a '*quid Scaptius dixit?*' that was floating in Cicero's mind.

Another passage is *de Off.* 3, 6, 30 where *aut precedes quid*: now in either a capital or minuscule manuscript *aut* is liable to be read *alii* and our manuscript may have stood originally *AUTALIQVVS*, which would be shortened by haplography to *aut quid* (cf. Lindsay's *Textual Emendation* p. 87).

At *Nat. Deor.* 1, 24, 66 the text reads *priusque te quis de omni vitae statu, quam de ista auctoritate dieicerit*. Here we may argue that *TEALIQVVS* was the original reading and there was a skipping from *TE* past *LI* owing to their similar ductus. It is not impossible though that the text ran originally *QUËPRIUSQUIS* which would be first copied *que prius quis*, and then corrected to

priusque<*te*> *quis*, *te* being an emendatory insertion from a grammatical scribe. We cannot justify *prius...quam quis* here as at Plaut. *Men.* 846 where *priusquam...quid* is equivalent to *ne quid*.

I have now gone through all the cases of *quis* as a random substitute for *aliquis*, so far as I can trace them up in any books accessible to me. Every one of them is either capable of a syntactical interpretation that correlates it with the employment of *quis* as a regular substitute for *aliquis*, or

has a textual environment which would have let *ali-* fall away easily by haplography. Under these circumstances it seems to me that every such alleged use of *quis* must be subjected to an examination for itself; and in Plautus and Terence, for whom I have given above what are presumably all the occurrences, the evidence seems to me to permit us to deny any such usage of *quis* altogether.

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NOTE ON A CAMBRIDGE MANUSCRIPT OF THE *DE SUBLIMITATE*.

THE Cambridge University Library possesses a manuscript of the *De Sublimitate* which has often excited the interest of foreign scholars. There has, in fact, been some disposition, both at home and abroad, to hint that the manuscript is an insufficiently prized treasure. Early in the century Benjamin Weiske, in his edition of the treatise, expressed the view that an accurate collation of the entire codex was to be desired; and his opinion has been echoed by subsequent editors, such as Spurdens, Vaucher, and Pujol. No report on the manuscript has, I believe, hitherto been published in response to these suggestions. I venture, therefore, to print a few memoranda recently made at Cambridge.

The general result of an examination of the manuscript is, I fear, disappointing. The Codex Cantabrigiensis—or Codex Eliensis, as it is more usually called—is very late. It is an Italian manuscript, belonging probably to the early part of the sixteenth century; the year 1530 A.D. might be named as an approximate date for it. The reputation of late Italian manuscripts is well known; and in the present instance all late manuscripts suffer from the inevitable comparison with the early and excellent Codex Parisinus (P 2036) of the *De Sublimitate*.

The cases in which Cod. El. presents a better reading than P 2036 are so rare that, when they do occur, they may pretty safely be regarded as corrections of a more or less obvious sort. In xxvii. 1, for example, Cod. El. has *πρέπουσαν* where P gives *τρέπουσαν*. The former reading is clearly preferable, and it now stands in the best continental editions. But there is, neither here nor elsewhere, anything to lead us to suppose that El. is not derived, ultimately, from P.

At the same time it is only proper that El., here as elsewhere, should receive any credit to which it is entitled. Iahn-Vahlen and Spengel-Hammer in their critical editions, and Rothstein in *Hermes* xxii. 544, attribute the reading *πρέπουσαν* to Robortello, not knowing (in the absence of the collation desiderated by Weiske) that any manuscript authority for it exists. Similarly in iii. 4 Iahn-Vahlen report *ρόπικόν* as the reading of P, and *τροπικόν* as the reading of the remaining manuscripts. As a matter of fact, Cod. El. coincides here with P, as also in vii. 2 (*ἀνάθημα*), in ii. 2 (*παρορίσαι*), and in many other instances.

Another case in which Iahn-Vahlen ascribe a reading to Robortello will be found in ix. 9. The late form *θεσμοδότης*, which Robortello there gives in place of *θεσμοθέτης*, is however found in El. In view of this and similar points of resemblance there seems some probability in the suggestion Dr. Rendel Harris makes to me that El. may have supplied the groundwork of the *editio princeps* published by Robortello at Basle in 1554. In xxii. 4 it is interesting to note that, in El., *αὔχσιν* has been changed, by the scribe himself I think, into *αὔξιν*. Rothstein (*Hermes* xxii. 537), together with Iahn-Vahlen and Spengel-Hammer, regards *αὔξιν* as a conjecture of Robortello's; and so it may have been if we may imagine that Robortello himself introduced the alteration into El., or that it was made at a later time from his edition. Of course we must not exclude the further possibility that El. is of an even later date than that above suggested. If so, it might be a transcript, instead of being the original, of Robortello's edition. But if it is a transcript, it is certainly (as could easily be shown) not

an exact transcript. On the whole, the probability appears to be that it had some share in inspiring Robortello's text, which for that of an *editio princeps* is surprisingly good. Some of the references entered in the margin of the manuscript seem to connect it with Switzerland. For instance, in x. 6 El. gives a marginal reference, for a quotation from Aratus, to '137 in codice Basiliensi,' where the number of the page (137) corresponds with that of the edition of Aratus published at Basle in 1536. Again, in xix. 1 a similar reference is given, for a passage from Xenophon, to '384, 1 in Cod. Genev.,' where the page (384. 1) corresponds with that of the edition of Xenophon published (probably at Geneva) by H. Stephanus in 1561. It is a much-disputed question what Robortello's source was, and the above considerations render it possible that El. may have contributed something to a text which tallies exactly neither with it nor with any other known manuscript, and which may be to some small extent the outcome of conjectural emendation on the part of the editor himself.

In the margin of El. there are not only references to authors, but also some Italian notes, written in a neat and elegant hand, apparently of a somewhat later date than the MS. itself. As these notes are of some interest and have not, as far as I am aware, been previously printed, I give them here. It will be seen that they seem to accord with the edition of Manutius rather than with that of Robortello. They all occur in the latter half of the treatise. The first (Cod. El. fol. 28 v.) refers to the long passage quoted (xxxii. 5) from the *Timaeus* of Plato: *tutto questo è confusamente preso da Platone*. The criticism thus conveyed is just; the citation is a loose one. The second (fol. 31 v.) relates to the words τό γέ τοι περί Φρίνης (φρυγίης P) ἢ Ἀθηνογένους λογίδιον ἐπιχειρήσας γράφειν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἂν Ὑπερίδην συνέστησεν (xxxiv. 3): *tutto questo dubito che sia stato trasportato dal margine nel testo, et che sia giudicio di qualche uno che biasima Longino, perchè da tante lodi a Hyperide*. The relevance of this remark is not obvious, but Manutius acts in the spirit of it when he omits the suspected words from his edition. Robortello, on the other hand has them. The third note (fol. 37 v.) runs: *in Herodoto non si leggono così continuate queste parole*. The words in question are those quoted from Herodotus in *De Subl.* xliii. 1. They are taken, as the note implies, from separate passages of Herodotus (vii.

188, vii. 191). The last note (fol. 40 v.) is: *qui manca peravventura qualche voce significativa altro vitio che seguita le gran ricchezze, et poi uien dietro καὶ ἄλλα*. There certainly appears to be some slight lacuna in the passage, though opinions may differ as to what it is and where it comes. Both Robortello and Manutius retain ἄλλα, which later editors, beginning with Pearce, have mostly altered into ἄμα.

These are all the Italian notes. A word may be added as to the general relation of Manutius' text (as given in his edition) to that of the Codex Eliensis. There is no close conformity between them. Sometimes (e.g. ii. 1 φησί, iii. 1 κέκραγά πω, iii. 4 μήποτε) the manuscript gives the better reading; at other times (e.g. ii. 2 δειλότερα, ii. 2 τόλμη, ii. 2 δεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ., iii. 1 κατανθρακώσομαι, iii. 3 δυσφυλακτότατον) the edition. In ii. 1 φησί (singular) originally stood in El., but it has been altered into φασί. It may be added that the better readings of Manutius are often found in the margin of El.

The relation of El. not only to Manutius' text and that of Robortello, but to P 2036 and other MSS., might well be illustrated by a passage in i. 2, 3, where the correct text in all probability is: αὐτὸς δ' ἡμῖν, ἑταῖρε, τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους, ὡς πέφυκας καὶ καθήκει, συνεπικρινεῖς ἀληθέστατα· εὖ γὰρ δὴ ὁ ἀποφηνάμενος, τί θεοὶς ὅμοιον ἔχομεν, 'ἐνεργεσίαν' εἶπας 'καὶ ἀλήθειαν.' γράφων δὲ πρὸς σέ, φίλτατε, τὸν παιδείας ἐπιστήμονα, σχεδὸν ἀπῆλλαγμα κ.τ.λ. In this passage the best readings are in all cases preserved by P 2036,

viz. πέφυκας (πεφυκας P), ἔχομεν, εἶπας, and φίλτατε τόν. In the first case and the last, El. and all the other MSS., together with Rob. and Man., give πέφυκε and φίλτατον. In the remaining two cases El. resembles P in presenting the better readings ἔχομεν and εἶπας (ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπών in marg. P), while all the other MSS. give ἔχοιμεν and all (with two exceptions) give εἶπε, which reading also appears in the margin of El. (ἴσ. εἶπε). Both Rob. and Man. have the better reading ἔχομεν, and both have the worse reading εἶπε. The general conclusion to be drawn from an examination of this and other passages appears to be that, while El. cannot claim to have any independent worth when compared with P 2036, it is in some respects superior to the remaining MSS. and to the editions of Robortello and Manutius.

The text of the *De Sublimitate* presents many points of special interest, with regard to which it is natural to interrogate any

unexamined manuscript. But if we look to Cod. El. for fresh light in such matters, we shall hardly find it. Its ascription of the treatise is the traditional one, the name of Longinus being found on one of the blank leaves at its commencement. Nor is there any variation from tradition in the form of the names *Κεκκίλιον* and *Φλωρεντιανὲ* which occur in the opening sentence. The usual lacunae, again, are indicated in ii. 3, ix. 4, xii. 2, xviii. 2, xxx. 2, xxxvii. The marginal additions in El. are couched, as has already been indicated, in Latin or Italian, while Greek alternatives are introduced by the customary contractions *γρ.* or *ἔσ.* In the earlier part of the text there occurs more than once a special symbol of which the significance is not clear; perhaps it is meant for the guidance of the printer, though it can hardly indicate the beginning or end of paragraphs. At the conclusion of the treatise El. terminates abruptly with the word *ἡμῖν*, but a Latin note ('*nam cecilius aliter scribebat, vide G. 7*') implies that *δοκεῖ* must be added to complete the sense.

With regard to the history of the MS. little is known. It owes its title of *Eliensis* to the fact that it was once in the possession of John Moore (b. 1646, d. 1714), a Fellow

of Clare College, who was bishop successively of Norwich and Ely. Moore's famous library of manuscripts and books was purchased by George the First, and by him given to the University of Cambridge. I see some reason to suppose that the Codex Eliensis thus acquired may be identical with that which since Langbaine's time has been called *Dudithianus* or *Junianus*, but which exists nobody seems to know where. Andrew Dudith, the Hungarian divine, was a friend of Robortello and Paul Manutius. He had travelled in Italy, and was conversant with the Italian language. In the year 1555 (the date of the publication of Manutius' edition, that of Robortello having appeared in the previous year) Dudith was in England in the train of Cardinal Pole. That he was interested in 'Longinus' to the extent of completing a translation of his work, we know from a passage in the Preface (1571 A.D.) to his version of the *De Thucyd. Histor. Iudicium* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. It is possible that in translating the *De Sublimitate* he made use of the codex subsequently called both by his name and by that of the Patrick Young (*Junius*) from whose hands it passed into those of Langbaine.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

MENANDER'S Γεωργός.

SINCE Prof. Blass discovered that the six fragments of the Menander papyrus edited last year by Prof. Nicole, form only one leaf, and that the 87 lines or parts of lines are therefore to be read continuously, there is even less upon which to reconstruct the plot of the play than there was in Prof. Nicole's arrangement of the fragments. At the same time, what there is of course more intelligible, and the foundation given more secure. I venture to offer, not a reconstruction, which would be folly, but a few remarks on the situation, as it may be gathered from the fragments themselves. I give, in the first place, the situation as I gathered it from reading the text of the papyrus as edited by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, and from the 'other known fragments of the Γεωργός,' printed at the end of their edition. I purposely refrained from reading their Note on the *Dramatis Personae*, Translation, and Commentary, until after I had arrived at the conclusions here offered:

a fact I mention merely because any slight value that my remarks may have arises solely from the fact that they are an independent corroboration of Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt's view of the piece.

The young man who is speaking when our papyrus fragment begins, and who may be called, for brevity, the Lover, is the lover of a girl (*τὴν κόρην* l. 30, *τὴν παῖδα* l. 74), has already seduced her (*ἡδίκηκώς* l. 30, cp. Fragments (2) (3) (4)), and would gladly marry her, as is evident from his desire to escape the γάμος arranged for him by his father (ll. 5-21): but though she is free-born (Fragm. (5) *κόρης ἐλευθέρης*), her family is poor (Fragm. (2) *τὴν ὑμετέραν πενίαν*, where *ὑμετέραν* implies at least two persons: cp. Fraggm. (3) [P.S. also l. 80 *τῶν δυστυχῶν*: see below]), and the Lover has not ventured to tell his own father of the *liaison* (Fragm. (5): cp. the evident ignorance of the Lover's father in arranging the γάμος for his son). *ἡ κόρη* has a brother, *ὁ μερακίσκος* (l. 4:

l. 18 τὸν ἀδελφὸν, ll. 46, 67 τὸ μεράκιον, l. 70 τῆς ἀδελφῆς), who at some time previous to the opening of the play has gone to work in the country on the farm of Cleaenetus, ὁ γεωργός,—the title-*rôle* (ll. 4, 18, 46). The mother of these two, Myrrhine by name, is one of the speaking characters of the papyrus (l. 58 ὁ μερακίσκος is called her son; cp. her helpless grief in the scene with Philinna ll. 22–31, and ll. 86, 87). Myrrhine is aware of her daughter's condition, and knows who the seducer is; facts she has communicated to an elderly (l. 25 ὁ τέκνον, l. 54 γράδιον) friend, Philinna, who is indignantly sympathetic and quite ready to bring τὸν ἀλαζονα (l. 26) to book.

Matters have now reached a crisis, because the Lover's father, taking the opportunity of his son's absence on business at Corinth, has prepared a surprise for him on his return in the shape of a marriage with his own daughter, his son's half-sister (l. 10 ὁμοπατρία). The papyrus introduces us to the Lover, lately arrived home to find the marriage preparations well advanced. In the conflict of his fear of disclosing his *liaison* and his desire to avoid the γάμος, he has left his father's house without making any disclosure or objection, and is now hesitating whether or no to knock at his sweetheart's door. His hesitation is due to his ignorance as to whether the brother has come back from the country or not; but whether he wishes to find or to avoid the brother is not absolutely clear (see below). In these first 20 lines then, we have the normal young lover of the New Comedy, so familiar to us in Plautus, timid and hesitating, not at all devoid of good feeling, but incapable of forming a plan of action, and one feels sure that there was the confidential slave somewhere in the play to get him out of one difficulty and into another.

As the Lover goes out, *enter* Myrrhine and her elderly friend, Philinna. Myrrhine has just confided her troubles to Philinna, who has more than half a mind to break in upon the marriage preparations with the announcement of the bridegroom's 'villainy.' Myrrhine, of a temper more apt to lachrymose resignation, is inclined to wash her hands of the young man. To these *enters* Davus, whom Myrrhine recognises at once as "the servant, Davus, coming from the country" (ll. 31, 32), and who, with an inferior fellow-slave, ὁ Σύπος, is bringing flowers and evergreens for the wedding. That Davus and Myrrhine are well acquainted is evident from the whole scene; that Davus does not belong to Myrrhine's

household follows of course from the situation as here conceived, because he is evidently a servant of the house where the γάμος is to take place. Further, his mode of addressing Myrrhine, γεννικὴ καὶ κοσμία γύναι, is more natural if Myrrhine is a neighbour than if she is his master's wife, or a lady of the family. Davus brings news from the farm of Cleaenetus: and in all probability it is the same farm which has supplied the flowers and which Davus characterises (ll. 35–39) in the usual mocking manner of the comic slave. That there should be some connection between the Γεωργός and the Lover's family on the one hand and the Γεωργός and the wronged girl's family on the other, is probably one element in the entanglement of the plot. The news that Davus brings to Myrrhine is that, her son having nursed Cleaenetus through an illness consequent upon a self-inflicted spade-wound in the leg, the latter, in gratitude for such filial attention (l. 58 οἶονεὶ νομίσας ἑαυτοῦ πατέρ'), has promised to marry the youth's sister, Myrrhine's daughter (l. 74). 'They (*i.e.* Cleaenetus and ὁ μερακίσκος) will be here directly,' says Davus: 'he (Cleaenetus) will go back with the girl to the country'; and he apparently adds something to the effect that the family will be satisfied, and that the girl might do worse than accept the retirement that this match with an elderly farmer offers. Lines 77–79 are, however, almost entirely wanting. This news of Davus only sends the anxious and tearful mother into greater agitation, and the papyrus leaves her wringing her hands and exclaiming, 'I don't know *what* to do now! O dear, τίνας ἢ παῖς ἐστὶ.'

So far it seems fairly plain sailing. But lines 67–71 raise an interesting question. There we are told that the old farmer, as he lies idle and convalescent, 'inquires into the young fellow's affairs.' 'What affairs?' says Myrrhine (according to the text of Grenfell and Hunt, which seems probable). Unfortunately the answer of Davus is considerably mutilated. He seems to say that perhaps the farmer was not altogether unacquainted with the young fellow's affairs; but that the latter told him about his sister, and (if Grenfell and Hunt are right in inserting <τε>) about Myrrhine and somebody else whose name is lost. Now one's first impulse is to suppose that the μερακίσκος had learnt, either before leaving home or since he was on the farm, of his sister's situation, and that this is the subject of his conversation with the farmer. But would it not be carrying gratitude to a high pitch of absurdity, even

for a sentimental *ἄγροικος* of the New Comedy, to promise to marry the sister knowing that her good name is already compromised? And it is not necessary to suppose that the conversation between the invalid and his young nurse related to more than the poverty of the latter's family, the charms of his sister, and his desire to see her comfortably settled. Whether we suppose the *μειρακίσκος* to be acquainted with his sister's situation or not, will depend partly on our interpretation of the Lover's speech (l. 4 and ll. 18, 19). It is evident from l. 4 (whether *ἐν ᾧ δὲ* be the right supplement or not) that the *μειρακίσκος* 'was still in the country' at the time of the Lover's visit to Corinth. And it is probable that in ll. 18, 19 the Lover is anxious to *avoid* the *μειρακίσκος*. He hesitates about knocking because he does not know whether or no the *μειρακίσκος* is at home again. Suppose he wishes to *find* the *μειρακίσκος*. Then what is he afraid of? Evidently of meeting some other occupant of the house. But that danger is present in any case, and therefore his ignorance of the presence or absence of the *μειρακίσκος* would, on this supposition, be no reason (*γὰρ*) for his hesitation. But if he wants to *find* his sweetheart or her mother, and to *avoid* the *μειρακίσκος*, his hesitation is naturally caused simply by his ignorance of the latter's whereabouts. Now why is it that the Lover wishes to avoid the *μειρακίσκος*? From the indication afforded by ll. 4-6, connecting in some way the absence of both the *μειρακίσκος* and the Lover with the paternally arranged *γάμος*, it is plausible to suppose that what the Lover fears is that the *μειρακίσκος*, coming home, has learnt, from the marriage preparations next door, or from his sister's confession, or both, to regard him as the treacherous seducer of his sister. This still leaves us in doubt whether the *μειρακίσκος* was formerly (as would be quite in keeping with the typical New Comedy) an accomplice of his sister's Lover, until he discovered the impending *γάμος* with another; or whether the love-affair had been unknown to him. On the whole I prefer the latter alternative, partly because, if he had been the Lover's accomplice, the Lover's first idea would probably be to find him and explain how matters stood, partly because the conversation of the *μειρακίσκος* and the *γεωργός* seems to me better understood in accordance with this theory.

The shorter fragments throw practically no light upon the plot, other than the slight indications I have noted above. (5) is ad-

dressed to the Lover, probably by his confidential slave. It might on the other hand be spoken by the Lover's father after the *dénouement*, the present tenses being merely exclamatory. (1) is of course a remark of the farmer after he has come to town. (2) should also, I fancy, be given to the farmer. He addresses this bit of proverbial philosophy to Myrrhine perhaps, or to the *μειρακίσκος*, but anyhow includes the family in its scope (*ὑμετέρων*). (3) and (4), both addressed to Gorgias, whose name appears nowhere else, are both, I believe, spoken by one person on one occasion. The speaker is attempting to restrain Gorgias from resenting his wrongs in a rash or unmeasured manner: and he appeals to his reason, pointing out that, however much he may have right on his side, he is only a poor man, and *εὐκαταφρόνητος* in consequence, and, if he goes to the Lover's father to complain, he will be treated as a mere *συκοφάντης*, telling his tale merely for the sake of *τοῦ λαβεῖν*. If this reading of the two fragments be correct, Gorgias can hardly be any other than the *μειρακίσκος* himself (or his father, if his father is alive, which seems rather unlikely). The speaker is not unlikely to be a slave, whose object is to prevent an inopportune *dénouement*: if so he is probably in league with the Lover's slave; or maybe he is our friend Davus himself, who was evidently on friendly terms with Myrrhine's household.

Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt say (p. 17): 'following Nicole and Blass we should identify Gorgias with the father' of the Lover. This, of course, is quite possible. But *εὐκαταφρόνητος* does not seem to me to be so *naturally* addressed to the Lover's father by someone attempting to win his attention to the tale of wrong, as to the girl's brother burning to go to the Lover's father with the said tale. And I venture with diffidence to suggest that the two pieces, both in tone and subject, harmonise very well in the account given of them above; whereas the suggestion (Grenfell and Hunt, p. 26) that (3), as well as (4), is an 'exposition addressed to Gorgias by someone who wished to reconcile him to the marriage of his son with the poor girl in place of the *δομοπαρία*,' seems to leave the expressions *κὰν πάνυ λέγῃ δίκαια, συκοφάντης, κὰν ἀδικούμενος τύχη*, quite untouched.

In the above account I assumed that Davus was a slave of the Lover's father's household. I see that Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt (p. 17) make him the servant of Cleaenetus. Line 32, to which they refer, leaves this point doubtful, since *ἐξ ἄγρου* may

be taken with *προσέρχεται*. But I prefer their assumption, because it suits the lines in which Davus talks about the farm better than the supposition that he is a town slave. And, if this is the right assumption, τοῦ δυστυχεῖν in l. 80 probably refers merely to the poverty of Myrrhine's family, which is clearly of great importance to the play, and which may have been the result of some special *δυστύχημα* and therefore particularly sensitive to τοὺς ὀρώντας.

How the plot of the play was complicated and then unravelled it is impossible to say. No doubt a good deal was made of the old-fashioned honesty of the farmer in contact with the manners and customs of the town. And of course the marriage preparations

with which the play opens are not wasted; nor can one doubt that the Lover and his sweetheart are finally united. That the farmer should be tricked into courting the ὁμοπατρία instead of Myrrhine's daughter; or that there should be one of the favourite ἀναγνωρίσεις of the New Comedy and the farmer turn out to be Myrrhine's husband, or the ὁμοπατρία's true father, and the ὁμοπατρία be left to pair off with the μειρακίσκος (if he were old enough)—any of these and many other suppositions might be true and probably would be false. Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt must find some more of the papyrus!

NOWELL SMITH.

THE NAME DOULICHION.

IN the long controversy concerning the site of the Homeric 'Doulichion' scarcely enough attention seems to have been given to the name itself and its unusual termination. It is derived, no doubt, from δολιχός, 'long,' the ου being due to a lengthening of the ο for metrical convenience, as in δολιχόδειρος. In this and similar words, e.g. Περίθοος, ὀλεσίκαρπος, we must suppose a variation in pronunciation which came to be marked in writing either by a 'hybrid' diphthong (Περίθοος) or a long vowel (ὀλεσίκαρπος).¹ Apart from its ending, the name sufficiently explains itself as a makeshift poetical designation of a 'long' coast-line, which I would identify on other grounds (see my 'Greek Epic,' note on *Od.* ix. 1, ff.) with Leucadia. But we cannot regard the termination as one which went originally with the name as that of an island or peninsula; for all the names of Greek islands, which are adjectival, are feminines in -ια or -η, and the rest end in -ος; whereas -ιον regularly belongs to a promontory, ἄκρον being understood. I would meet this difficulty by two suppositions. First, that the region in question was called by the early Greek navigators and the poets after them simply Δολιχίη, 'the long,' no authentic local name being known to them. Secondly, that one of its promontories (Καπ Δυκάτο?) was called correspondingly Δολιχίον, and this, though properly belonging to the promontory, happened to

find its way into the loose Homeric nomenclature and, in particular, into the recurring 'tag,' Δουλίχίον τε Σάμη τε καὶ Ἰλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος, denoting vaguely the coast lying somewhere beyond Same (Cephalenia) and Ithaca. The geographer of *Od.* ix., who placed Ithaca to the west instead of north-east of Same, must have known less of Leucadia, but he knew enough to group it with Ithaca as a land which might own Odysseus as suzerain. The name Leucadia only came in when Leucas, the city, was founded from Corinth in the seventh century. The germ of it, however, may possibly be found in the λευκή πέτρα of *Od.* xxiv. 5 and the name Λευκός as a companion of Odysseus (*Il.* iv. 498). If so, it may be considered as in favour of the view suggested that such a 'rock,' i.e. promontory, appears in this connection as within the ken of the Odyssey. It may have been the same headland which, under the other name 'Dolichion,' stood for the intermediate coast-land between the islands known by real names (Ithaca, Same, Zacynthus) and the more northerly and all but unknown 'Phaiakie.' It is no wonder that a name so vague and, so to speak, accidental, disappeared without leaving any trace in Greek geography. As the true name 'Leucadia' took hold, 'Doulichion' went adrift, and the geographers from the poet of the Catalogue to Strabo sought a place for it among the Echinades!

G. C. W. WARR.

¹ Cf. Wilamowitz 'Homerische Untersuchungen,' ii. 3.

THE NATIONALITY OF HORACE.

SINCE writing my article on the meaning of the word *Sabellus* (*Class. Rev.* for October, 1897), I have received two communications bearing on the point, and both confirming the view which I expressed, that *Sabellus* means 'Samnite,' not 'Sabine' as our dictionaries say. (1) Prof. Conway refers me to the second edition of Brugmann's *Grundriss* vol. i. p. 128, which entirely supports my contention from the philological point of view. Brugmann derives *Sabellus* from *Safno-los*,* *Samnium*, Oscan *Safnim*. (2) Mr. Heitland refers me to Strabo v. 4, § 12, p. 250. After speaking of the 'ver sacrum' which is said to have led to the establishment of the Samnites in Samnium as an offshoot of the Sabines of Sabina, Strabo goes on:—*Εἰκὸς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Σαβέλλους αὐτοὺς ὑποκριτικῶς ἀπὸ τῶν γονέων προσαγορευθῆναι, Σαμνίτας δ' ἀπ' ἄλλης αἰτίας, οὓς οἱ Ἕλληνες Σαυνίτας λέγουσι.* His philology is at fault; for he regards *Sabellus* as a diminutive formed directly from *Sabinnus*. But that does not affect the main point, which is that we have here explicit testimony that *Sabellus* was a name applied to the *Samnites* (not the Sabines). As yet no scrap of evidence has been produced to show that *Sabellus* ever meant 'Sabine.'

The inference is inevitable. When Horace calls himself a *Sabellus* (Epp. i. 16–49), he cannot be alluding to his possession of an estate in *Sabina*, but must be speaking of his connexion with *Samnium*. In what way

was he connected with Samnium? Not exactly by the place of his birth; for Venusia is in Apulia, and the places mentioned in connexion with his early childhood (Acherontia, Bantia, Forentum; *Od.* iii. 4, 14–16) are in Lucania; and when Horace speaks geographically, he says of himself *Lucanus an Apulus anceps* (*Sat.* ii. 1, 34). I think, therefore, he must be referring to his *nationality*; and that in this passage (Epp. i. 16, 49) we have a direct but hitherto neglected statement by the poet himself as to his blood and descent. To ancient biographers the nationality of the son of a *libertinus* was perhaps of little moment; but to us the question is more interesting. For it has been suggested that Horace was of Greek origin: so Dr. Gow in his recent edition. Prof. W. M. Ramsay in *Macmillan's Magazine* for 1897, p. 450, speaks of Horace as an Apulian; but 'Apulian' is, I take it, a geographical not an ethnological term. It is possible, though I cannot prove it unless by reference to the case of Horace himself, that there were Samnites as well as other nationalities in Apulia. The supposition that Horace was a Samnite is in perfect touch with what we know as to his personal character, and throws new light upon the passage in *Sat.* i. 9, 29, where the Sabellian crone is mentioned, in connexion with his early childhood. I conjecture that he came of a family which had been enslaved during the Samnite wars.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

SOPHOCLES, *TRACH.* 345: PLAT. *GORG.* 470.

καὶ δὴ βεβᾶσι, χῶ λόγος σημαίνεω. Prof. Jebb rightly retains this, the MSS. reading, as against various needless conjectures. He translates 'Well, they are gone;—so thy story can proceed'; and, for the use of *σήμαινε* he refers to l. 598 *τί χρή ποῖν; σήμαινε, τέκνον Οἰνέως*. But it seems to me that the proper parallel is to be found in Thucydides in whom *σημαίνω* is absolute, as in ii. 8, 3 *ἐδόκει ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι γενήσεσθαι σημῆναι*, v. 20, 2 *ἐς τὰ προγεγενημένα σημαίνει*, ii. 43, 3 (perhaps) *οὐ στηλῶν σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή*. The construe of the line should be, I think: 'Well, they are gone, and so let thy story be the token (viz. that they are gone)': i.e. 'speak out plainly and freely.'

Plato, *Gorgias* p. 470 A οὐκοῦν, ὃ θανμάσει, τὸ μέγα δύνασθαι πάλιν αὐ σοι φαίνεται, ἐὰν μὲν πράττοντι ἃ δοκεῖ ἔπηται τὸ ὠφελίμως πράττειν, ἀγαθὸν τε εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς εἴκειν, ἐστὶ τὸ μέγα δύνασθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, κακὸν καὶ σμικρὸν δύνασθαι. The position of *μὲν* and of *τε* and the parallelism of the sentences seem to me to leave no doubt (1) that Plato meant *εἰ δὲ μὴ* (ἔπεται κ.τ.λ.), (τὸ μέγα δύνασθαι φαίνεται) κακὸν (εἶναι) καὶ σμικρὸν δύνασθαι; (2) that καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ μ. δ. is an afterthought substituted for καὶ μέγα δύνασθαι. Accordingly I infer (1) that Plato intended to play on the double meaning of *σμικρὸν δύνασθαι* *a.* 'to have small power,' *b.* 'to signify little'; (2) that the construe is 'So your view seems to

be that great power, provided that "doing as one chooses" is accompanied by "doing as is advantageous" is both a good thing—and this is, as it seems, "great power": but, if this condition is absent, great power

appears to be a bad thing and to signify little.' This rendering is quite different from those given by Thompson, Stallbaum, Deuschle-Cron and others.

E. C. MARCHANT.

HAVERFIELD'S REVISION OF CONINGTON'S VIRGIL, VOL. I.

Conington's Virgil. Vol. I. *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, Fifth Edition, revised by F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford; London, George Bell and Sons. 1898. 10s. 6d.

THE first volume of Conington's *Virgil*, which had previously been re-edited by Prof. Nettleship, now appears in a fifth edition, which has been entrusted to the care of another Oxford scholar, Mr. F. Haverfield. The three names which thus appear upon the title-page suggest some natural regrets, but the succession of editors, though rapid, is a worthy one—*uno avulso non deficit alter aureus*—and long may the University preserve the 'golden' chain of Virgilian critics undeteriorated and unbroken.

The appearance of this volume must also be hailed with satisfaction not only as a proof of the permanent value of Conington's work but also because the demand for its publication seems to show that the *Georgics*—'the best poem of the best poet,' as Dryden calls them—do still find students, in spite of the efforts of schoolmasters and examiners to relegate them to obscurity in favour of the *Aeneid*. Doubtless the imaginative power of the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid* and the splendid rhetoric of the Fourth are unsurpassed, but elsewhere in *Virgil* there is nothing which can rival the *Georgics*. Written at the average rate of one line a day they represent the most perfect artistic work of the greatest artist in words whom the world has ever seen. They deserve, but in comparison with the *Aeneid* have not received, the most careful criticism, so that the appearance of a new edition of what will be for long the standard English authority about them seems a fitting occasion to draw attention to certain points in which Conington's judgment may reasonably be questioned and this edition improved. There is all the more cause for doing so since, when an edition has secured general acceptance by its merits, there is a

strong tendency to elevate it into a sort of 'canonical' book and—as I have often experienced personally—to treat any dissent from its conclusions as a sign of presumption and almost heresy. To the classical student, however, a contented acquiescence in authority is fatal, and it is far better to err greatly than to accept blindly. Nor probably would any man have been more indisposed to consider his own judgment as final than Conington himself, and indeed, even where the grounds for a decision appear clear and cogent, he often seems to shrink too sensitively from expressing a definite opinion, for fear lest he should pre-judge a case on which the last word has not yet been spoken. Criticism moreover on a writer so subtle, so suggestive, and often so ambiguous, as Virgil cannot in every case hope to obtain finality, nor can any commentator hope to avoid mistakes which a fresh, though less competent critic, may be able to emend. It happens, too, that my own school edition of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* synchronizes with the publication of Mr. Haverfield's more important volume, but as my own work will not naturally come before scholars a notice of the latter in the *Classical Review* seems a fitting opportunity for referring to those points in which Mr. Conington's opinion seems, either to Mr. Haverfield or myself, to need correction.

Before, however examining these points in detail it ought to be said generally that Mr. Haverfield's very delicate task of revision has been excellently performed and with a degree of self-effacement which, while it greatly adds to the convenience of the reader, should not make him overlook the labour and learning which are required to produce a result at once so simple, accurate and clear. By breaking up the original notes into short paragraphs he has much improved their lucidity, to which also a much improved type greatly contributes, while throughout he has made a great number of short additions of his own on

special points, which are of high value. The following instances will illustrate their character:

Grammatical—

E. 1, 18 *qui deus*; 1, 67 *en unquam*; 3, 21 *non redderet*?; 4, 62 *video* with dat.; 5, 66 *ecce* with acc.; 8, 102 *rivo*=*in rivum*; 9, 53 *oblitus* passive; 10, 12 *ullus*=*ullo modo*; *G.* 1, 203 *atque*; 1, 263 use of perf. *impressit*; 3, 258 the *dativus energicus* (a new terror!); 3, 384 *primum* with no *deinde* or other particle to follow; 4, 117 *ni traham...canerem*; 4, 159 *saepta domorum*.

On special words—

E. 7, 33 *sinum*; *G.* 1, 14 *cultor*; 1, 93 *penetrabilis*; 1, 247 *intempesta nox* (an admirable note); 1, 360 *carinae*; 1, 470 *obscenus, importunus*; 1, 498 *Indigetes*; 2, 104 *neque enim* = 'nor indeed'; 2, 364 *immitto*; 2, 403 *olim cum*; 3, 12 *palma* = 'victory'; 3, 560 *abolere*; 4, 443 *pellacia*; 4, 445 *nam quis*?

Orthography—

E. 3, 84 *Pollio*; 4, 229 *thensaurus*; 4, 243 *stelio*.

Botanical, Historical, &c.—

E. 2, 18 *vaccinium*; *G.* 4, 271 *amellus*; 3, 338 *aleyon*; 4, 307 *hirundo*; 4, 511 the nightingale; 13, 25–33; 3, 31–33 not *ex post facto*; 3, 38 *Ixionis angues*; 4, 48 burnt crabs; 2, 161 the Lucrine harbour; 2, 171 Octavian in the East; 2, 479 earthquakes producing earthquake waves in Italy.

His chief defect is too great tenderness in dealing with the notes added by Nettleship and the incorporation of fresh *Marginalia* from the same hand. These, as is well known, largely deal with rather minute textual and orthographical questions so that for non-technical students they often rather mar the effect of the commentary. Not one person in a thousand who reads Virgil cares at all how the MSS. spell *sed*, *haud*, and *obliquus* while, when a note on the orthography of *formosus* occurs eleven times within the first seven *Eclogues*, the feeling aroused is almost indignation. Such notes have their value, but their place is not in the commentary on an incomparable poem. They ought to be omitted or relegated to an Appendix, and then room might be found for some much-needed notes on some of the marvellous merits of the *Georgics*. True, the student ought to find these out for

himself, and it might be called impertinence in an editor to draw attention to them, but the plain fact is that they usually elude the observation of the general reader and often are but imperfectly grasped even by scholars. Two illustrations must suffice. The first is Virgil's use of *personification*—the art by which he gives feeling and personality to every creature, animate or inanimate, which he describes, not merely to bees and cattle but to plants and shrubs, even to wines, as a careful study of the wonderful passage *G.* 2, 88–109 will show. The second is his astounding mastery over metre, which in the first *Georgic* may be illustrated by a greater number of passages than can be quoted from any Latin poem of twice or four times the length, although the average reader is only dimly conscious of the existence of half of them while only devoted study can reveal the fulness of their perfect art.

Appended are notes on some of the passages in which Conington seems to his editors or myself to need alteration or amplification. Even put most tersely they run to some length, but the interest of the subject is sufficient excuse. Conington is referred to as C., Nettleship as N., and Haverfield as H.

E. 1, 46. *ergo tua rura manebunt*. *Ergo* here—*admiracionis cum maerore coniunctae exclamatio*, Orelli—needs illustration from *Hor. Od.* 1, 24, 5 *ergo Quintilium...*, and *S.* 2, 5, 101 *ergo nunc Dama sodalis nusquam est*. In the next line C.'s description of Virgil's farm as 'covered with stones' quite misrepresents *lapis nudus* = 'bare rock' which crops up and 'overspreads' (*obducat*) the pastures.

1, 65. H. rightly reads, and well explains, *cretae* (not *Cretae*) *rapidum*; but line 67 the purposely disjointed character of the shepherd's broken utterance demands notice; it is quite in Virgil's way cf. 3, 93; 9, 2.

1, 71. H. makes *barbarus* and *impius* excellently clear.

2, 18. *ligustra* 'privet.' So C., but surely Martyn's 'white convolvulus' or 'bindweed' (cf. *ligo*) fits sense and derivation better.

2, 28. *tantum libeat tecum mihi sordida rura...* H. rightly quotes Martial, but should do so more fully, and refer to Friedlander on 1, 49, 27 for *sordida* in a distinctly good sense.

2, 30. *viridi compellere hibisco* i.e. *ad viride hibiscum* C. But C.'s quotation 'Hor. Od. 1, 24, 18 *quam...nigro compulerit Mer-*

curius gregi is fallacious, for (1) surely the use of the dat. after *compello* when it describes driving an individual to join a flock is entirely different from its use when it describes driving the flock to the particular thing on which it feeds, and (2) the omission of the words *virga aurea* vitiates the quotation altogether, for they afford an exact parallel to *viridi hibisco*, if we render with 'a green switch of *hibiscum*,' and 10, 71 shows that the plant was used for making baskets and therefore might furnish a switch.

2, 47-50. It should be noted that there are probably *two* bouquets; the first is of flowers of contrasted hue mixed with scented plants, and the second, described in inverse order, of scented herbs and contrasted flowers. In 50 the difficult epithet *mollia* applied to *vaccinia* needs a note; surely Wagner's *quae coloris teneritate sensum molliter afficit* is right.

3, 79, 80. All discussion of these difficult lines is practically wanting in C.

4, 4. The note on *Cumaei carminis* is excellently re-written by H.

4, 11. *decus hoc aevi*. H. rightly notes 'may mean "This glory of the age",' as it certainly does. C. gives 'this glorious age,' comparing Lucr. 2 16 *hoc aevi quodcunque est*, which is not parallel, *aevi* depending on *quodcunque*.

6, 2. Delete the full-stop after *Thalia*. The sentence is 'At first my Muse was pastoral..., (but) when I began to sing of kings etc.'

6, 33. H. with H. N. gives *his exordia primis*, but would Virgil use this rare device twice in a few lines (cf. 19 *ipsis ex vincula sertis*), with such a rare word as *ordia*, and where confusion with *exordia* was certain?

6, 34. *omnia et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis*. C. accepts Munro's 'elastic globe of ether,' but *omnia et ipse* = *τά τε ἅλλα πάντα καί*, and the earth is the only truly central object which can be contrasted with 'all other things.' Again *concreverit* better describes the formation of a central mass than of an unsubstantial enveloping ether. Again *tener orbis* naturally leads up to *tum durare solum*.

6, 70. *Asraeo seni*. H. rightly takes *seni*, not of antiquity as C. does, but of 'the venerable old age...generally associated with poets.'

8, 38-42. Macaulay's famous praise of these lines (*Life and Letters*, 1, 371) should be quoted in any edition.

9, 3. H. has an excellent note on *possessor*

'a word associated with violence,' e.g. *Sullani possessores*.

9, 25. H. with H. N. reads *antesinistra*, a *ἀπ. λεγ.*, on the authority of Servius. 'Learned' poets no doubt like technical terms, but they use them with judgment, and a word so hideous as this is impossible. It is not criticism but eccentricity to split *exordia* into two and join *ante sinistra* into one word.

9, 23. *dum redeo*. H. rightly renders 'until,' this usage being certain.

G. 1, 4. H., with H. N., rightly refuses to follow C.'s identification of *lumina* with Liber and Ceres.

1, 20. *et teneram ab radice ferens, Silvane, cupressum*. C. writes 'ab radice with *ferens*, condensed, as Cat. 64, 288 *tulit radicitus*.' This is to me without meaning, and when I turn to Ellis on Catullus I am equally mystified. He writes 'in Virgil however *ab radice* seems to be "from the root upwards," whereas *radicitus* is rather "torn from the roots": in other words *tulit radicitus* is the more pregnant expression.' Surely the god of forestry is carrying a 'young cypress' taken up from the roots, i.e. so as to bring the roots away with it, in order that he may transplant it. It is the sign of his work, which certainly was not to pluck young trees from their roots!

1, 28. *venias*. H. rightly 'thou comest,' not as C. 'become'; cf. Hor. *Od.* 1, 2, 30 *venias precamur...Apollo*. This use of *venio* is pictorial and illustrates its use in *Aen.* 5, 344 *gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus* and 5, 373 *qui se | Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat* (cf. 5, 400), where editors raise needless difficulties.

1, 36. The use of *nam* needs a note. After mentioning earth, sea, and sky, Virgil says '(I do not mention the fourth division of the universe) for hell etc.,' but this usage is not always clear, and in 1, 77 C. in consequence quite misses the point. There on *urit enim lini*...he writes 'The general sense is that the same crop invariably repeated, will exhaust the soil etc.' This is wrong, for every one knows that the same crop cannot be repeated invariably, and the whole paragraph is on 'alternation' or change, which land *must* have and may get (1) by the costly method of fallowing (2) by rotation of crops, e.g. by following wheat with vetches and lupine (but not with flax, oats, etc.) 'for flax and oats exhaust the soil,' though, Virgil adds, even these crops may be planted if you do not stint manure. The whole passage is strictly coherent and absolutely clear.

1, 80. *ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola, neve.* The rugged rhythm of this rude precept should be noted.

1, 104-117. This disputed passage needs clearer treatment. The great point to notice is that it is in two accurately balanced halves of seven lines each, one beginning with *quid dicam...qui* the other with *quid qui*, one describing irrigation of light dry soil, the other draining of a rich wet one. This is certain, and therefore Mr. Long's view (quoted by C.) that *male pinguis harenae* in the first half is = 'too stiff soil' is hopeless, while in the second half *bibula deducere harena* is almost necessarily = 'drain by the use of sand which drinks up the water,' the reference being to *closed drains* (= our 'sub-soil drains'), made by digging a trench, half filling it with sand, gravel, &c., and then filling it in, as described in Columella 2, 2, 10 and Theophrastus, *C.P.* 3, 7.

1, 106. *rivosque sequentes.* H. with H.N. reads *recentes* against all authority and in defiance of Homer where cf. ὀχέτηγός and ἡγεμονεύη, while the pursuing water at last 'outruns its guide' (φθάνει δέ τέ καὶ τὸν ἄγοντα). A worse alteration was never made.

1, 169 *seq.* Much in C's description of a plough needs revision. The common drawing of a plough as given in Smith's *Dict. of Ant.* is from Martyn and so, I suppose, 150 years old. It sadly needs amendment and causes needless difficulties, e.g. "what does C. mean by 'The plural *dentalia* is used by this poet (Virgil), but it is probably nothing more than a poetic license'? *Dentalia* is plural because the word describes two pieces of wood fastened on each side of the *buris* and holding the *dens* at the point of convergence, while at the other end they pass into the *aures*, together with which they form a *duplex dorsum* exactly as described by Virgil. A handy classical friend rigged me up a little model which showed them admirably.

1, 206. *vectis* = 'voyaging' 'while sailing.' C.'s difficulty as to the use of the past part. in a present sense is imaginary. Four similar instances occur in this Book, 293, 339, 442, 494. H. adds a note which shows this, but leaves C.'s comment, causing some confusion.

1, 243. *sub pedibus* = 'beneath our feet,' opposed to *nobis sublimis* 'above our head.' C. writes '*sub pedibus* is to be connected with *videt*, the feet being those of Styx and the Manes; but *videt* is not to be pressed, &c.' Anyone who tries to realize these ghosts looking at a pole beneath their feet

will see how impossible it is. What, too, about the feet of Styx?

1, 277. H. on *Orcus* = "Ὀρκος is excellent.

1, 281-283. C. has a vague note on 'Greek rhythm,' but the rhythm of these three lines deserves most careful study. The double hiatus between *i* and *i*, *o* and *o* in the first is startling and in marked contrast with the triple caesura in the second. The first line—which must be read slowly—marks slow upheaval, the second ponderous settlement of mountain upon mountain, and then comes the miraculous third line—*Ter Pater extructos deiecit fulmine montes.* First the long gigantic effort then the consummate ease with which it is reduced to nothing could not be better expressed. Yet among all the comments on Virgil has anyone ever seen this third line noticed? I never did, and yet I think Virgil must have been very proud of it.

1, 299. *nudus ara*, 'without the upper garment,' C. and all editors. But if so, why did the wags in Virgil's time scoff at the line? No one could laugh at you for telling a ploughboy to take off his jacket, but they could if you told him to 'strip.' Is not Virgil thinking of a ploughman wearing only the *cinctus*? Cf. *cinctuti Cethegi* Hor. *A.P.* 50 = *nudi Cethegi* Lucan 6, 704.

1, 322. Much cleared up in H.

1, 356. *continuo, ventis surgentibus, aut freta ponti.* H. gives *continuo* = 'immediately, in quick succession,' and suggests that it might be = αὐτίκα 'for example.' The meaning is clear. *Continuo* goes closely with *v. surgentibus* 'the moment the winds begin to rise'; cf. 169 *continuo in silvis* 'while still in the woods'; 3, 271 *continuoque ubi* 'from the moment when,' and above all 4, 254 *continuo est aegris* 'from the moment when they sicken,' where Virgil is describing the first symptom of disease as here the first sign of wind.

1, 362. *densis alis.* 'looks like a mistranslation of τιναξάμενοι πτέρα πυκνά,' C. I cannot easily believe in the 'mistranslation.' Surely Virgil deliberately alters Aratus to a phrase which fits in with the military words *agmine magno* and *exercitus*.

1, 467. H. has a most interesting note to show that there was no solar eclipse in B.C. 44.

1, 500. *iuvenem* = Augustus. H. has a good note; the use of the word by both Horace and Virgil is too marked to be accidental. The emperor clearly liked it.

1, 513. H. with H.N. reads *addunt in spatio* and says 'The Berne scholia explain thus: *propria vox circi, equi enim cursus*

spatio addere dicuntur. I cannot understand text or comment.

2, 47. H. has *se tollunt in luminis auras*. Surely this merely irritating alteration of a well-known Lucretian phrase is inadmissible.

2, 53. *sterilis, quae stirpibus exit ab imis*. Remove the comma after *sterilis*. The shoot is not 'barren' in itself, but even when overshadowed makes efforts to produce something (line 56). It 'springs barren from the bottom of the trunk' because wanting light and air; plant it out and it will show that it is not barren.

2, 62. *cogendae in sulcum*. C. 'drilled into trenches,' comparing *cogere in ordinem*, but that = 'reduce to the ranks.' *Cogendae* is not used in a military sense here, but marks the strong effort needed, cf. *labor* preceding and *domandae* following.

2, 93. *tenuisque Lageos*. Certainly not 'a thin light wine' as C., but, as Servius, *penetrabilis quae cito in venas descendit*. A wine which will 'presently try your legs' is not a 'thin light wine.' Perhaps = 'subtle'; it looks light and tastes mild, but beware!

2, 123. *aera vincere summum arboris*. C.'s explanation is perplexing. Is not *aer summus arboris* simply = *summa aerea arbor* 'the heaven-towering tree-top,' which the archer 'conquers' by shooting over it?

2, 187. *huc summis liquuntur rupibus amnes*. 'The sentence gives the reason for the moisture of the land so placed,' C. No, but it gives the reason for its fertility. There is moisture but not stagnation and the rivers bring with them 'fertilising mud.'

2, 192. H. rightly refers to Prof. Robinson Ellis in Cat. 39, 11, for the 'fat Etruscan.'

2, 247. *at sapor indicium faciet, manifestus et ora*.

tristia temptantum sensu torquebit amaro

Editors discuss at length the readings *amaro* and *amaror*, but the real interest of the passage is in the imitative character of the second line. Especially if *temptantum* be pronounced strongly, the line clearly mimics the action of a person who has tasted something which he wishes to spit out. Many, of course, will call such a line in a writer with such a sensitive ear as Virgil cannot be accidental. Unfortunately Hyginus discovered *amaror*, and so Virgil's comic line became merely a subject for critical controversy.

C. says '*manifestus* seems plainly to go with *faciet*.' Yet surely it is not the clearness of the taste which Virgil wishes to

bring out, but the clearness of the visible effect on the taster. The comma should undoubtedly be after *faciet*.

2, 279. H. rather boldly doubts whether the arrangement of vines like an army is the arrangement in *quincuncem*, chiefly because 'the exact nature of the manipular system is disputed,' and 'it had certainly vanished before Virgil's time.' Yet Virgil must have had the *quincunx* before his mind, for he clearly has Varro i. chapter 7 before him, as he gives exactly the same reasons for his arrangement as Varro does for the arrangement in *quincuncem*, viz. (1) symmetry, and (2) that it affords the maximum of light and space. As a matter of fact, too, the *quincunx* arrangement is the one which will give each plant most room, as a mathematician demonstrated to me with a number of pennies. Quintilian too refers to the *quincunx* arrangement as combining the greatest beauty with the greatest economy of space.

2, 302 seq. C. explains *insere* = *intersere*, though *interserere* occurs three lines previously and *inserere* in this Book is regularly = 'engraft.' But the error of his view is shown in 312, where he has '*non a stirpe valent sc. vites*,' for the vines are strong from the root and might shoot again, but, if you engraft the olive on the oleaster, the olive after a fire, being burned below the graft, cannot shoot again. For *caesae* . . ., cf. Job xiv. 7.

2, 341. H. rightly reads and supports *terrea*.

2, 350. *halitus*. C. 'probably from the evaporation of the water.' Rather *halitus* is used strictly = 'breath': the plant gets nourishment from the water; then begins to breathe; then 'plucks up spirit' (*animos tollent*).

2, 362. *parcendum teneris*. 'Deal gently with the young.' Surely the 'personification' here and in numberless instances deserves notice.

2, 389. *oscilla mollia*. H. explains 'made of wax or wool.'

2, 499. C.'s remarks, as though the rustic who does not 'pity the poor' showed 'selfish indifference,' are needless. He does not pity the poor simply because there are no poor to pity, as there are no rich to envy.

3, 70. *semper enim refice*. C. has '*Enim* here seems to be added for emphasis. The words are to be connected with what follows.' This is wrong, as is the remark of Servius that *enim* here has no force, and that of Pierius that it is = *itaque* ('for' = 'therefore'!). 'You will always be needing

to change some of your herd,' says Virgil, 'for (*i.e.* because) continual renewal is essential to prevent degeneration in a herd.' Instead of writing *semper enim reficienda sunt corpora matrum*, he writes vigorously *semper enim refice*.

3, 76. *et mollia crura reponit*. C. writes 'The meaning of *reponit* is very doubtful.' H. strikes out 'very,' but the meaning is not doubtful at all. The colt picks up his feet clean, and puts them down as though he would not bruise a daisy. C.'s own explanation at the end of his note is right.

3, 82. *color deterrimus albis*. Has any one seen a white race-horse of repute? The 'white horses' of Homer are surely white as being divine, and literary tradition then kept up the phrase 'with white horses' = 'at utmost speed,' in defiance of fact.

3, 82. *duplex spina*. See Liddell and Scott *s.v.* ὀσφύς.

3, 140. *non illas* needs its force bringing out more clearly.

3, 141. *salutem superare viam*—'to be taken with what follows of clearing, *i.e.* leaping out of the road.' This is unintelligible to me. What is to 'clear, *i.e.* leap out of the road'? Surely the phrase is simply = 'gallop' or 'canter' along a road.' Either to ride a mare in foal fast along a road or let it get excited and gallop in the fields is bad.

3, 193. *sitque laboranti similis*. 'So Hor. *Od.* 2, 3, 11, *obliquo laborat lymphæ fugax trepidare rivo*, the stream being forced to bend, like the horse here,' C. Surely *laboranti* is not in the least = 'forced to bend,' but describes the horse 'chafing' 'struggling to get his head.' It ought carefully to be brought out in this elaborate passage that the comparison is not merely between the horse and the North Wind, but between the horse first walking soberly, then breaking into faster movement, and finally into a furious gallop, and the N. wind rising by similar steps into a tornado. The whole passage is worked out with the utmost care. Like many other passages in Virgil it needs explaining simply. Unfortunately if an Editor writes a clear and simple note every one says 'Oh, that is as plain as a pikestaff,' and the true road to reputation is learned obscurity.

3, 217. *dulcibus illa quidem illecebris*. C. gives '*illa quidem* having the force of *quamvis*, "she wastes them away, though with a tender passion."' The use of *ille quidem* practically = *quamvis* is well known, but surely here it is a strengthened form of *ille* pleonastic, used to draw marked attention

to the subject—'she does not allow them to remember groves or pastures as she stands, look you! in her sweet witchery.' The sight of groves and pastures is alluring, but when they look at her it is forgotten. Cf. l. 500 *sudor, et ille quidem moriturus frigidus* 'sweat, aye and, mark you, when death approaches a cold sweat,' where C. says 'compare 217' but the explanation of *ille quidem* = *quamvis* cannot hold.

3, 267. *saxa per et scopulos et depressas convalles*. Professor Robinson Ellis on Cat. 65, 23, says that 'the interruption of the dactylic movement by a spondaic rhythm expresses a sudden check.... The rapid flight is arrested, and after a time becomes slower.' Surely this is not so here. The opening dactyls express the leaps and bounds of the animals over 'boulders and rocks,' the balanced spondees of *depressas convalles* mark their smooth even gallop along the valley. Conington seems to agree in this view.

3, 400-403. Notes on cheese admirably re-written by H.

3, 518. Sellar's admirable illustration of *fraterna morte* from Georges Sand must be inserted in every comment. It is worth sheets of ordinary notes.

4, 39. *fuco et floribus*. H. rightly not 'pollen' but 'propolis'; an important point.

4, 74. *spiculaque exacunt rostris*. Must be 'sharpen their stings with' or 'against their beaks.' This is of course inaccurate, but H. notes Sidgwick's remark that bees rubbing their bodies with their legs to remove dirt may be the origin of the error. The same suggestion was made to me independently by a scientific friend to whom I applied.

4, 85. *usque adeo obnixi non cedere, dum gravis aut hos | aut hos versa fuga victor dare terga subegit*. C. notes "we might have expected *subegerit*, and Kennedy regards *subegit* as = *subegerit* by Syncope. No doubt where the sense of *purpose* is clear *dum* would be followed by a subjunctive, but *obnixus* does not describe purpose so much as the actual attitude of a warrior who plants his feet and will not budge (Livy, 6, 12, 8 *obnixos stabili gradu hostium impetum excipere*), and Virgil simply records the fact that the leaders do so hold their ground. So too H.

4, 86-87. *hi motus animorum*.... 'Here Virgil's humour breaks out, relieving what would otherwise be mere exaggeration,' C. The humour is obvious, but what about the pathos? Remembering what *pulveris exigui iactu* must suggest to a Roman ear (cf. Hor.

Od. 1, 28, 35 *iniecto ter pulvere*), and how Virgil, throughout the *Georgics*, loves to use phrases which may be taken first literally and secondly with a deeper human meaning, I cannot believe that he wrote these wonderful lines without some thought of the 'passions and rivalries' of human life, which are all laid to rest for ever 'with the flinging of a little dust.' True, Varro and Pliny prescribe this 'flinging of dust' with absolutely no secondary meaning, but they were not poets.

4, 2. H. rightly notes that Virgil is describing two sorts of bees, the common brown bee and the Ligurian.

4, 153. *consortia tecta | urbis habent* 'hold dwellings in common'; so H. also. C. had 'have dwellings united into a city.'

4, 170 *seq.* C. has a long note on the disputed point whether this famous comparison is an exaggeration. Of course it is; Virgil himself notes the fact line 176; it is exactly in his power to describe these tiny creatures in heroic verse that the poet finds his pleasure and pride. Is not Shakespeare's famous description of bees exaggeration? Is not 'the tent-royal of their emperor' an exaggerated phrase? Doubtless it is kind of Pope and Heyne (not Heine) to defend Virgil here, but their defence is not needed.

4, 227. *angustam*. It should be clearly shown that this reading and *ora fove* 230 stand or fall together. The reading *angustam...ore fave* ('Pour approcher de la demeure auguste des abeilles il faut s' être purifié et garder le silence,' Benoist) is so good that it cannot be neglected, and perhaps there is no passage in the classics where such slight textual alteration produces two such excellent readings. For myself I do not see much point in *angustam*, and prefer the humorous dignity of *angustam...ore fave*.

4, 244. *immunis*. 'The drones have not performed their *munus* of labour,' C. Surely the word is = ἀσύνβολος; the drones sat at a feast provided by others without 'paying their shot.'

4, 250. H. gives *foros* = 'passages,' probably rightly; not 'rows of cells' as C.

4, 337. *caeseriem effusae*. H. retains C.'s note on this construction, and adds H. N.'s note at the end of it. This is very confusing. Surely no one doubts the active (or middle) force of the participle in these cases; in an Appendix to my edition of *Aen.* 1-6 I collect the instances in those books, and when printed together they seem irresistible.

4, 455. H. rightly prints *ad meritum*. Nothing else will put this passage straight.

T. E. PAGE.

PAGE'S EDITION OF THE *BUCOLICS* AND *GEORGICS*.

P. Vergili Maronis Bucolica et Georgica, with introduction and notes by T. E. PAGE, M.A. Macmillan (Classical Series), 1898. Pp. xl., 386. 5s.

MR. PAGE sets out to rescue the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* from the unmerited oblivion into which they have fallen at our public schools. The editor is worthy of the task, and the task itself is a worthy one, if it really be the fact that 'young students seem now to limit their reading of Virgil chiefly to the *Aeneid*, while his other writings are comparatively neglected.' There are indeed some who think that Virgil is too subtle, too fine, too difficult, to be of the slightest educational value to any but the very best sixth form boys: and personally I confess to believing that the best fate that could befall the poet himself and the public school boy, is that Virgil should be banished from our class-rooms for a century. But if he is to be read, then by all means let the *Georgics* be read at least as much as, if not more than, the *Aeneid*. For in them the poet writes always from his heart; and if his agriculture

is somewhat remote from our own (Mr. Page, by the way, takes occasion to point out that in one respect at least he was in advance of at all events the eighteenth century, p. xxxvii.), it is not more remote from reality than is his fighting: and if the school-boy learns any moral lesson at all from what he reads it is better that he should learn to admire the glory of labour than the tinsel of mock chivalry.

In the introduction Mr. Page gives an able and fairly concise appreciation of Virgil as a writer on the country, but I cannot help thinking that his 293 pages of notes are somewhat excessive in quantity. He most admirably illustrates Virgil from Virgil, but very often at extreme length, and while he seems to feel (alas, very rightly) that the average school-master will in all probability teach his boys too little, he himself is apt to try to teach them too much. The notes, too, are overburdened with translations, often of a most superfluous nature (*e.g.* '*rudentes* "bellowing" or "belling," "*caedunt* "slay," "*reges* "kings"'), which, from an educational point of view are simply

disastrous. The subject matter is always well, if too fully, treated (the note on the plough G. i. 170, in particular, is excellent), and, as might be expected from the introduction, the literary side of the poems receives due attention. Yet, in spite of its fulness, the book has all that amateurishness (if Mr. Page will allow me to use the word) which characterised his brilliant edition of the *Odes* of Horace: with this difference, that what was only an amiable failing in 1883 has become a serious defect in 1898. This edition is, indeed, absolutely uncritical. It is true that at the foot of nearly every page of the text there are printed one or two Latin words which, from one's previous knowledge of the subject, one is aware are variant readings. But not only in nine cases out of ten is there not a single word of explanation of them in the notes: but emendations and MSS. variants are mixed up without distinction. For example *Ecl.* vi. 33 on the word *exordia*, there is a foot-note '33 *ex omnia*; *ex ordia*' i.e. the reading of P, and an emendation of Nettleship's; and the commentary contains this remark 'For *exordia* some MSS. give *ex omnia*: if so cf. the order of words in line 19.' We hear vaguely of MSS. from time to time; but they are never enumerated or described, and no attempt is ever made to discriminate between them: thus in *Ecl.* iv. 53 where he reads *tum* with a few libri deteriores, his note simply says 'many MSS. read *tum*,' the 'many' being PRyabe; and again on *Ecl.* i. 65, where he rightly reads *rapidum cretae*, he makes the most misleading remark 'there seems about equal authority for reading *Cretae*.' What kind of 'authority'? Such defects as these should be remedied in a second edition, and either the 'critical notes' be removed altogether, or else remodelled in such a way as to stimulate instead of deadening the youthful reader's critical instincts.

In respect of orthography Mr. Page is so far in advance of some of his predecessors that he has attained a fairly complete degree of uniformity. Often, no doubt, at the expense of truth, e.g. in the case of the acc. plur. in -es, where one could wish that he had followed the rough rules as given by Brambach. But, what is of chief importance in a school-book, having chosen one form he adheres to it (*laurus* and *lauros* is the only exception I have found), and will have nothing to say to those who uphold the theory that an editor should follow the spelling of the pro tempore best MS.—a theory which is particularly futile in the case of Virgil owing to the fragmentary state of the older

MSS. Orthography is a branch of philology which is unduly neglected at schools, and which must sooner or later be forced upon the attention of the school-master. The difficulty is, of course, to find a standard: when the Romans themselves disagreed, who shall decide? Brambach's system is well-known to all scholars, and has been in the main followed by our standard Latin dictionary. There is a good deal that may be said against it, but still it is a system, and something would be gained if its adoption for all authors later than Lucretius could be made more general. The Clarendon Press now have an opportunity of doing something of the kind in the series of classical texts which they are about to produce. These texts should have a very wide circulation in this country, and I appeal to the Press not to allow this opportunity of improving the standard of orthography to pass unused. The principles on which they might work are, it seems to me, these. First, that there is not sufficient evidence to fix in all its details the spelling of any particular author. Second, that, this being so, some authority—Brambach, or any one better who can be found—should be prescribed, whom, where he speaks decisively, all the editors should follow; while, in cases where two forms were equally in use (e.g. *urbes* and *urbis*), some sort of agreement should be arrived at between the editors as to which should prevail. Third, that whether or not such a general agreement is arrived at, there should be absolute uniformity within the limits of each particular author. Aulus Gellius—whose work possesses about the critical value of Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*—may tell us that Virgil wrote *tris* in one line and *tres* in the next, following his own ear rather than the rules of the grammarians. Our nineteenth century editor has not Virgil's ear, and he should be content to take one thing and stick to it. The uniformity arrived at by the observance of these principles will no doubt be arbitrary, and the discovery of further evidence may at any moment prove it to be entirely wrong. The editor of school texts, however, is working not for eternity, but for time; and at the present time we have no system of orthography—nothing that can be taught—at all. But as truth emerges more easily from error than from confusion, such uniformity, however arbitrary and erroneous in detail, is, I believe, at least a step in the right direction.

F. A. HIRTZEL.

VOLLMER'S STATIUS' *SILVAE*.

P. Papinii Statii Silvarum Libri, herausgegeben und erklärt von FRIEDRICH VOLLMER. Leipzig, Teubner. 1898. 16 Mk.

WE have to thank Herr Teubner, perhaps the greatest benefactor of classical scholarship in our century, for this new Statius, which will certainly supply a long felt want. The editor, Vollmer, is favourably known by a tract on *laudationes funebres*. Students of the *Silvae* have hitherto had to rest content with Markland, where criticism is the strongest feature, or the four-volume edition of our author published in London a century ago, which however pleasant to the use is behindhand now, especially in the department of history and antiquities. Editions of single *Silvae* have indeed been published from time to time during the present century as doctor's dissertations, &c., but it is obvious that a complete collection of such cannot take the place of a harmonious commentary to the whole.

The book opens with an Introduction (pp. 1-52) dealing with (1) Statius' Life and Works, (2) Appreciation and History of the *Silvae*, including an account of the MSS. by Moritz Krohn of Zittau, who is to bring out the new text of the *Silvae* in the Bibliotheca Teubneriana. The former contains a valuable chronology of the several *Silvae* and also of the collected books, and will prove very useful alongside of Friedländer's treatment of the same subject in the *Sittengeschichte*, vol. iii. In the second chapter the speed with which the poems were written is rightly insisted on, and many scholars have been guilty both of shortsighted criticism and waste of time in the attempt to construct finished poems from the text we have. The later authors who have alluded to or imitated Statius are next enumerated. It appears (p. 34) that with the sixth century knowledge of the poems disappears, and it is not till the discovery of a codex by Poggio that we hear of them again. This codex has unfortunately been lost, and the readings of it which are written in a copy of the *editio princeps* (now in the Corsinian Library at Rome) are not so numerous as we should like. The best extant witness to the text is the codex Matritensis (saec. xv., Bibl. Nazion. M 31), which has bound up with it, among other works, the poem of Manilius. Of the latter Prof. Robinson Ellis has given a collation in the *Classical Review* (vols. vii. and

viii., 1893, 1894), but a complete collation of the *Silvae* is yet unpublished, and for this we must wait till the edition of Krohn appears, unless some one anticipate him. Those who know the *Silvae* best will be least likely to quarrel with the statement (p. 36, repeated p. 37) 'Gronovs recensio ist die beste, die wir haben'; the Teubner text of Baehrens is exceedingly careless, disfigured by more than his usual number of useless conjectures, the MS. reading having to be restored sometimes as often as six times on one page. Then comes an Appendix on 'The Wars of Domitian.' It is unfortunate that the editor had not seen Gsell's excellent monograph till this was written.

The text follows (pp. 55-202), and beneath it are printed select various readings, and also passages echoed by and imitated from the *Silvae*. A good deal has been done already for the imitations, for example, by Peiper's Ausonius, Lütjohann's Sidonius, and Birt's Claudian. The text is mainly and rightly conservative. We shall confine ourselves to a few remarks of approval or disapproval of the treatment of selected passages, letting it be fully understood that we believe this to be the very best text of the poems yet published. i. 1, 1: *geminata* Vollmer and vulg. This is a very slight alteration of MSS. *gemmata*, which I would keep. Cf. *lucem coruscant* (v. 71) and the general expression in Gsell 127 that the architecture of the period showed 'un goût exagéré pour les matériaux précieux, la surcharge de l'ornementation.' i. 1, 25: MSS. *discit et* should be kept with Skutsch, who styles *discitur* a worthless conjecture. i. 2, 202: the conjecture *coeptique labores* was also made by Macnaghten (*Journ. of Philol.* 19, 130). i. 5, 39: the editor has given up his former conjecture *quasque Tyros niveas* and now reads *cumque Tyri niveas*. i. 6 is the most difficult, and perhaps the most interesting of all the poems. The editor has given up line 8 (*laeti Caesaris ebriamque *partem*) and line 15 (*et quo percoquit *aebosia cannos*) in despair. In no poem are the defects of our MSS. more conspicuous, and long pondering over it but serves to make its readings more mysterious. In line 17 the editor keeps *gaioli* in the sense of 'gebackene Männlein,' and probably this is allowable, though no parallel is produced. The ordinary reading *molles caseoli* is however powerfully supported by Plaut. *Capt.* 851 *mollem caseum*, and L.

Pomponius Bononiensis, v. 62 (Ribbeck, *com. fr.* ed. 3) caseum molle. The editor has omitted to mention that line 38 is a reminiscence of Lucan vii. 411 *hunc uoluit* (Roma) *nescire diem* (the day of Pharsalus). On ii. 5, 9 it should have been stated that the line is from Verg. IX. 553 (fera) saltu supra uenabula fertur.

The commentary fills pp. 207–560, and is preceded by two and a half important pages of bibliography, where the editor might have included the convenient monograph of P. Rasi, *De L. Arruntio Stella poeta Patavino* (Patavii, 1890). We have nothing but praise for this lengthy and valuable commentary, including, as it does, notes from Bücheler, to whom the book is worthily dedicated, and employing the full resources of an up-to-date and splendidly equipped classical library. If we might single out one feature more than another, it would be the large number of passages in the neglected Thebais and Achilleis, which are referred to in illustration of usage. This will be found useful even by those who possess the splendid *index uerborum* which

constitutes the fourth volume in Lemaire's edition. It is pleasant to find a number of references in the notes to Prof. Mayor's *Juvenal*. The name Violentilla is rightly derived from *uiolentus* (p. 237); Martial was wrong in dubbing her *Ἰαμβίς* (*uiola*). At the end of the notes is an appendix 'Prosodisches und Metrisches.' Pp. 561–598 embrace the two excellent indexes made by H. Saftien, the first, one of proper names, which will save the reader the trouble of turning to the anonymous index at the end of Kohlmann's *Thebais*, and the second, an index to the introduction and commentary, which we venture to prophesy will be found serviceable in the study of other silver authors. This edition is to be cordially recommended to British and American scholars, and may encourage some new readers to approach the *Silvae*, the matter of which is of considerable importance, even though their style be careless and excessively allusive.

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THE 'THOUGHTS' OF M. AURELIUS.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to Himself. An English translation with Introductory Study on Stoicism and the Last of the Stoics. By G. H. RENDALL, M.A., Litt.D. Macmillan. 1898. 6s.

LOVERS of the latest and most lovable of Stoics will welcome this translation as a worthy rendering of their favourite author. The translator is in thorough sympathy with his subject; he is well equipped, as is shown in the Introduction, with the learning which is required for understanding him; and he is moreover master of an English style which, in its grave and quiet beauty, reflects back the tone of thought of Aurelius far better than his own perplexed and crabbed Greek. Take the following specimens, two from the Introduction, and two from the Translation.

'On first perusal the "Thoughts" probably seem too highly moralised to be entirely sincere or interesting as a self-revelation. They create an impression of formality, of reticence and schooled decorum resulting from habitual self-restraint... Feeling and passion are hushed in principles and maxims, until the record of personal experience

becomes upon the surface impersonal and colourless. But as tone and manner grow familiar, the individuality of the writer becomes distinct, intense, and unmistakable. Self-repression does not obliterate the lines of personality, but unifies and in a manner augments their effect; and the thoughts "To Himself" become the one authentic testimony and record of philosophy upon the throne... Behind the mask of monarchy the man's lineaments are disclosed; we overhear the wistful affections and the lone regrets, the sense of personal shortcoming and wasted endeavour, the bitterness of aspirations baffled and protests unheeded, the confessions of despondency and sometimes of disgust, we realise the exhausting tedium of "life at Court lived well," the profound ennui of autocracy in its enforced companionship with intrigue and meanness and malice and self-seeking, the stern demands of duty hampered by power and realised in renunciation, the pride and patience, the weakness and the strength, the busy loneliness, the mournful serenity, the daily death in life of the Imperial sage" (p. cxiii. f.).

'The impressive pathos, which attaches to this convinced presentiment of death, is more than personal. The funeral notes, which culminate in the *Nunc Dimittis* of the closing book, are the knell of a dying age. Over the tomb of Marcus, too, the historian might fitly inscribe the mournful epitaph *Last of his Line*. Last of Roman Stoics, he is also the last of Emperors in whom the ancient stock of Roman virtue survived. He stood, but half unconsciously, at the outgoing of an age, filled with a sense of transitoriness in all things human, of epochs,

empires, dynasties as well as individuals passing to dust and oblivion. 'The gloom of decadence haunted and oppressed him' (p. cxliii. f.).

'Constantly realize how many physicians are dead, who have often enough knit their brows over their patients; how many astrologers, who have pompously predicted others' deaths; philosophers, who have held disquisitions without end on death or immortality; mighty men, who have slain their thousands; tyrants, who in exercise of their prerogative of death have blustered as though they were immortals; whole cities buried bodily. . . . Then, count up those whom you have known, one by one; how one buried another, was in turn laid low, and another buried him; and all this in a little span. In a word, look at all human things, behold how fleeting and how sorry—but yesterday a mucus-clot, to-morrow dust or ashes. Spend your brief moment then according to nature's law, and serenely greet the journey's end, as an olive falls when it is ripe, blessing the branch that bare it and giving thanks to the tree that gave it life' (iv. 48).

'Say, men kill you, quarter you, pursue you with execrations: what has that to do with your understanding remaining pure, lucid, temperate, just? It is as though a man stood beside some sweet transparent fountain, abusing it, and it ceased not to well forth draughts of pure water; nay, though he cast in mud and filth, it will speedily disperse them and wash them forth and take no stain. How then can you create a living fountain within? Imbue yourself in freedom every hour, with charity, simplicity and self-respect' (viii. 51).

Of course, we here and there come across a sentence which falls below this high level. In viii. 36 for instance (where we are warned against magnifying present evil by thinking of the past or the future), I prefer Collier's paraphrase 'This is strangely lessened, if you take it singly and by itself. Chide your fancy, therefore, if it offers to shrink for a moment and grow faint under so slender a trial' to Rendall's more exact but less natural rendering 'Even *that* you minimise, when you strictly circumscribe it to itself and repudiate moral inability to hold out merely against that.' Once or twice I have noticed what seemed to be inaccuracies. Thus in i. 7 *περισπᾶ τί σε τὰ ἐξωθεν ἐμπίπτοντα σχολὴν παρέχε σσαντῶ τοῦ προσμνηθάνειν ἀγαθόν τι, καὶ παῖσαι ῥεμβόμενος*, Long rightly takes the infinitival genitive as expressing purpose, 'Give thyself time to learn something new and good,' while R. has 'give yourself some respite from the taskwork of new good.' In iii. 1 *διαπνεῖσθαι* is translated 'respiration' by R., but more correctly 'perspiration' by Long after Gataker. In iii. 2 *τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ σώφροσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς* seems to me better expressed in Collier's '*with chastened eyes* he will find beauty in the ripeness of age as well as in the blossom of youth,' than in R.'s 'the old woman and the old man will have an ideal

loveliness, as youth its ravishing charm, made visible to *eyes that have the skill*.' In vii. 12 'Upright or uprighted' is an unsatisfactory rendering of *ὀρθὸς ἢ ὀρθούμενος* even if we consider the stress to be laid on the voice (as is done by all the interpreters) and not on the tense, as I should prefer, translating 'upright or in course of becoming upright.' No doubt in iii. 5 where the same phrase occurs, *ὀρθούμενος* is distinctly passive, contrasting the man who is upheld from without with the man of inner rectitude, but the meaning there is determined by the context: where it stands absolutely, I think we may give it a more natural sense. If however we are bound to adhere to the same sense in both passages, I should prefer to give ἢ the force of 'than' here, *Self-upheld rather than upheld from without*.

At the end of the volume we have a selection of emendations, some of the best of which are by the translator himself. Such is ii. 6 *ὑβρίζει; <μῆ> ὑβρίζει σεαντήν, ᾧ ψυχῇ τοῦ δὲ τιμῆσαι σεαντήν οὐκέτι καιρὸν ἔξει· εἰς γὰρ ὁ βίος ἐκάστω, where the old text is ὑβρίζει, ὑβρίζει αὐτήν* and either *εὖ γάρ* or *οὐ γάρ*. i. 16 In the list of good things received from his father Marcus includes *τὸ ζητητικὸν...καὶ ἐπίμονον, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ προαπέστη τῆς ἐρεύνης*, where Gataker could suggest nothing better than *ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ πρ. R. has ἐπίμονον ὡν ἂν ἄλλος τις προαπέστη. Another happy restoration is in iii. 4 τί γὰρ ἄλλου ἔργου στερῇ οὕτως ἐτι φανταζόμενος for the impossible ἦτοι γὰρ...τοῦτέστι φαντ. Is there any reason for altering ἀναγινώσκειν in viii. 8? Marcus often speaks of the sacrifice he had made in discontinuing his studies (cf. ii. 2, 3); so here he says 'to read is forbidden you, but it is not forbidden to put in practice your philosophy.' In iv. 18 *ὅσῃν ἀσχολίαν κερδαίνει ὁ μὴ βλέπων τί ὁ πλησίον εἶπεν* R. adopts Gataker's *εὐσχολίαν*, on the ground, as he tells us in *J. of Ph.* vol. 23, p. 133, that he can find no authority for *κερδαίνειν* meaning 'to save.' Is not the following from Heliodorus (*Aeth.* 4, 10) a case in point, *ἔασον με σιωπῶσαν δυστυχύν καὶ τὴν γοῦν αἰσχύνην κερδαίνειν, κρύπτουσιν ἂ καὶ πάσχειν αἰσχρόν?**

Since the above was written, I have come across another instance of this use of *κερδαίνω* in *Aeth.* viii. 8, where it is said that the murderous attack on Chariclea will save her from the guilt of suicide, *κερδήσει τὸ ἐναγὲς τῆς πράξεως, ὃ καθ' ἐαυτῆς ἐγνώκει ποιεῖν ἐτέρων τοῦτο δρασάντων*.

J. B. MAYOR.

TWO RECENT MUNICH DISSERTATIONS.

THE University of Munich has been so prominent in other lines of work, especially in archaeology, that the unusual advantages which it offers for investigation in philology (using the term in its narrower sense) have only recently come to be appreciated by English-speaking students.

The two dissertations which are briefly reviewed below are both dedicated to Professor Wölfflin, and each was awarded the unusual honor of a *summa cum laude*. The current view of the last forty years has been, that there were two Roman writers by the name of Julius Firmicus Maternus; in other words, that the *De Errore Profanarum Religionum* and the *Matheseos libri VIII* were the work of different hands. The fifth edition of Teuffel-Schwabe's *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, for example, denies explicitly the identity of 'Der Heide' and 'Der Christ.' The opposite view has not been without supporters, and has recently found champions in the two Breslau scholars, Kroll and Skutsch.

Professor Moore first reviews the chronological difficulties which were supposed to stand in the way of the identification, but were finally disposed of by Mommsen in vol. 29 of *Hermes*. He then considers the question from the only point of view which can lead to convincing conclusions, namely the similarity of the two treatises in language and in style. The result is not only to prove the writer's main contention, and to establish to the satisfaction of the most sceptical reader the identity of 'the heathen' and 'the Christian'; but the collection as well of a great deal of interesting and valuable lexicographical and semasiological material.

A second chapter discusses 'Quellen und Litteratur Kenntniss.' This part of the work is in the main carefully and thoroughly done, but as might be expected from the nature of the subject, is less convincing than the preceding chapter in some of its details. Dr. Moore believes that in the *De Errore* Firmicus made use of the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, and that he consulted the *Euhemerus* of Ennius in the

form of a prose paraphrase. In the *Mathesis* he notices interesting parallels with Manilius and with others of the Roman poets. The Sulla-episode is given in full, with critical notes, and the view is expressed, against Vogel and Maurenbrecher, that Livy, or more properly speaking the lost Epitome of Livy, was the source followed, rather than Sallust.

Dr. Sanders' dissertation forms the first part of a larger work on the same subject, which is announced by Mayer and Müller for 1898. It deals with the difficult question of Livy's use of his sources, a subject much discussed, as is shown by the three pages of bibliography which Dr. Sanders cites. The current views are summarized as follows: (1) Livy in his 21st. and 22nd. books followed Polybius directly; (2) Livy made no use of Polybius at all; (3) Livy used Polybius indirectly, that is, through the medium of some historian who himself followed Polybius. Nissen, an adherent of the second view, maintained that Livy in the fourth and fifth decades of his work followed but one authority, whom he merely translated. This notion, that the historian was a mere 'Copie-maschine,' was applied by other investigators to the third decade as well, and is held responsible by Dr. Sanders for the lack of success which he believes has attended those who have previously discussed the question. In a long digression he describes the methods which the Romans followed in book-making in general, and particularly in the writing of history. He quotes a number of interesting passages, of which Pliny's account of his uncle's method of work, detailed in Ep. 3, 5, and Cicero's request to Luceius (*ad Fam.* 5, 12) may especially be mentioned. He finds that the collecting of excerpts as a preliminary to composition was in general use, and that the material thus gathered was used with considerable freedom, the writer not infrequently depending on his memory rather than on his notes. The difficulty of following one authority and checking him by consulting secondary sources at various points in the work is shown, and the conclusion reached that this was not done. Only in the late and degenerate times did the custom of transcribing a single source prevail. For the earlier times the example of Silius Italicus is quoted, who drew on

¹ *Julius Firmicus Maternus*, der Heide und der Christ, von Clifford H. Moore, Inaug. Diss. Munich, 1897; *Die Quellen contamination im 21 und 22 Buche des Livius*, von Henry A. Sanders. Inaug. Diss. Munich, 1897. Published by Mayer and Müller, Berlin.

Ennius, Livy, and various of the annalists for his historical information.

After this General Introduction the writer postpones his principal subject of investigation, to discuss the lost Epitome of Livy's history and its use by other writers who treat the second Punic war. In a series of discussions, illustrated by parallel passages which cannot here be given in detail, he shows that the Epitome was used by Orosius, Eutropius, the Pseudo-Victor, Florus, Quintilian, Firmicus Maternus, Lucan, Seneca, Appian, and Valerius Maximus. He thus places the date of its composition earlier than 30 A.D., but for

stylistic reasons does not regard it as made by Livy himself. He believes that the Epitome was a school book and a reading book, composed by an educated man with rhetorical training, who made numerous additions and changes, just as Julius Paris did in his Epitome of Valerius Maximus. The work was therefore known by the general title of *Historia Romana*, and is so cited, for example, by Hieronymus.

The second part of the work, as yet unpublished, will treat of Livy's use of his sources, and will be awaited with interest.

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EDITION OF FIRMICUS BY KROLL AND SKUTSCH.

Julii Firmici Materni Matheseos Libri VIII.
Ediderunt W. KROLL et F. SKUTSCH. Fasciculus Prior, Libros IV priores et quinti Prooemium continens. Lipsiae, in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri. MDCCCXCVII. 4m.

IT is remarkable that, after Firmicus had been for a very long time neglected, two editions of his first four books should have appeared within the last four years. In neither case do the editors seem to have been affected by that modern interest in occult learning which, in England at least, is bringing astrology once more into fashion; but it is clear that in the present case care has been taken to compare Firmicus with what survives of other ancient astrological writers; and perhaps, when the work is complete, we may find that light has been thrown on some of the obscure questions connected with the origin of the science. In the way of criticism not much can be attempted as yet, since the editors have reserved their 'preface' till the second volume shall appear, and ask that till then judgment may be suspended even upon their emendations of the text. They have, however, given us, in the way of introduction, an enumeration of the MSS. they have examined, of which Sittl treated somewhat more fully in his edition of 1894. The points to be noticed are, first, that of the eight books of Firmicus the older and better MSS. contain only the first four—and even those not completely—and, secondly, that the early editors were so liberal of conjecture, and so enterprising in the filling up of gaps as to have prepared occasional pitfalls for subsequent generations of scholars. Thus

the dictionaries give '*spadicarius*, one who dyes a chestnut-brown colour,' on the authority of Firmicus, in whose work no such word really occurs. For purposes of reference it is a misfortune, though an inevitable one, that the old division into chapters and sections cannot be maintained; indeed the present edition and that of Sittl differ considerably. Of points of interest brought out by the new editions two may be noticed: the first, that in the list of the 36 'decans' given in the fourth book, several of what we know to have been the ancient Egyptian names are plainly recognisable in the new text, which had been hopelessly disguised in the old. The second places the erudition of Prof. Mommsen in a light of what seems to me almost supernatural brilliancy. In the second book is given the horoscope of a person whom Firmicus will not name, but whose honours and misfortunes he enumerates, ending with the remark that Lollianus, to whom his work is addressed, will know very well who is meant. It has been supposed, rather oddly that this person is Lollianus himself, and Sittl pointed out that, if so, this part of the book was written later than the rest, since Lollianus was not consul, as was the hero of the horoscope, until some time after the death of Constantine, to whom Firmicus often refers as emperor. But Professor Mommsen's acquaintance with the people of that age enables him to show clearly that the horoscope is that of Ceionius Rufus Albinus, consul in 335, exactly at the time required by the internal evidence. This is certainly a triumph of scholarship.

E. J. WEBB.

LEO ON THE PLAUTINE CANTICA.

Die plautinischen Cantica und die hellenistische Lyrik, by F. LEO (Berlin, Weidmann, 1897). M. 7.50.

THE present treatise is the first attempt to consider the metrical constitution of the Plautine cantica in the light of recent discoveries in the field of Hellenistic verse; and it will be studied by students of Plautus as breaking new ground and raising, if not solving, problems with which every future editor will have to reckon. At the same time it is a valuable supplement to the author's edition of Plautus, which does not contain an account of the metres.

Ever since 1896, when Mr. Grenfell published the Alexandrian erotic fragment, the date of which appears to be about the same as that of the death of Plautus, the question has been mooted how far we have in it a specimen of the kind of verse on which the Plautine cantica may have been based. A certain similarity between the two was noticed by Crusius in his review of the fragment in the *Philologus*.¹ A wide field of enquiry is thus opened up, the problem being to trace the relation between the lyrical measures of Plautus and Greek dramatic lyrics, as developed between the time of Euripides and the 2nd Century, B.C.; and this enquiry has an important bearing not only upon the question of Plautus's originality as an artist in metre, but also upon the reconstitution of the Plautine cantica themselves.

To this problem Leo now addresses himself with characteristic boldness and ingenuity, and all students of Plautus will be grateful to him for the important light which he throws on the matter. But the difficulties of the problem are enormous. Neither term of the comparison is fully known; and one of them is only just emerging from the total obscurity in which it has lain up to the present time. What may not the next few years bring forth in the way of new discoveries, which may throw wholly unexpected light upon Hellenistic verse?

The difficulty as to the other term of the comparison is illustrated by the fact that Leo has to begin by an elaborate examination of the cantica of Plautus themselves, in order to determine first of all what metres he employed and how they should be regarded and arranged. As every editor of Plautus

knows, this is a question by no means solved, and every page of this treatise bristles with problems and possibilities of error. It has been the practice of the most scientific editors to accept as a rough basis of operations the division into lines and cola exhibited in the best MSS. and to scan them as best they may, acquiescing in any heterogeneity of metres to which they may thereby be forced, while at the same time attempting to reduce the many to one, so far as was possible by way of reasonable emendations and redivision of lines. Leo holds that the 'Kolometrie' of the MSS. did not originate with Plautus himself, and it cannot do more than give us a basis of departure in the work of reconstruction. It is obvious that in such a *modus operandi* there is plenty of room for differences of opinion, even within the pale of strictly scientific procedure: and Leo would be the first to admit that his constructions are not the only possibilities.

Still it must be confessed that the result at which Leo arrives is one which has much to commend it. Hitherto it has been supposed that the polymetry of the cantica—'mixed multitude' or 'buntes Gemisch,' as it has been called by some editors—is a distinctively Roman creation, due to Plautus himself, whereas the other metres of his plays are due to his originals. In opposition to this Leo maintains that the Plautine lyrics are the last outcome of a long process of development which began with the monodies of Euripides, and in which the erotic fragment of Mr. Grenfell is to be regarded as the missing link.² Plautus is then neither an originator of an entirely new departure in this field, nor a mere adapter of existing metrical material, but rather the continuer of a certain line of development. His contribution to the process was similar in kind and extent to that made by some of his predecessors, whose claims to be regarded as original creators is generally admitted; that is to say, he was original in so far as he isolated a type which he found in sporadic use before his time, and employed it in successive lines for the composition of ὄλα ᾄσματα. Leo thus builds a bridge from

² Leo scans this according to the scheme of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, who makes it mainly dochmiac throughout. It is to be noted that dochmiacs do not appear in Plautus, as Leo himself admits.

¹ Vol. 55, pp. 353-384.

Euripides to Plautus: and even though further research may show that some of the piers do not rest on a very secure foundation, the general result of his enquiry seems likely to be established.

From one point of view the upshot of this treatise is disappointing. Little or nothing is here done to reduce the apparently fortuitous concourse of metrical atoms to order and unity. Indeed, the general tendency of Leo's procedure does not seem to lie in that direction. But it would be premature to pronounce finally on this point until the continuation of the treatise (promised on p. 112) is forthcoming. Meanwhile, however, I confess that I am not satisfied with his treatment of the cola

commonly called trochaic (e.g. $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$) and the colon $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$, frequently found in connexion with cretic verses. Leo contents himself with maintaining that they are of 'cretic character' or a 'constituent part (*Bestandtheil*) of cretic verse.' But this does not enable us to see a unity, unless we are told how the apparent trochaics can be reduced to cretics, or (it might be suggested) the apparent cretics to trochaics. I am far from intending to imply that such a reduction is impossible; but Leo has not given it, and perhaps was precluded from giving it by his antagonism to the 'rhythmical' school of Westphalia.

E. A. SONNENSCHIEIN.

BENNETT'S *DE SENECTUTE*.

M. Tulli Ciceronis Cato Maior de Senectute.

With notes by CHARLES E. BENNETT, Professor of Latin in Cornell University. Boston: Leach, Shewell, and Sanborn. 1897. Pp. viii. + 129. Sixty cents.

PROFESSOR BENNETT has given us an edition of the *De Senectute* that is admirable for its brevity and conciseness. In an introduction of but four pages he tells the essential facts about the Dialogue. In the commentary his aim is to give only such information as the student needs in order to understand the text. Most of his comments have to do with questions of language-interpretation and are unusually clear. We should be glad, however, for more references to the grammar in a book intended for comparatively elementary students.

With most of the syntactical notes it is easy to agree, although in a few cases a different explanation might be preferred. Reid's suggestion on *cui qui parcat* (i. 2, 7) brings out the thought better: *unde discerem* (iv. 12, 20) is characteristic rather than purpose; the mood of *scandant* (vi. 17, 19) is subjunctive regardless of the indirect discourse; the note on *quicquid agas* (ix. 27, 11) is inadequate, and the statement that many editors explain *serendis* (vii. 24, 30) as an ablative absolute is rather non-committal. Among many interpretations that deserve to be commended, that of *quid est enim* (ii. 5, 20) seems particularly happy, and the note on *cum...fuisset* (vi. 16, 13) which is founded on the classification laid

down by Professor Hale in his 'Cum-constructions' (pp. 184—189, American Edition), is a model of clearness and completeness.

We are disappointed at the scarcity of literary comment and should welcome references to Latin and English literature, since the *De Senectute* so readily lends itself to this sort of comparison. To make room for such references we could well dispense with the too frequent translations found in the notes. Sentimental Tommy's search for 'hantle' must not be made too easy or he loses the desired training.

The absence of quantity-marks over the long vowels and the relegation of the running English analysis to the commentary, where it properly belongs, leave nothing to mar the beauty of the text page. The loss of a hyphen at the end of line 21, p. 28, is the only error in printing that has been noticed. *Fuissem* (p. 121, line 9) is doubtless a mistake in quotation for *essem*.

The text is mainly that of Mueller, but the critical material which has appeared since 1879 has been utilised and Bennett's text differs from Mueller's in about fifty places. Bennett's own contribution is *exerceri videbamus* for *mori videbamus* (xiv. 49, 18). Most editors simply omit *mori*, although a few defend it. Some conjectures accepted are; Lachmann's *noenum* for *non enim* (iv. 10, 25), Bernay's *plusque* for *postque* (iv. 10, 26), Ribbeck's *Lupo* for *ludo* (vi. 20, 19), Reid's *quoniam* for *cum* (xix. 68, 22), Bergk's *dacrumis* for *lacrumis* (xx. 73, 19).

In vi. 17, 21 the text is improved by reading *facit* *facit*, with Baiter, for *faciat* *faciat* of Mueller and most of the manuscripts. In v. 14, 16 *suavissem* is changed to *suasi*. *Sed*, following Madvig's suggestion. On rather scant evidence, though not unsupported, Bennett reads *te*

i. 1, 1: *consolatione*, ii. 4, 9: *fuera in arce*, iv. 11, 29: *ne sint*, xi. 34, 8: *vi evelluntur*, xix. 71, 24. The text is altered by simple transposition in i. 2, 6: ii. 4, 31: v. 15, 23: xx. 73, 15: xxiii. 82, 6.

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TWO EDITIONS OF CAESAR.

C. Iulii Caesaris Belli gallici libri vii. A. Hirtii liber viii. recensuit, apparatu critico instruxit HENRICUS MEUSEL. Berolini, Weber.

C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii ex recensione Bernardi Kübleri. Vol. i. de bello Gallico. Vol. iii. pars prior, commentarius de bello Alexandrino rec. B. KÜBLER, de bello Africo rec. Ed. Wölflin. Lipsiae, Teubner. 1894, 1896. M. 2. 20.

THE manuscripts of Caesar fall into two classes, rather like the manuscripts of the Acts of the Apostles: that is, one class contains a number of individual words, phrases, etc., which are absent in the other. Until recently, the shorter version was held both in the case of Caesar and in that of St. Luke to be the more genuine, and Nipperdey's characterization of the longer Caesar MSS. as interpolated was generally accepted. Lately there has been a revolt in the criticism of both authors. Blass has tried, with indifferent success, I fancy, to sustain the correctness of the longer version of the Acts: others with better fortune, have restored the reputation of the 'interpolated'

MSS. of Caesar. The grounds for the latter revolt are perhaps better justified than those on which Blass rested. Since Nipperdey, the MSS. of Caesar have been more carefully collated and the lexica of Merguet and still more of Meusel have illustrated the style and diction of the great Roman. Hence it has become generally accepted that the 'interpolated' MSS. deserve full consideration, with the melancholy corollary that all the manuscripts even of the Gallic War have been seriously corrupted at an early date. I need not further criticize the editions named at the head of this paragraph than to say that they represent the revolt against Nipperdey. Mr. Kübler's text is not yet completed but it is a valuable addition to the Teubner series and contains a noteworthy 'Praefatio' of some length. Mr. Meusel's work is terser in form and more attractive in appearance and is thoroughly worthy of recommendation as a scholarly and judicious edition. Both books have convenient indices and maps.

F. H.

AD LUCANI LIBROS MSS.

In fasciculo M. Maii h. a. Doctissimus WALTER C. SUMMERS aliqua dubia movet de lectionibus MSS. Lucani, quae ego quantum sciam et potero solvam. Potissimum improbat quod saepius meae collationi codicis Montepessulani addidi diversum Steinharti testimonium, eoquē, ut ait, lectori optionem dedi, utra lectio, mea an Steinharti, vera esset. Allatis quibusdam locis subiungit (p. 229, col. i.): 'was it not worth while to have these points definitely settled?' Et paulo ante me dubitasse de mea ipsius collatione dicit; 'nor is Dr. Francken always

confident of the accuracy of his own statements.' In hanc partem afferuntur vii. 303, ubi in annotatione commemorans, ubi lectio *parata* exstaret, dixi: 'in V et *fort.* in M.' Nempe sic retulit Steinhart, sed id mihi dubium videri ex verbis apparet ipsis.

ix. 605. dixi 'de M. dubito.' M. scribit *versum bis*, secundum me utroque loco habet *quam*, secundum Steinh. altero loco legitur *qua*. De hoc Steinh. testimonio me dubitare dixi: de M. dubito an *non* habeat *qua*, certe altero loco habet *quam*.

ix. 749. 'exquireret causis' lectionem ἀμετρον

testatur Steinhartus, quem *exquireret ausis*, 'exquireret ausis' voluisse, utique *errasse* in Var. Lect. significavi.

His et aliis locis Steinharti testimonium a meo diversum retuli, sed ubique meam ipse collationem secutus sum, unde me meis non diffusum esse manifestum est. Discrimen duarum collationum notavi, quoniam testimonium Steinharti *nova collatione explorare non potui*: mea erat dudum confecta et liber MS. Montepessulam remissus, cum Hosii editio, Steinharti collationem continens, prodit. Testimonium viri, qui inde a dissertatione pro gradu Doctoris defensa usque ad finem vitae in MSS. Lucani legendis versatus est, non licebat temere negligere. Unde discrimen fortasse explicandum sit, dixi in Praefatione, sed certi nihil.

Praeterea ad singulos quosdam locos non inutile erit animadvertisse:

p. 228, col. 2, vi. 76 excidit:

romae } V, sic mea coll.
terrae }

vii. 295. *ruentis* in V scriptum est non tanquam V.L., sed velut explicatio.

viii. 48. *vides* G, ut est in textu; de erasa s nihil in mea coll.

p. 229, col. 1. Quoties Hosii Vaticanum memoravi sic notavi: *F. Hosii*. Pertinet F ad codices Hosii 'hic illic adseitos,' quorum non magnum pondus est, eumque propterea omisi in 'Notis Codicum' initio vol. ii. Figitur si legitur in Var. Lect. corrigendum est T=Taurinensis Dorvillii. Obiter addo hunc, cuius collationem a Dorvillio factam

exhibui, re vera exstare etiam nunc Turini, de quo alibi referam.

Sin Var. Lect. significat *Scholiastam*, non excluso Commento Useneri.—'In vii. 633 it stands for Servius!' Adde: who two lines before was cited.

vii. 331. 'Two accounts of the reading of his own MS. A.' Non duae relationes unius lectionis, sed una relatio duarum lectionum. A enim habet (referam ut est in mea coll.):

1 m. *ceresque vires*

inde factum: *ceresque viri^{le}s* (sic!)

2 m. marg: *ceris viris*.

vi. 316. 'V mentioned along with O.' V post O non significare posse Vossianum animadvertit Vir Doctissimus; positum erat pro *vulgo*. Sic (*vulgo*) correxeram *deleta* V, sed operae non paruerunt.

Denique Doctissimus vir: Moreover, inquit, there are cases where Dr. Francken does not mention that his account of a MS. reading differs from that of other scholars. See (for M), &c. Ubi omisi M a Steinharto collatum, feci id quoniam de errore eius mihi satis constabat, aut quia mentio nulli bono fuisset.—Addit: see (for V) rell. Non eadem causa est librorum V et M; in hoc litterarum ductus non satis conspicui quid primitus scriptum fuerit saepe dubium faciunt, non item in V.

C. M. FRANCKEN.

TRAIECTI AD RHENUM,
31 Maii 1898.

ARCHAEOLOGY

INSCRIPTIONS FROM PATRAS.

THE castle at Patras is entirely of mediaeval construction, but its walls especially on the north-west side are largely composed of fragments from ancient buildings. It is in the shape of an irregular triangle, and the upper part of it near the apex on the height of the ridge is used as a prison. Villehardouin, if as is probable he erected it, seems to have converted the ancient acropolis into a mediaeval fortress in a rough and ready fashion, not even sparing the church of St. Sophia, which was the successor of the famous temple of Artemis Laphria.¹

¹ So Blouet, *Exp. Scient. de la Morée*, i. Introd. p. 7. Leake, *Morea*, ii. 136 quotes Ducange to the effect that the church was destroyed, but I cannot find the passage.

What subsequent alterations of the building took place under Venetian and Turkish occupations, it would take a learned expert to decide. During a few days of enforced leisure, while waiting for a steamer, I examined the walls as far as possible and copied the following inscriptions.

(1)=*C.I.L.* iii. 507 corrected in Suppl. i. 7261: on the west side of the round tower in the north-west face of the outer wall. (Letters .05 high. Stone .68 by .30).

It is given in *C.I.L.* as

L · VEIRIO · L · F · QVI
FRONTONI
VEZER · LEG · XII · FVL.

The first two letters of the third line are now illegible, the fourth is certainly R and

there seems to be hardly room for five letters in the first word. It looks therefore as if the abbreviation of *veteranus* were here VETR.

(2) Statue basis built into the wall on the east side of the same tower (letters .035 to .05 in height. Width of stone .35. Height .52).

Βαλερίαν
Μοδεστείναν
οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι.
ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλῆς).

(3) As posts of a doorway leading from

σημεῖον αὐθέντου Πανδουλφου
παλαιῶν Πατρῶν τοῦ ανακαί (shield)
ναοῦ τῷ χιλιοστῷ τετρακοσί

the open court of the castle to the prison are two inscribed stones, which it seems worth while to comment on here, though they are not unknown. They seem to have been originally lintels to two doors of a church. Each inscription is divided into two parts by a coat of arms in relief, now almost obliterated.¹

There is a facsimile in the *Expéd. Sci. de la Morée*, vol. iii. pl. 85, but in the supplement p. 64, nos. 7 and 8 Blouet only mentions that they were copied by Trézel.

(a) The Greek text is in *C.I.G.* 8776. It runs

ντε Μαλατέστοις βροπολίτου
ἵσαντος τὸν τῇδε θείον
οστῳέικοστω ἐκτῷ ἔτει.

(accents, as on the stone, wherever legible)

Line 1. Not κομη]τ[ο]ς (*C.I.G.*) but ντε Μαλατέστοις = de Malatestis.

2. Old Patras so-called (as in *C.I.G.* 8771) to distinguish it from Neopatras (Hypata) in the Spercheios valley. There is a sign of abbreviation over the *μρ* of *μητροπόλιτου*.

INSIGNIV SEV ARMA
ALATESTIS ARCHI (shield)
HEDIFICATORIS HVI

3. *στ* written in one character. The acute accent is placed over the first letter of the syllable accented, whether vowel or consonant, the grave on the last.

(b) Latin text, in black letter, much worn and hard to read even in the French facsimile

DOMINI PANDVLF DE [M]
EPISCOPI PATRACE
ECCLESIE MCCCXXVI.

Line 1. The last letter of the first word is shown by the squeeze to be the same as the last of the second word, and in my copy appears what seems to be an abbreviation mark over it. The form '*insignium*' is quite certain here for coat of arms. The last letters of the line are now illegible, but *π* must be restored. Line 2. In the last word the fifth letter is certainly *Α* (not as in Trézel's copy); an abbreviation mark must be restored over the probable *ε* and we get *Patracensis*, the correct adjective, (Lequien. *Oriens Christianus*, iii. p. 1023 *Provincia Patrarum Veterum. Ecclesia Patracensis Metropolis*). Line 3. The third letter of the second word is an ordinary *ι* with a curl to it as compendium for *huius*. Over the *π* and *ν* of the date is *ο*, indicating *millesimo sexto*: if it existed over *c* and *x*, it is no longer visible.

The interest of this inscription is that it marks the end of Frankish and Latin domination in Greece. Pandulph di Malatesta of Pesaro was born in 1390 and is described (Litta, *Famiglie celebri*) as 'gobbo, storpio, e di brutta faccia; cosicchè il padre

non potendo farne un soldato ne fece un prete.' His sister Cleope was married in 1419 to Thomas Palaeologos one of the despots of Morea,² and no doubt because of this marriage he was made archbishop of Patras in 1424, governing the place 'as the temporal no less than the spiritual deputy of the Pope' (Finlay). The Latin influence was however nearly gone, and Pandulph was not a person to revive it successfully. This inscription tells us that he set to work immediately to rebuild the church within the fortress, as the only safe place for the metropolitan throne; thus we have an incidental proof how hateful the papal domination was to the obstinately orthodox Greeks of the Morea. After the completion of this work he seems to have retired to Italy, and in his absence Constantine the despot, who already ruled over Vostitza on one side and Chlarentza on the other tried to get hold of Patras. After an unsuccessful attempt, in which the chionieler Phrantzes was taken prisoner, the townspeople agreed that if the archbishop did not return by the end of May, they would sur-

¹ Those who care to see what it was like will find it in P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri di Italia*, Pt. 159, Tav. 1 (L. Passerini).

² According to Phrantzes, *Chronicon*, ii. 10 to Theodore. Phrantzes also seems to imply that she died at Sparta, not at Pesaro.

render the town. Accordingly on June 5th Constantine entered Patras. A few days later Pandulph arrive in a Catalan ship but was unable to do anything to relieve the garrison of the fortress, which after holding out for about a year was obliged to surrender (Phrantzes ii. cc. 6-8). This was the end of the Latin hierarchy in the Morea, for though Lequien mentions the name of two more archbishops of Patras, clearly neither of them ever set foot in the place.

To the scanty remains of antiquity in Patras mentioned by Dr. Frazer should be added the Roman mosaic in the square near Mr. Wood's villa, which is now covered up but will probably be soon published. I regret to say that the marble casing of the seats in the Odeion has nearly all been stolen.

G. C. RICHARDS.

WEICHARDT'S POMPEII.

C. WEICHARDT: Pompeii vor der Zerstörung. Reconstructionen der Tempel und ihrer Umgebung. Kühler, Leipzig, 1897. 50 m.

EVERY student of Pompeii—one may almost say every serious visitor to Pompeii—endeavours to restore the ruined city; for without reconstruction Pompeii inevitably remains a mere collection of fragmentary ruins, capable of exciting only a temporary curious interest in the visitor. Yet not every Pompeian student, however well trained he may be in archaeology, has the ability to reduce to drawing the reconstruction he builds in his mind, so that he constantly labours under the disadvantage of never seeing clearly and objectively his restoration in proper relation to its surroundings. Weichardt, however, is fortunately well equipped in the direction in which so many investigators are weak. He is by profession an architect and a teacher of decoration and ornament in Leipsic, but has been compelled to spend much time in the South, where for some years he has given himself to the study of Pompeii. In the course of his investigations, the restorations which, with explanatory text, appear in the book before us, have been made to satisfy the investigator's own needs, and not in the first instance for publication; that they are now given to the public is due to the encouragement and urging of his fellow-investigators, and, one may conjecture, not least to the friendship of the first of Pom-

peian scholars, August Mau, to whom the book is dedicated.

Weichardt has devoted the present volume to restorations of seven Pompeian temples. These restorations are presented in twelve folio plates made from water colours by the author, as well as in numerous smaller illustrations, and are in the main superior to the olden restorations, such as Piranesi's of the Temple of Isis, the work of Mazois and of Rossini, and the miniatures of Gell and Gandy.

After an introduction, describing the origin and purpose of his work, Weichardt gives in chap. i. a brief account of the history of Pompeii and of its destruction; in chap. ii. he discusses the situation of the city in relation to Vesuvius and the surrounding country, concentrating his attention, however, on the so-called *forum triangulare*. The text here, as throughout the book, is well illustrated by plans, sketches, and reproductions of photographs taken for the purpose. Even to one who knows Pompeii well, the two folio plates will prove a surprise and pleasure. Pl. i. shows in the foreground a restoration of the platform and southern (rear) side of the four-storied house, commonly known as Casa di Giuseppe II.; the middle of the picture is occupied by the *forum triangulare*, with the Greek temple upon it; beyond stretches the valley of the Sarno, shown at its ancient level before the lava stream of 79 A.D. had raised it some nine metres. The second folio plate presents a reverse view of that shown in the first: the spectator looks from a point south-east of the *forum triangulare*, past the forum, along the southern (s.w.) side of the city to the bay beyond. With these plates before him, one realises how the promontory of the ancient lava stream, on which Pompeii was built, rose at this point abruptly from the valley, and becomes more favourably inclined to the theory, which Mazois first expressed, that this point formed the arx of the ancient settlement.

The reconstruction of the south-east corner of the *forum triangulare* is a difficult problem, which can be finally settled only when future excavations bring new remains to light. Weichardt has succeeded in showing, however, the probable manner in which the city wall, coming from the Stabian Gate, ran into the higher retaining wall of the forum. He then supposes, as Mazois and Fiorelli before him have done, that a flight of steps connected the lower level of the city wall with the forum plateau above, a theory for which no sufficient monumental proof

has yet been found. Mazois supposed a change in direction in the south-west (the outer) wall of the forum, and a prolongation of the wall to permit a flight of steps to rise from the lower level, and open into the peribolos above. Fiorelli proposed a kind of bastion tower, with steps within. Weichardt, however, makes the flight of steps rise directly from the terrace formed by the city wall, and lead at the top into a passage behind the peribolos, and above the gladiators' barracks. This restoration must be regarded as uncertain for lack of evidence, as just stated; furthermore, the necessity of supposing that any such connection existed at this place is not apparent.

From the discussion of the forum plateau, Weichardt goes on to consider the Greek temple, and the buildings about it. Pl. iii. shows a restoration of the temple viewed from the south-east, with the round doric well-house in the foreground, and the peribolos on two sides of the triangle. In his restoration of the temple Weichardt departs from the usual arrangement, which allots six columns to the ends,¹ and supplies seven, whereby the temple becomes properly a pseudo-dipteros. The arguments which Weichardt advances in favour of his arrangement are sound, and seem convincing; and the familiar wall-painting, reproduced here after Gell, in which seven of the ten structures represented, apparently temples, show façades with unequal numbers of columns, proves that the ancients had no deep-seated objection to such an arrangement. One must, however, remind himself while examining the restorations shown in Plates i.-iii., that they cannot represent the Greek temple in the period 63-79 A.D., for this temple was apparently in ruins as early as the republican period, and had been replaced by a smaller shrine.

A successful restoration of the Temple of Apollo and its court (chap. v., plates iv. and v.), is followed by an account of ancient and modern excavations in Pompeii. Weichardt then passes to the *forum civile*, and the Temple of Jupiter, with its immediate surroundings. The reconstructions are excellent. The restoration of the so-called arch of Nero, too, is more successful than that of Mazois or that of Rossini in some respects, especially in the arrangement of the columns; but fancy has such free rein here that no restoration can be considered

to be of much authority. Pl. ix. and the corresponding chapter are devoted to the Temple of Fortuna Augusta. Weichardt's attempt to use the rude relief found in the house of L. Caecilius Secundus for the reconstruction of this temple, and of the arch which spans the Strada di Mercurio, seems to us hopeless. If the relief pictures any reality, it shows a part of the north end of the *forum civile*. Equally unsuccessful must be any attempt to establish the so-called equestrian statue of Nero as a portrait statue of any member of the imperial house.

In his study of the small temple on the north-east side of the *forum civile*, which since Mau's investigations is regarded as a Temple to Vespasian, Weichardt was led to search in the National Museum at Naples for the slab adorned with ornamental relief, and for the pilaster capital, reported by Mazois as coming from the temple. Weichardt was so fortunate in his search as not only to rediscover the missing slab and capital in the court of the museum, where they have remained unnoticed apparently for over half a century, but also to find the correct application of the slab to the temple. The back of the slab proved to have the same ornamentation as the front, a fact which at once excluded the theory held by Mazois, that it belonged to a frieze. Furthermore, measurements showed that four such slabs, with the necessary five posts, exactly filled the front of the temple podium, while a slab at either side reached to the top of the steps leading to the ground, thus furnishing a complete balustrade for the temple. In the restoration (Pl. x.), the pilaster capital is not employed, as there is no certainty as to its proper place.

The restoration of the Temple of Isis and its court is equally successful, although here, as elsewhere, many will raise objection to details, especially to details of ornamentation. The last restoration, that of the temple of the Capitoline Divinities (so-called Temple of Zeus Meilichios), is the least fortunate of all. As the ruins do not show the columniation, the restoration here rests only on comparison with other monuments and on general probability. Among the possible arrangements of the columns, that which Mazois adopted, *i.e.*, four columns in front and two at either side, or even the plan shown by Weichardt, fig. 127 iii., *i.e.*, corner pilasters with two columns in front and one on either side, is preferable to the arrangement of three columns flanked by pilasters which Weichardt employs.

The book closes with a translation of

¹ So Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeii*, Leipsic, 1884; Duhn and Jacobi, *der griechische Tempel in Pompeii*, Heidelberg, 1890; but Mau in his *Führer durch Pompeii*, 2^{te} Aufl. 1896, p. 35 shows seven columns.

Pliny's well-known letters to Tacitus, describing the eruption of Vesuvius and his uncle's death.

As just stated, many will raise objections to details in Weichardt's restorations. His ornamentation and pediment reliefs are not always happy; but a careful study of the work will lead one to overlook these matters, which are of but slight importance compared to the service which he has done in rebuilding these ruined temples for us with so large a measure of success. Curtius, who saw some of these plates a short time before his death, declared that at last Pompeii came to him with a living meaning, a statement which will be repeated by many.

Weichardt makes the welcome promise of a second volume, devoted to the private houses of Pompeii. One may venture to hope that in this second volume polychromy may be used without making the cost of the work too great; effective as the monochrome plates in the present work are, the successful use of colour would have greatly increased their value.

CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE.

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FURTWÄNGLER'S CATALOGUE OF THE SOMZÉE COLLECTION.

Sammlung Somzée: Antike Kunstdenkmäler
herausgegeben von ADOLF FURTWÄNGLER.
(43 Plates), Munich, Verlaganstalt F.
Bruckmann. 1897. 80m.

THE collection of M. Somzée in Brussels is the growth of recent years, consisting for the greater part of statues which once adorned various great private collections in Rome. Like Herr Jacobsen, whose Glyptothek at NyCarlsberg near Copenhagen, is now famous, M. Somzée has understood how to profit by the impoverishment of noble Italian families consequent upon the events of 1870, and by the impotence of the Italian government to prevent the exportation of works of art from Rome. Professor Furtwängler bids us view this traffic with impartiality: 'we hail with satisfaction', he writes in the preface to the publication before us, 'the fact that so many neglected statues, once improperly adapted to the indifferent adornment of the courts and gardens of the Roman nobility, should now have found their way to the North, where they are duly appreciated and understood.' This proposition might be assented to, were only 'courts and gardens' robbed of their statues. But buyer's opportunities have not been limited to those works—for

the most part of minor importance—which had been exposed to the open air. At NyCarlsberg, for instance, we find both the Hera and the superb Anakreon from the Villa Borghese, while the kernel of the Somzée collection consists largely of statues which once formed part of the *Galleria Ludovisi*, the most celebrated of all the princely Roman collections.¹ When in consequence of financial losses sustained by its owners, the collection Ludovisi passed to its new home in the Museo Boncompagni, it had already lost many of the works noted in Schreiber's catalogue, and not a few of these now reappear in Brussels. Indeed this seems to be only the first stage in a process of disintegration: the Museo Boncompagni which contains,—or did a short while ago contain—such artistic treasures as the throne with the reliefs of the Birth of Aphrodite, the grand and original archaic head with its triple row of curls (Helbig, *Coll. of Classical Antiquities in Rome*, 882), the Hermes (Helbig 871) possibly after Telephanes of Phokaia, and the Athena signed by [Ant]iochos, has now been inexorably closed to the public for more than two years, and if report speaks true, its dispersion is imminent. If artistic and archaeological studies are to continue to have their centre in Rome, it is time that the Italian government should keep zealous watch over the private collections, and should enforce the laws it has passed against the secret sale and purchase of works of art. It is strange that in this respect, Italy should betray greater impotence than Greece. Meanwhile, if the works must go out of the country, we may so far agree with Professor Furtwängler as to feel grateful that they should fall into the hands of collectors as enlightened as M. Somzée and Herr Jacobsen, who hasten to make them known far and wide by means of sumptuous publications. It is not possible in a review to do more than touch upon a few of the most important among the objects so admirably reproduced by Messrs. Bruckmann, and described by Professor Furtwängler. The work is divided into two parts: the first containing marble sculpture, for the most part Roman copies of Greek originals; the second smaller objects such as terra-cottas, vases, bronzes and miniature statuary. Among the Roman

¹ 'The Museo Ludovisi contained, perhaps, more masterpieces of Greco-Roman art than Sallust and his Imperial successors had been able to gather in the gardens.'—Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 418.

copies especially interesting is the colossal statue of a nude, helmeted youth (Plate IV.) which Furtwängler somewhat audaciously traces back to Mikon, painter and sculptor, the basis of whose Kallias at Olympia, reveals a pose identical with that of the Somzée warrior. On Plate VII. we have a beautiful replica of a Polykleitan figure; on Plate VIII. a statuette of Aphrodite after an original of the Pheidian period. The new replica of the Athena Parthenos on Plate IX. 12 is poor and free, and obviously inferior to the replica lately discovered by Mr. Cecil Smith at Patras, and published by him in the *Annals of the British School at Athens*. On the same plate we have a replica of the Praxitelean Athena in Woburn Abbey, a work to which our author has lately discovered an interesting analogy in a statue of the [Museo Correr at Venice.¹ On Plate X. we note a superb bearded Asklepios, offering marked stylistic affinities to the 'Apollo on the Omphalos' now generally accepted as a copy after Kalamis. Furtwängler finds external evidence to corroborate the Kalamidian origin of the Somzée statue: the right arm of this Asklepios is raised high as if to grasp a sceptre, the left is bent forward as if to hold an attribute, so that neither hand can have held the usual snake-wreathed staff of the god of healing. But this gesture of the hands would, as Furtwängler points out, accord admirably with the description Pausanias gives of the gold-ivory Asklepios executed by Kalamis for Sikyon, since the god held the sceptre with one hand and a fir cone in the other (Paus. ii. 10, 3). On Plate XIV. we have a very lovely variant of the 'Satyr pouring wine,' commonly attributed to Praxiteles; on Plates XVII. and XVIII. excellent torsi of the Knidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles and of the 'Aphrodite wringing her hair' after Apelles. Plate XXI. shows a good replica of the charming statuette in the Uffizi (Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz* 84) of a nymph seated on a rock and tying her sandal. Amid so many copies we doubly welcome a superb original of the Hellenistic period, (Plate XXV.) representing a barbarian with long hair tied in a knot over the right ear, in the fashion recorded by Tacitus to have been peculiar to the German tribe of the Bastarnai whom Prof. Furtwängler has so ably identified on the monument of Adam klissi.² On Plate XXVI. we find one of

the innumerable replicas of the portrait so long misnamed 'Seneca,' the interpretation of which is a time-honoured archaeological puzzle. As might be expected Prof. Furtwängler is ready with a new solution. The head, which is unanimously attributed to the Hellenistic period, and which has lately been interpreted as Philetas or Kallimachos (Helbig 459) he takes to be an 'imaginary portrait' (after the fashion of the portraits of Homer) of the Iambic poet Hipponax, giving late expression to the legend of his ugliness, preserved for us by Pliny and by Metrodoros of Skepsis (*ap. Athenaios* xii. 552, c). *Hipponacti notabilis foeditas voltus erat*, says Pliny, and the head certainly represents some very ugly person; so far, but no further, do we think Prof. Furtwängler has grounds for his proposed interpretation, which, for the present, it will be prudent to count only as conjecture. The Somzée replica is fine, but (judging from the plate) scarcely so fine as the Florentine replica in the room of the Hermaphrodite at the Uffizi (Amelung 165), a head which Dr. Amelung esteems so highly as to suggest that it may be the original of the various replicas. That the subject was capable in the hands of a great artist of far higher refinements than are observable in any of the extant busts, is proved by the admirable reproduction of it, after some replica that had found its way to Flanders, in the background of the picture by Rubens (in the Pitti) representing himself with his brother and Justus Lipsius. The superb Antinoos deified as Dionysos, from the coll. Casali, of which Winckelman wrote that it was 'the finest of the statues of Antinoos,' is given on Plates XXVIII. and XXIX. Together with the grand head of Hadrian (Sciara-Barberini) wrongly adapted to a bust of the Augustan period, it should suffice to give celebrity to the Somzée collection. Among the bronzes not a few are of original workmanship: so the remarkable archaic statuette of a youthful rider (Plate XXXII., 83) resembling a bronze from the Peloponnesus now at Athens, and on the same plate (84) a work of the early part of the fifth century—a rare Corinthian bronze representing a nude youth, designed as the support of a mirror. But the palm among the bronzes must be awarded to a lovely flying Ikaros (Plate XXVIII.), found in Smyrna, a genuine little masterpiece of fourth-century workmanship. The subject is unique, and from the provenance of the bronze, Furtwängler aptly conjectures it to have come from Nikaria, the ancient Ikaria, the Ἰκάρου ἔδος of Aischylos, where

¹ See *Griechische Originalstatuen in Venedig*, von Adolf Furtwängler, Munich, 1898.

² *Intermezzi*. No. 4, p. 67 ff.

Pausanias records was the burial place of Ikaros. We close our notice of the sculpture with what is really the gem of the whole collection, namely a miniature bearded head of Zeus or Asklepios treated, in spite of its diminutive size, in the purest Pheidian manner. The likeness of the head to that of the Pheidian Zeus on coins of Olympia, noted by Furtwängler is significant. The present writer has repeatedly examined this head and can testify to its amazing beauty. The collection also includes not a few interesting vases. Let it suffice to mention here the Corinthian cylix decorated with the slaying of the Minotaur by Theseus, and of Acheloos by Herakles. Not only are subjects of rare occurrence in this class of vases, but the presentment of the Minotaur is unique; the monster, instead of wrestling with his adversary, is shown fallen to the ground, only painfully lifting himself on his right arm. The whole scene, indeed, is treated with a freshness of invention which, as the author does not fail to point out, should make us wary of believing, as some would have it, that the Greek vase-painters always confined themselves within the rigid lines of an established type.

Even from these short and inadequate indications some notion may be formed of the materials gathered by M. Somzée and of Prof. Furtwängler's comments and conclusions. For the collection itself, and for the book which makes it known there can be nothing but praise. If some of us would prefer that many of these statues should have remained in Rome to adorn the *Museo delle Terme*, it is because they feel and believe that a number of scattered and comparatively small collections, however well arranged and described, can never equal in point of interest or enjoyment, the imposing spectacle of conquering Rome led in triumph by *Graecia capta*.

Finally, we note that the text is profusely illustrated with monuments from other collections, helping to throw light on the objects under discussion. This excellent method, which one could wish to see adopted in our English catalogues, had been inaugurated, if we mistake not, by Dr. Arndt in his publication of the Collection Jacobsen, and employed by Dr. Amelung in his *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*.

EUGÉNIE STRONG.

Epigrafia Latina, by S. RICCI. Trattato elementare con esercizi pratici e facsimili illustrativi. Milano, 1897. 8vo. xxxii., 447 pp. Con 65 tav. 6 l. 50 c.

Ricci's *Epigrafia Latina* is similar in plan and scope to Egbert's 'Latin Inscriptions' and Cagnat's *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*, on which Egbert's manual is largely based. Though somewhat smaller than either of these books, it is well filled with interesting material for epigraphical study. The subject is treated under six general heads with convenient sub-divisions and numerous appendices. Inscriptions are classified according to time, subject and material. The literary and historical importance of the study is clearly set forth, and correct methods of work are outlined. An excellent bibliography, a large number of practical exercises with references to authorities, and a full list of abbreviations make this a serviceable handbook for beginners.

The facsimiles and illustrations on sixty-five plates, many of them double-page, are worthy of special mention. One would scarcely expect so much illustrative material at such moderate cost. In this feature the book is superior to Cagnat's and nearly equal to Egbert's.

The list of additions and corrections is rather long; and a single reading reveals a few slips and misprints not included in the author's list, though none of a serious character. It is, in fact, almost impossible to keep such a work entirely free from typographical errors. In a second edition, which ought to be reached in due time, these defects can be remedied.

Professor Ricci dedicates his modest, but scholarly *Manuale di Epigrafia Latina* to his distinguished teachers, Lattes, de Ruggiero and Lanciani, honourable names in classical scholarship. One who has caught the spirit of such masters could hardly send forth a dull production.

The book is supplied with a good index, and is neat and attractive in its mechanical make up.

F. E. ROCKWOOD.

Lewisburg, Pa.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

The Journal of Philology. Vol. xxvi. No. 51. 1898.

The Strong Hephthemimeral Pause in Latin Hexameter Poetry, W. E. Heitland. This pause is much more important in Lat. than in Gk. and occurs in two forms, in one of which (B) the break comes after an iambic word following a third trochee, while in the other (A) it does not. The hephem. pause came more and more into favour after the publication of the *Aeneid*, with a preference for the B form, as is seen in Ovid. *A New Homeric Papyrus*, A. S. Hunt. The text is given of a papyrus acquired in Egypt last winter by Mr. B. P. Grenfell. It contains the greater part of *Iliad* xiii and xiv. The hand is a fine specimen of the literary uncial and probably falls within the first century A.D. *Emendations in the First Book of Manilius*, A. E. Housman. *On a Fragment of Solon*, A. Platt. A reply to Prof. Jebb's criticism in the last no. but one [Cl. Rev. xi, 227]. *Orphica*, A. Platt. Emendations of the Argonautica. *A Homeric Idiom defended*, A. Platt. On the use of *κεν* or *εν* with the aor. opt. in the same sense as a past tense of the indic. with the same particles. When a verb has no aor. of its own the pres. opt. may be used instead. *On Cicero Pro Cluentio* §§ 115, 116, J. P. Postgate. Reads *non remittunt for non admittunt* in § 116 on the ground of the sense required. *Various Conjectures*, iv, W. G. Headlam. In T 79 explains οὐδὲ *λοικεν* as = οὐκ *λοικεν* δὲ in direct opposition to μέν. Other conjectures are made on Simonides, Hermesianax, Athenaeus, The Anthology, Callimachus, Manetho, and Apoll. Rhod. *Aetna* 171, 2 Munro, R. Ellis. Reads *quassa citatu for quassat hiatus*. *Emendationes Homericae*, (Ocl. i-v), T. L. Agar. These emendations are mostly directed against omissions of the digamma, the hiatus licitus, omission of *κεν* with the opt. in certain locutions, and other anomalies. *On Some Passages in the Seventh Book of the Eudemian Ethics*, H. Jackson.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik. Vol. 155. Part 12. 1898.

Fasti Delphici, ii. 2 (conclusion), H. Pomtow. (3) The Amphiktyonic states as members of the Aetolian league. (4) The dating of the Archontate, concluding with a table which gives the dates of the Delphic archons of five groups of decrees between 278 and 220 B.C. [see Cl. Rev. sup. p. 144]. *Zu Ciceros briefen*, C. F. W. Müller. Notices the superstitious reverence with which critics follow the traditional text in many places. *Zu Ciceros briefen an Atticus*, W. Sternkopf. In *Att.* iv, 19, 2 [sic. iv, 18, 3?], defends *hibernam legionem* of the text. *Die litteratur der witzworte in Rom. und die geflügelten worte im munde Caesars*, H. Peter. Discusses the sayings

attributed to Caesar, ἀνερίφθω κύβος; καὶ σὺ, τέκνον; and τοῦτο ἐβουλήθησαν. *Kleine beobachtungen zum lateinischen sprachgebrauch*, M. C. P. Schmidt. On *exigo ut*: *posco* and compounds with substantival clauses: *invitare ut* or with infin.: *imperare* and *postulare* with acc. and infin. pass.: *quoque* in sentences of comparison. On *putare*, *existimare*; *summa*, *numeri*, M. C. P. Schmidt. *Zu den publicationskosten der attischen volksbeschlüsse*, E. Drerup. *Grosz-Arabien*, W. Schwarz. On some towns on the east coast of Africa mentioned by the geographer of Ravenna. *Zu Ciceros rede pro Flacco*, A. du Mesnil. Claims priority for the discovery announced by Sternkopf [Cl. Rev. sup. p. 144]. *Zu Plinius naturalis historia*, K. Mayhoff. Textual notes on viii §§ 34, 182, 61, ix § 140, xi § 166. *Zur textkritik Platons*, K. J. Liebholt. *Zu Plautus Truculentus*, L. Reinhardt. On *prot.* 5 and *vv.* 257, 263. *Die Polybios-handschrift im alten scrial zu Constantinopel*, Th. Büttner-Wobst. This MS., noticed by F. Blass in *Hermes* (1888), though it belongs to the younger MSS., is important for the criticism of the history of the text. *Ἀρχιπρεσβευτής*, F. Poland. On the meaning of this in Greek inscriptions.

[With this vol. the *Neue Jahrbücher f. Phil. u. Paed.* comes to an end. It is in some respects continued by the following publication which is however only partially devoted to classical literature.]

Neue Jahrbücher für Das Klassische Altertum Geschichte und Deutsche Litteratur und für Pädagogik. Vol. i. Part 1. 1898.

Antike Humanität, Th. Zielinski. A review of the book of this title by M. Schneidewin. The subject is treated in four divisions, viz. The relation of Man (1) to Man, (2) to State and Fatherland, (3) to Science and Art, (4) to Nature. *Die soziale Dichtung der Griechen*, R. Pöhlmann. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, H. Peter. A review of the work of this title brought out by the Prussian Academy, Part 1, edited by E. Klebs, and Part 2 by H. Dessau.

Part 2. *Die soziale Dichtung der Griechen*, (continued) R. Pöhlmann. *Virgils vierte Ekloge*, F. Marx. A critical analysis of the poem. The *puer* is a son of Pollio, viz. C. Asinius Gallus. *Aus dem Klassischen Süden*, A. Holm. A review of the book of this title written by some who took part in three Baden Studienreise and illustrated with photographs by J. Nöhning of Lübeck.

Part 3. *Römischer Götterbilder*, G. Wissowa. A paper read before the 44th meeting of German philologists at Dresden. *Cicero und Terentia*, O. E. Schmidt. Defends Cicero in the matter of the divorce. *Die soziale Dichtung der Griechen*, (concluded) R. Pöhlmann.

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The Classical Review

OCTOBER 1898.

The Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW will be glad to receive short paragraphs (or materials for such paragraphs) upon classical topics of current interest. These should reach him as early as possible in the month preceding the publication of the REVIEW.

THE classical event of the summer is the appearance of the first instalment of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. A most lively and various progeny this, which Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, with Prof. Blass as accoucheur-in-chief, have given to the world! Its interest lies perhaps not so much in the illumination which its scraps of extant classical works—and imprimis the now famous fragment of Thucydides—throw upon Greek textual history and criticism, nor in the excitement of discoveries like the portions of a treatise upon metre and the twenty restored verses of Sappho, an etwa verblasstes Gedicht if one may say so without disrespect: but in the window which it opens upon the living ancient world. Here we may read the authentic account of the last scene in the career of the condemned rebel Heliodorus, and witness the unequal conflict between Egyptian bravado and imperial dignity. Is our taste for more domestic incidents? There is the litigation between Pesouris the father and the nurse about the parentage of her foster-child. If we delight in the unconsciously humorous official, we may learn how the medical officer notifies the strategus of the nome that, having been directed to inspect the body of a man who had died from hanging, he found him hanged by a noose and reports accordingly. Here, too, are all sorts of epistles, the ruffled schoolboy's ill-spelt effusion to papa, the formal epistle of the outraged

father who gives his *congé* to his son-in-law elect, invitations to a wedding breakfast or to dinner at the club.

When we have read all these, we shall probably be conscious and a little ashamed of the partly priggish and partly dollish Greek in which we should ourselves have had to express our quotidian wants if the modern practice of ancient composition bore any relation to actual life and living entities. This, however, is not precisely the complaint of the preface to *Musa Clauda*, the modest title of a book of translations into Latin elegiacs by Messrs. Owen and Phillimore. They say it is 'to be regretted that the practice of verse composition has declined in England, and it is significant that a marked decline in English scholarship is coincident with this. Theorists and specialists we have many: scholars are a dwindling quantity.' The lament comes from Oxford where verse composition should have all the fragrance of the violet, as it certainly has enjoyed all its seclusion; and of its local truth the *fidicines* of the Isis must judge themselves. But so far as I can estimate the general position, the decline, if any, in the practice of versifying, has been accompanied by a noticeable rise in its standard. Less perhaps may be written; but what is, is more strictly judged and on the whole better worth the writing. Both in fidelity and in accuracy there has been a gain, and not a

few 'fair copies' which did well enough twenty years ago could hardly pass muster now.

But 'the marked decline in English scholarship.' That is more serious; but frankly we do not believe in it. The 'nineties' certainly stand in marked contrast to the 'fifties' and 'sixties.' The mode of work has changed. Those earlier decades were discursive: the present one is concentrative. The difference is an inevitable result of the expansion in the field of classical learning and of a more general recognition of the importance of minute and conscientious research. The number of English workers in our field has greatly increased. To see this we need only compare the list of the contributors to the *Journal of Philology*, say twenty-five years ago, with that of present contributors to the same journal and to the *Classical Review*. This multitude is itself a sign of vigour. It is clearly the duty of our educators at school and at the universities to ensure that specialism does not begin too soon; and not less clearly a matter of individual prudence not so to devote one's self to any department, however wide its ramifications, as to lose capacity and inclination for everything besides. But it is idle, in the present cycle at any rate, to expect that a mature student will not work by preference at what he knows best and at what interests him most. We need have no great apprehension about the future. Your true Englishman is a dilettante in grain.

It is well known that at both the older Universities there is considerable dissatisfaction with the classical honours curriculum. At Cambridge the position is the more acute. After a long series of sittings the Board for Classics finally in May last elaborated a scheme; there was a time fuse attached to the bomb to explode in October. At Oxford three desperadoes have assaulted the time-honoured arrangements of 'Mods' and 'Greats' in a series of proposals which will be dealt with in the same Michaelmas Term. The friends of classics will do well to watch events at both these seats of learning.

It is no secret that one of the causes of this ferment is the prospective Anglo-Indian, to whom neither the Oxford nor the Cambridge course is altogether convenient. Every one will be glad to see the way smoothed for the directors of our Indian

Empire to take their fill in the groves of Academe; but the public will not be pleased if in their pursuit of competition wallahs the Universities forget their own ancient ideals.

The following observations by Mr. W. M. Lindsay, who has recently returned from the United States, upon classical studies there will be read with interest.

'At school the classical training given in America is greatly inferior to ours. In Latin the schoolboy scarcely gets beyond Cæsar, Livy and Virgil; in Greek, beyond Homer, Xenophon, and perhaps Euripides. It seemed to me that the almost total absence of entrance scholarships (in our sense of the term) at the Universities has the effect of making schoolmasters satisfied with a Pass rather than a Class standard. The want of a thorough grounding in Latin and Greek puts classical students at the American Universities at a great disadvantage. Nor does the American Honours man seem to read classical authors on his own account so much as is done at Oxford and Cambridge. In fact I doubt whether even the best American students, at the time of graduation, know so many Latin and Greek books as the candidates for our University Prizes in their first year. Ignorance of 'quantities' is a common failing, due only in part to the absence of Verse Composition; for in Greek the accentual pronunciation which makes *ἀνθρῶπος* a dactyl and *σοφία* a bacchius has certainly something to do with it.'

'But the point in which we are inferior to our transatlantic cousins is postgraduate work. For three, or it may be four, years the best classical graduates go through a higher course of study, which includes subsidiary subjects like Palaeography and Textual Criticism, Epigraphy, Archaeology, and perhaps Comparative Philology. In the Classical Seminary they get that acquaintance with methods of work and with bibliography which enables any one who has ability, inclination and leisure, to extend the bounds of classical knowledge after he has left the University. This postgraduate course is in preparation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, a necessary qualification for the higher educational posts; and to obtain this Degree a thesis is usually required that embodies some original research. The uninteresting nature of the thesis is often complained of. But it is no fault of the system if a candidate, feeling himself unequal to higher flights, has to descend to a mere

collection of statistics, useful indeed in its way, but hardly interesting or inspiring. The wider a candidate's reading and the better his previous education, the more adequate will be his thesis.'

For the following paragraph I am indebted to my colleague, Prof. Seymour. In England too it is not so long ago that the Greek question was lowering over us; but the storm has passed—for the moment.

'Most readers of the *Classical Review* are aware that several of the most prominent of the Universities of the United States are discussing the removal of the requirement of Greek for the degree of bachelor of arts. In this connexion, and in its bearing on higher classical studies in America, although it belongs strictly to what is called secondary education, it is interesting to learn that a reaction in favour of the classics has sprung up where it was least expected—in the southern and western states, and under the

influence of the State Universities, which used to be thought the centres and hot-beds of the practical spirit of the times. In the extreme west, in California, three times as many persons are studying Greek as three years ago; in Wisconsin about four times as many are studying Greek as five years ago; while in Mississippi, though four years ago only two schools taught Greek, now Greek has been introduced into thirty-five schools. A similar report of encouragement comes from the extreme south, from Texas. The schools of Chicago are introducing Latin to a degree unknown before, and, according to the superintendent of these schools, with the best results. Thus many schools, which have had but a four years' course on Latin hitherto, now have a five or six years' course. The new interest in classical studies in the central, western, and southern parts of the United States may be expected to exert a strong influence on the institutions of the east.'

VARIA.

I.—THE SLAVES IN THE *Wasps*.

My friend Mr. R. A. Neil, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, in conversation recently expressed the idea that in Aristophanes *Vesp.* 433 two slaves are summoned, and not three.

ὦ Μίδα καὶ Φρύξ βοήθει δέυρο καὶ Μασυντία,
καὶ λάβεσθε τοντονί.

This view prompted the following notes, in which I have the advantage of using suggestions of his.

The two slaves who speak in the *Wasps*, Xanthias and Sosias, are the two persons summoned in 433. They are summoned in a line of somewhat mock-heroic tone:¹ 'Midas Phryx, hither to my aid, and thou Masyntias.' Then in the following line both are addressed in the plural, and in 453 in

the dual, as Mr. Neil points out. That Midas Phryx is a single slave, and not two separate slaves, is shown by the singular *βοήθει*. The usual view is that Midas and Phryx are two distinct slaves, and Masyntias a third, while Xanthias and Sosias are a fourth and fifth; and the latter pair are understood to be referred to in 453. Mr. Starkie in his learned edition takes this view. He defends 433 (*βοήθει*) by quoting other cases where a singular imperative is employed when two or three persons have been addressed by name; but his examples are not so bold as this case, where we have first Midas Phryx summoned with a singular imperative, then Masyntias called, and then a plural imperative addressed to them both. Still the argument based on the *βοήθει* would not be conclusive, if it stood alone: but there are more weighty reasons.

If only two slaves are summoned in this line, it is clearly implied that they are barbarians: one is a Phrygian, and the other of some uncertain nationality. Now the two slaves, who speak in this comedy, are clearly marked out as foreigners: Xanthias is obviously a Lycian, 'the man from Xanthos' (Xanthos a Lycian slave is mentioned in the remarkable inscription found at Laurion, see Foucart *Associations Relig-*

¹ On the meaning of this line, see the sequel. For two slaves again in Aristoph., Mr. Neil quotes *Aves* 656-7, ἄγε δὴ, Ξανθία καὶ Μανόδωρε, λαμβάνετε τὰ στρώματα: probably Μανόδωρος is the slave called Μανῆς in 1311 and 1329. Here also we seem to have a Lycian and a Phrygian: on Manes see *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. pp. 294, 626. Mr. J. F. White mentions to me Eur. *Alc.* 675, Λυδὸν ἢ Φρύγα ἀργυρώ-νητον.

ieuses, p. 219): Sosias¹ is a Phrygian, and his name may possibly be associated with the Phrygo-Pisidian god who bears the Hellenized name Sozon. The Phrygian nationality of Sosias is marked in unmistakable fashion in the opening scene, where Xanthias says to him

ἀλλ' ἦ παραφρονεῖς ἐτέον ἢ κορυβαντιᾶς;

The Korybantes were a Phrygian analogue to the Cretan Kouretes (Preller *Griech. Mythologie*, i. p. 542: Lucian *de Salt.* 8 and 79); and societies called Korybantes were probably attached to some of the Phrygian *hiera* (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. Pt. ii. p. 359).

The answer of Sosias makes his nationality still clearer:

8 οὐκ, ἀλλ' ὕπνος μ' ἔχει τις ἐκ Σαβαζίου,

'a sleep sent by Sabazios (the Phrygian god) has taken hold of me.' It has been suggested that the name Sozon is a Grecized form of a native name Saoazos, which has also given origin to the ordinary Greek term for this deity, Sabazios (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. p. 264); and this suggestion has been approved by some high authority (Petersen in Lanckoronski *Städte Pamphylieus*, ii. p. 8). If it be true, then our derivation of Sosias, as the 'man of Sozon—Saoazos,' lends further point to the phrase ἐκ Σαβαζίου.

The Phrygian nationality of Sosias was, in all probability, made obvious to the spectators by dress and general equipment; otherwise lines 8 f. and 433 would have less point. This makes it probable that the conjecture Φρυγί² for τρυγί in 1309 is right. The very word Φρύξ is almost equivalent to 'slave'; and, in this case, when one of the characters on the stage is a Phrygian slave, the allusion to 'a Phrygian newly grown rich' is all the more effective.

Now, what is the meaning of 433? Mr. Starkie, in his elaborate and learned notes, seems to imply that the innuendo is, 'Thou, Midas, and thou brutal one, come to my aid, and thou gormandizer; and lay hold of this fellow.' His note on Φρύξ seems to me not

to prove more than that Phryx is a characteristic name for 'slave,' and connotes the slave nature as distinguished from the freeman's nature; while he illustrates *Μασσυντία* by a number of words (indicating 'gormandizer') which have no resemblance to it except that they begin with MA.

Line 433 seems to be a mock-heroic invocation, 'thou Midas, who art also Phryx, to my aid! and thou Masyntias.' I know no expression exactly similar to *Μίδα καὶ Φρύξ*. But, inasmuch as the nominative would be, according to the well-known idiom, *Μίδας ὁ καὶ Φρύξ*³ the vocative can hardly be anything except *Μίδα καὶ Φρύξ*. Some may prefer to avoid this unusual form by adopting Schneider's conjecture *ὦ Μίδα παῖ Φρύξ*; but this seems to me to sacrifice a most interesting grammatical feature and characteristic turn of expression: 'Thou named Midas and Phryx, *i.e.* bearing the alternative names Midas (the King) in Phrygia and Phryx (the Slave) in Greece.' Schneider's conjecture, however, might also give a fair sense 'Midas's son Phryx, *i.e.* King's son Slave,'⁴ but the other seems far more effective.

Masyntias is obscure, but may be a parallel term, denoting Xanthias in mock-heroic style. Lycia and the relations of Lycia to Greece in the end of the fifth century are so obscure that we cannot understand its exact sense. May it be a sort of patronymic indicating Xanthias's descent from an ancient Xanthian hero or king, or an epithet derived from some local name? It is not improbable that some legend of the great Lycian city may have been known in Athens at the time when Athens ruled the Aegean Sea and controlled the sea-borne trade of all the Aegean lands; and that in later time, when Athenian relations with Lycia had almost ceased, this legend was no longer understood in the Greek city. We do not even know what is the Lycian name which was Grecized as *Ξάνθος*, but there is a certain resemblance between the second part of *Μασσυντία* and the name *Ξανθίας*. The city was also called Arne, and coins were struck with the Lycian

³ This formula is too common to need illustration: it was far commoner in the half-Greek countries than in Greece proper (Böckh on *C. I. G.* 2090), for it strictly belongs to the bilingual countries (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. Pt. ii. p. 637 f.; *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 81 ff.). Hence the phrase has a foreign ring, suitable to the general tone of the line. Strictly, it denotes an 'alternative name': see II.

⁴ It is probable that Schneider intends his conjecture to mean 'O Midas, Phrygian slave'; but my concern is to take what seems the least objectionable meaning of which the Greek words are capable, not the meaning which Schneider attributes to them. I know the conjecture only from Mr. Starkie's notes.

¹ Sosias a slave name in Athenaeus, xi. p. 469 (Comedy of Philemon), Wescher-Foucart *Inscr. rec. à Delphes* no 429 (a Galatian slave manumitted) and many others, Plautus *Amph.* (from a Greek original), Ter. *Andria* (a freedman). On slave-names, see III.

² Mr. Starkie's apt quotation from Lucian makes the conjecture almost a certainty, as he says.

legend (in genitive) Ἀρρναῖα (Hill, *British Museum Catalogue: Lycia*, p. 22 f.).

The form Μασυντία occurs in R, while V has Μασυντία. It is a question whether V may not here be right: forms in -ής and -ούας, though not common elsewhere, are characteristic of south-western Asia Minor, e.g. Κιδραμούας, Πονναμούας, Ὀπραμούας, Καδούας, and many other names in inscriptions.¹

It is therefore most probable that in 433 a double-named Phrygian slave and a Lycian slave are mentioned; and it is certain that Sosias and Xanthias were respectively Phrygian and Lycian. Hence it would appear that only two slaves are mentioned in the *Wasps*, though their ordinary names are varied in a mock-heroic apostrophe in l. 433.

The use of the double name with καί, which must here, by a common idiom, be interpreted by the English 'or,' suggests some further remarks, in the following section.

A word may be added as to the probable connexion of the word. The name Masyntias or Masintuas seems to be a derivative from Masas, which occurs as a personal name in the south-western regions of Asia Minor: it is found along with Opramoas, a name of thoroughly Lycian type, on the frontiers of Phrygia and Pisidia, see *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. pp. 269, 272,² it is not mentioned in Pape-Benseler, nor in the index to *C.I.G.* Masa as a feminine name seems to occur at Iconium, *C.I.G.* 3998, and Masa as masculine is found in the bilingual Lycian inscription Limyra No. 38 (*C.I.G.* 4315 l, Schmidt 42), see Torp, *Lykische Beiträge*, 1898, p. 42. The name Masas was purely native Asianic; and hence there is much diversity of inflexion when it is written in Greek: genitives Μασᾶ, Μασᾶδος, and Μασᾶντος all occur in the examples quoted. Masaris, a Carian title of Dionysos (quoted by Stephanus Byz. s.v. Μᾶσταρα), may be connected with it.

Just as we find the personal name Kadouas or Kadauas (*Cit. and Bish.* i. p. 314) and the place name Kaduanda, the

divine name Thyia(?) and Thiounta (*Cit. and Bish.* i. p. 144), or the place names Sala and Salouda, Sbida and Sibidunda (or Sibidinda), Kys and Kyinda, Oinia and Oinoanda, Karya and Karyanda etc., so it is possible that beside Masa or Masas there should be a local name Masinda or Masynda, in which τ might be as readily used in Greek transcriptions as δ (as in Thiounta). Then Masinta or Masynta would give a personal or ethnic name Masintyas or Masyntias, as Trokonda gives Trokondas, Kidramos Kidramoas, and a host of others.³

In the preceding remarks much is tentative and uncertain; but they are printed in the hope of attracting criticism and improvement.

The observation made by Miss White in the *Classical Review*, May, 1898, p. 209 (since most of this paper was in the editor's hands), that Xanthias is the clever, and Sosias the stupid slave in the *Wasps*, is in harmony with my argument. The Phrygians were reckoned by the Greeks to be slaves by nature, because Nature had made them dull and slow.

II.—καί MEANING 'OR.'

If the suggestion just advanced in a very hesitating way as to the construction ὁ Μίδα καὶ Φρύξ be right, this is the most extreme form known to me of the use of καί connecting alternative names, corresponding to *sive* or *seu* in Latin; but it is, also, the solitary instance known to me of a person being addressed by the vocative of his two names. There is great need of some systematic treatment of the naming and double naming in the Greek, and more especially the Grecized lands of western Asia, where double or triple names, strictly alternative names, used as a rule in different circumstances, were common.

The use of the alternative name must be carefully distinguished from the double or longer names used by Greeks in the later centuries in imitation of the Roman system of nomenclature with *nomen* and one or more *cognomina*; and yet the distinction is sometimes ignored by modern scholars. There are, indeed, cases where the alternative name is hardly to be distinguished from the double name: the former custom gradually fell into disuse, while the latter became more common

³ Dr. Buresch (whose early death is a great sorrow to all who are interested in Asia Minor) has some excellent remarks on the relations of Asianic place and personal names in his just-published *Aus Lydien*, but at the moment I cannot find the reference.

¹ These are often formed from names of cities (Kidramos, Kadai). Mr. Neil adds Panamyas son of Casbollis in the Lygdamis Inscr. of Halicarnassus. Examyas is given as Thales's father in Diog. Laert. Kretschmer in *Etbl. in d. Gesch. d. Griech. Sprache*, p. 332 takes the affix as -μυα, μῶας, -μῶας, -μῶης. Probably Panamyas was Grecized from the native Pounamouas so as to imply 'the man born in Panamos-month.' Compare Zeus Panamaros, Grecized into Panēmnerios. Should we read Hexamyas, a *kosenname* for ἑξαμήνιος?

² On p. 269, l. 9, in the remarks on the name, the word 'perhaps' has got out of place: it should come five words later, after 'compare.'

as time went on; and in many cases, owing to want of knowledge of the facts, we cannot tell whether a person mentioned in some inscription by two names has the alternative or the double name.

Another difficulty is caused by the Roman *praenomina*. These were often taken as names by Romanized Greeks: e.g. Greeks often bear the name Markos, or Loukios, or Sextos. This must not be confused with cases where a Greek acquired Roman citizenship and necessarily took a name of the complete Roman type, as Tiberios Klaudios Mithridates. Yet here again the distinction is confused; and the custom, which began about A.D. 215, of using Aurelios as a *praenomen* to mark the citizenship acquired in virtue of Caracalla's action in widening the *civitas*, is often mixed up with the other custom, which originated much earlier, of using Aurelios either as a name after the Greek fashion, or as the *nomen* of a Greek who acquired the citizenship and took a proper Roman name, such as M. Aurelios Philippikos.

The alternative name originated in bilingual and half-Hellenized countries, when people had often a sort of double life and double nature, and took a name in each language.¹ The names were really alternative: the most characteristic expression of them is *ὁ καὶ* in Greek, and *sive* in Latin.² But Latin often borrows the Greek form, and uses the expression *qui et*, whose non-Latin character is shown by the fact that it is declined (regardless of grammar) *τῷ καὶ* = *cui et*, and so on. Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ καὶ Ἰουλίῳ is good idiomatic Greek; but *Apollonio cui et Julio* is, certainly, grecizing Latin. Accordingly, Μίδας ὁ καὶ Φρύξ would be the full expression of an alternative name in the nominative. It will be gathered from the origin of the alternative name that it was practically confined to free citizens, and that to use it of a slave implied something of a mocking or mock-heroic strain (as we have already seen from other considerations).

As we have nothing similar in nature in English to the alternative name, we cannot translate it precisely: but the nearest ap-

proach to the sense is to use '*alias*' or '*or*.' The Greeks think of the person as bearing the name A. and in other circumstances the name B; we think of him as '*A or B*,' *A alias B*; and the Romans similarly use *sive*. Such is the rule laid down in the manuals of epigraphy, e.g. Cagnat, *Manuel d'Épigraphie Romaine*, p. 57, Marquardt *Röm. Privatrecht*³, p. 27, and accepted by every one except some Theologians of the so-called '*critical*' school in Germany.

I should apologize for wasting the space of the *Classical Review* in such elementary statements; but it is forced on me, because when in another place I pointed out that it is a common practice in Greek to use *καὶ* to connect two alternative names or epithets applied to the same person or place or thing, I was rebuked in no measured terms in a well-known and esteemed German theological journal by a Swiss Professor, who seems to have so entirely concentrated his energy on a special department in which he has attained much reputation—viz. what is called New Testament grammar³—that he has had no time to spare for the department (not wholly unconnected by nature, but kept separate by the ruling tendency towards specialization) of Greek grammar. But it would seem that no weapon is too rusty to be used to destroy the reactionary critic who defends the authenticity of the writings attributed to Luke.

To illustrate the view taken on this subject by the archaeologists who study facts and have no critical or theological views to bolster up, I quote M. Bérard in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1892, p. 237: he translates the expressions Ἀρτεῖμου τοῦ καὶ Ἀπολλωνεΐδου and Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ καὶ Διαγόρας as '*Artemas ou Apollonides*,' '*Apollonides ou Diagoras*'; and every archaeologist would justify him, or (I should rather say) would think it unnecessary to justify him.

There is, in the first place, nothing unusual in the use of *καὶ*, where in English we should naturally employ '*or*.' In a note on Aristophanes, *Eq.* 256, Mr. Neil in his

¹ See Boeckh on *C.I.G.* 2090, Reinach *Traité d'Épigr. Grecque*, p. 507, and my *Cit. and Bish.* i, pt. ii., p. 637 ff.

² ἐπικαλούμενος, and even ὁ καλούμενος simply, are also used; and ἐπικλην is also found frequently in Christian inscriptions to indicate the baptismal name, rarely in pagan names (*Cit. and Bish.* i, pt. ii., pp. 522, 539). The nickname or familiar name, Latin *signum*, approximates in character to the alternative name, without being exactly the same in nature.

³ It is regrettable to see even Prof. Blass stooping to use this misleading title. We want two grammars in the New Testament: the first for the Greek of the Greek cities of Asia and Syria, with Luke and Paul, who use that Greek which they learned in childhood in such cities, the second for the foreigners of Syria and Palestine, who learned Greek as an alien tongue, and are continually influenced by Semitic modes of thought and grammar: these try to catch the Greek of the first class, but use it in a Semitized style. But it is utterly misleading to quote St. John as proving the possibilities of Lukan grammar.

forthcoming edition speaks of this 'well-known idiom,' which occurs in that line, καὶ δίκαια καὶ δίκαια, and mentions the following analogous cases: Aesch. *Sept.* 414 f., *ib.* 1058, Eurip. *Supp.* 895, *Iph. Aul.* 643 (ὅπως φῶ καὶ μὴ φῶ), Plutarch *Quaest. Conv.* iv. 2, 655 c. (ταῦτα ἔξεστι πιστεύειν καὶ μὴ). In Thucydides the usage is common, e.g. ii. 35, 2, εἰ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι, 'whether he speak well or ill.' Dr. Postgate on Propertius v. 6, 51, says 'et, "or," like Greek καὶ, Thucyd. ii. 42, 3 πρώτη τε μηνύουσα καὶ τελευταία βεβαιούσα, vi. 60, 1 ἐπὶ ξυνωμοσίᾳ ὀλιγαρχικῇ καὶ τυραννικῇ;' and he writes to me: 'The denial of this and the corresponding usage of *que* in Latin (which is so common in Silver Latin poetry that it is impossible in many passages to decide whether *que* or *ue* should be read) comes from a curious pedantic inability to appreciate growth in language. Because καὶ primarily meant, and in general must be translated by 'and,' it is considered a point of fine scholarship to twist the translation of a passage until it can take 'and,' in oblivion of the fact that an English word is thereby fallaciously equated with a Greek one. I daresay you know a passage which well illustrates the growth of the idiom, though there καὶ does not indicate strict alternativeness, χρυσὸς ἐτέρῳ χρυσῷ παρατεθείς κρείττων τε καὶ ἐλάττω φαίνεται (Dionys. *Ep. ad Pomp.* i. 7).' We may add that several examples of the desire to explain away this use of καὶ may be seen in Poppo's notes on the passages of Thucydides (in larger edition).

I have never noted the many examples of καὶ 'or' which have met my eye; but, besides Thucyd. ii. 35, 2, I recall Soph. *Ajax.* 476 προσθεῖσα κἀναθεῖσα τοῦ γε καθανεῖν (where Wunder translates 'each day gives up to or rescues from death'), and Xen. *Anab.* ii. 1, 21 (προιοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιοῦσι πόλεμος, 'but war, if we advance or retire'). Some geographical examples may also be quoted: Strab. p. 195 τὸ φῶλον ὃ νῦν Γαλλικὸν τε καὶ Γαλατικὸν καλεῖται, 'Gallic (according to the Roman) or Galatic (according to the Greek word):' p. 788 (of the Nile-mouths) τὸ μὲν Πηλουσιακὸν καλεῖται, τὸ δὲ Κανωβικὸν καὶ Ἡρακλεωτικόν, 'another mouth is called Canopic or Heracleotic:' p. 802 Xoïs is defined as ὑπὲρ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ καὶ Φατνιτικοῦ στόματος 'above the Sebennyitic-Phatnitic mouth' (in the upper part where these two branches are still joined and may bear either name): 'p. 670 τοῦ Κιλικίου καὶ Παμφυλίου τρόπου' the manner of Cilicia or Pamphylia: 'p. 97 τὴν Σκυθικὴν καὶ Κελτικὴν

the northern zone which may be called either Scythian or Celtic after the two chief races that inhabit its eastern and western parts.¹

I pass now to some other usages, which perhaps afford a certain defence to the sense attributed to ὦ Μίδα καὶ Φρύξ.

(1) According to the strict Greek idea, a man could not belong as a citizen to more than one πόλις: his duty to his own πόλις absorbed him, and he must regard himself as bound to it against all other πόλεις. He must be a citizen of one πόλις or of another; but he could not be simultaneously a citizen of two cities. Hence the earlier, and the strictly correct usage is ὁ δεῖνα Ἐφέσιος ὁ καὶ Ἀμόργιος, Ἐφέσιος ὁ καὶ Μειλήσιος, Νικομηδεὺς ὁ καὶ Τομίτης, Μειλήσιος ὁ καὶ Ἀμοργεῖνός Μεινοήτης,² denoting a person who in certain circumstances is a citizen of one city and in other circumstances of another city. These are alternative characters to the Greeks, though we now see no difficulty in calling a man a citizen of two or more cities; but the word 'city' is not an accurate rendering of πόλις; it is merely a vague approximation to a rendering, and we cannot really translate πόλις, because we have no πόλεις now.

But, commonly, this cumbrous expression is not used: inscriptions generally speak of ὁ δεῖνα Ἐφέσιος καὶ Σμυρναῖος. The change in expression was, indeed, partly due to a change in feeling: 'under the Roman rule the old meaning and nature of πόλις was weakened, and its exclusiveness was forgotten, so that it did not seem so inconsistent to make a man citizen of two πόλεις. But, while this change in sense is admitted, may it not be that the change in expression is due in part to simplification, καὶ, like ὁ καὶ, implying alternativeness?

(2) Again, for chronological preciseness, we often find dates by two distinct eras; and the formula used is, in its fullest form, ἔτους ξξρ' τοῦ καὶ βπσ'. But sometimes the article is omitted, ἔτους ξξρ' καὶ βπσ', or even both the article and καί, ἔτους ξξρ' βπσ'.³ This change is a fair parallel, for undoubtedly the reckoning by one era is an alternative rather than an addition to the reckoning by the other era.

¹ Such is, I think, the true sense of this passage; but some may prefer to understand 'the zone which contains both the Scythian and the Celtic race,' which is, of course, perfectly correct in construction, though not, so far as I can judge, the thought in Strabo's mind; he is not thinking here of the extent of the zone, but of different terms by which it might be denominated with equal justice.

² See examples quoted by S. Reinach, *Traité d'Épigr.* Gr. p. 507.

³ For examples, see Kästner, *de acris quae ab imp. Caes. initium duxerint*, p. 51 ff.

A typical example of this use of *καὶ* occurs in an inscription of the the Lydian Katakekaumene, Le Bas *Voyage* iii. No. 1674, and, as it has been misunderstood by M. Waddington,¹ a paragraph may be devoted to it. It was copied by Hamilton at Geulde (a village near the site of Satala Lydiae), and is dated *ἔτος ἡ' καὶ π', μὴ(ν)ος Πανήμου ε'*. The fifth day of Panemos in the year 80 of the Sullan era (which was ordinarily employed in the eastern parts of Lydia) was either 28 May (according to the general view) or 5 April (according to the view which I have suggested² as possible) in the year 5 B.C. On either view, the date falls in the eighteenth year of Augustus according to the official reckoning. It is evident, therefore, that the thought in the inscription is, 'in the year 18 (according to the Roman style) or 80 (according to the usual local era).'

(3) There is a well-known class of votive inscriptions in the Lydian Katakekaumene, dedicated to Men and Zeus, or other deities, such as Sabazios. It is clear that these are merely varying forms of the one great god; and it is pleasant to find that this is as emphatically stated in Dr. Buresch's *Aus Lydien*, as in what I have written on the subject. It would appear that the dedicators were quite aware that the various names which they use all belong to the one god. When we find a dedication *Μηνὶ Τυράνῳ καὶ Διὶ Ὁγμηνῶ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ θεοῖς* (*Mous. Smyrn.* No. τκς'), it seems clear that this is equivalent to *Μηνὶ Τ. τῷ καὶ Διὶ Ο. καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ θεοῖς* (i.e. the *σύνναοι*, who make up the divine family). Moreover, the epithet *Τύραννος* is sometimes applied to Men, as in this case, sometimes to Zeus, as in Le Bas-Waddington iii. 667 *κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ Κοιρίου Τυράννου Διὸς Μασφαλατηνοῦ <αὐτῷ>*³ καὶ *Μηνὶ*, i.e. 'according to the order of Zeus, a vow to Zeus and Men,' as M. Waddington explains. In these cases, then, as it would appear, *καὶ* indicates that the names are merely indications of different attitudes or envisagements of the one god.

It is possible, then, that *καὶ* may have

¹ M. Waddington conjecturally alters the text to read *ἡ' καὶ π'*, a known but rare way of writing a date (not, however, so *bien insolite* as M. Waddington says in his note, see *Cit. and Bish. of Phryg.* Pt. II., p. 459); but there is no ground to change the text, for Hamilton's reading gives an excellent sense.

² *Cit. and Bish. of Phryg.*, pt. i., p. 204, supported by new evidence in an article soon to be published in the *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.*

³ The word has to be supplied in thought, in order to explain construction and sense; see Waddington's note.

been used occasionally in place of *ὁ καὶ* to indicate alternative names. This class of names was unfamiliar and strange in Greece proper, because in its origin and essence it belongs to the countries where Greek was used alongside of, and alternatively to another language. It is in the inscriptions of the Asiatic lands that the subject must be studied.

Here I may notice a remark of Prof. Blass bearing on the question of names in Asia Minor, in the *Philology of the Gospels* 1898, p. 220 f. Discussing the statement made in a Greek *catena*⁴ that John dictated his gospel to his disciple Papias Eubiotos of Hierapolis, he says that 'it is impossible to take Eubiotos for a second name, or surname of Papias,' because 'a second name of Papias would also have the article, like *Δίων ὁ Κάσιος* or *Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος*,' I do not maintain that the anonymous Greek author was right in what he says; but what he says must be estimated according to the usage of the inscriptions of Asia Minor. Before Prof. Blass made such a sweeping statement about the usage in names, he would have done well to look into the inscriptions, where he would find many examples to justify a double name Papias Eubiotos, expressed in Greek without intervening *καὶ*. Further, the rule is usual that 'Papias Eubiotos, son of Osais,' is expressed *Παπίας Ὁσαῖ Εὐβίωτος*: I need not quote examples of the universally admitted rule.⁵ Whether the rule is an imitation of the Roman order, *nomen—praenomen—filiation—cognomen*, or springs from a native Anatolian custom, I am unable to say, and should be glad to learn of any evidence bearing on the point. The fact that in some inscriptions (e.g. *Inscr. Pergam.* ii. no. 485, Hula-Szanto *Bericht über eine Reise*, in *Wien. Sitzungsber.* 1894, p. 17 no. 11) both forms, with and without *ὁ καὶ*, occur side by side, seems to indicate some distinction in sense, as if the one indicated the strictly alternative name, the other the double name; yet such cases as *Ἐρμίας Ἐκατόμνως*, *Φανίας Κασίους*, *Τρύφων Κοράλλης*, *Ἀσκληπιάδης Πάρις*, show that even here the idea of alternative names in two languages is not very far removed.

The subject is a difficult one; and these notes are offered as professedly tentative. I should be glad to find that others would correct and complete what I have said. It is out of my province to study or collect

⁴ Prof. Blass does not quote the words, nor give the reference, so that I cannot verify.

⁵ Exception to rule, *Wien. Sitzungsber.* 1894, p. 8.

Greek grammatical facts; and it is a little hard that, in presenting the case in favour of a particular view, not popular in Germany, about early Christian history, I should have to contend for every elementary point in Asian geography and in Greek grammar that comes up in the course of the argument. Time after time, when I state some point generally accepted among those scholars who are not Theologians, I find that it is denied in the most positive and confident way by a Theologian who has committed himself to the opposite view in early Christian history, and who fights for his view with a resolution and energy worthy of the bravest regiment of British soldiers, which contests every inch of ground, regardless of every consideration except resistance. As to the extent of the well-known geographical name Galatia, I stated briefly the view as to its wide extent, which has been a commonplace to everyone who studies the history of Asia Minor for its own sake. A distinguished professor barely restrained himself in the pages of a great theological German journal from calling me a 'Humbug' because I asserted this elementary fact in a positive fashion without formally proving it.¹ Another presents a pistol at my head, and asks how I dare assume that *μενοῦν* can be used without a following *δέ*. A third heaps scorn on me for saying that the people of Galatia can be addressed as Galatians; and a fourth for saying that *Παῦλος ὁ καὶ Σαῦλος* means 'Paul *alias* Saul.' The 'North-Galatian Theory' and the theory of the late date and composite character of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles would be better defended, if the knowledge of history, geography, and language which their champions undoubtedly possess were applied to the task.

III.—PHRYGO-GALATIAN SLAVES.

The name of the Phrygian slave in the *Wasps* suggests an interesting point. A large number of Galatian slaves are mentioned in the Delphic deeds of enfranchisement, more than from any country except Syria and Thrace.² These slaves belong

to the period B.C. 169–140, and it is remarkable that at this period such a large proportion of these enfranchised slaves should be Gauls. The question is, are they Gauls? or are they simply natives of Galatia belonging to that conquered class of Phrygians which formed the great mass of the population? I think a consideration of the circumstances will show that they are not Gauls by race, but Phrygians of Galatia.²

It is naturally improbable that Gauls, those proud and untamable barbarians, should be found during the early second century in such numbers as slaves, and slaves who behaved so peaceably and well as to work out their enfranchisement. In Wescher-Foucart 429 there occurs a certain Sosias, τὸ γένος Γαλάταν τεχνεῖται σκυτῆ. It is ridiculous to suppose that one of those Gauls, of whose lofty and noble spirit Plutarch and Polybius tell such striking anecdotes, settled down quietly as a shoemaker in slavery. The same remark applies to the skilled workwoman Athenais τεχνίτις in Baunack 2154.

We have only to look at the condition of Galatia. In a large and well-peopled country there was settled (either by force or, as Meyer thinks, by the action of the Pontic kings as lords of the land) a small conquering caste of Gauls, terrible from their strength, courage, and haughty untamable spirit, but not from their numbers. The first great army that entered Asia Minor numbered only 20,000, of whom only half were fighting men; and there is no reason to think that any great additions were made to their numbers by greater armies, while constant war must have prevented any important internal increase between 278 and 200. There can be no doubt that, as Van Gelder³ says, they merely followed the usual principle (Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* i. 31), taking possession of one-third of the land, and leaving two-thirds to the original Phrygian population. It is also clear that some at least of the great cities retained their independence for a considerable time. Pessinus was not

donians, 5 Sarmatians, 4 Illyrians, 4 Cappadocians, 4 Armenians (besides a slave Ἀρμένιος, whose nationality, though not stated, can be gathered from his name, Strabo, p. 304), and so on. The numbers are reckoned by Stachelin, *Gesch. des kleinasi. Galater*, p. 57. Most of the inscriptions were published by MM. Wescher and Foucart, *Inscr. rec. à Delphes*: all are given by Baunack in Collitz's *Sammlung der Gr. Dialektinschr.* ii, pts. 3–5.

³ *De Gallis in Asia*, p. 183. He does not, however, mention the division in parts, but says that they reduced the older population entirely to the condition of *coloni*.

¹ He has since then fully admitted that my use of the term was justifiable; and that is now apparently universally admitted in Germany, though some of the English champions of the North Galatian theory still decline to acknowledge that they were wrong in restricting the name Galatia, e.g. Dr. Cheetham in *Classical Review* 1894, p. 396.

² 33 Syrians, 28 Thracians, 10 Galatians, 8 Mace-

under the Gauls in B.C. 190, but had come under their power before 164, probably by an agreement according to which one-half of the priestly college was to be Gaulish and one-half of the old Phrygian priestly families.¹ Gordium, still a great commercial city in 190 (as in 334), was apparently conquered and destroyed by the Gauls soon after. In no other way can its utter disappearance from history, and the want of any remains other than very ancient on its site be explained.

From Galatia there came numerous slaves, and the Greeks called all slaves from Galatia Galatians; but the occupation and the good conduct of these slaves mark them as belonging, not to the Gaulish aristocracy of Galatia, but to the conquered Phrygian population. Next, look at the names. Among them we find the name Maiphatas. This is obviously not a Celtic name. Equally certainly, it is a Phrygian name, found in a Phrygian inscription (which will be published soon by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson),² and belonging to a class of characteristic Anatolian type, like Maibouzanēs, Maidatas (B.C.H. v. 226, vii. 130), and Maiandros (possibly we may add the Armenian Maipheracta Martyropolis). Comparing Maidatas, Maibouzanēs with Mithradatas, Mithrabouzanēs, we see that Mai involves a divine name—evidently Ma, the Great Goddess of Anatolia, the Mother. She is the Earth the Mother, associated with the Sky the Father. Now the Lydian word for Earth is *Μωύ* (Hesych.); and the Ionic dialect which was seated on the Lydian coastlands uses *ωυ* for the ordinary *ωυ*; hence we see that *Μωύ* is equivalent to *Ma-ύ* (in Greek legend *Μαία*), as in *Μαύσσωλλος* (compare the numerous family of Carian and Lydian names with suffix *-σσωλλος*, e.g. *Παραύσσωλλος*). Further, comparing *Μαϊάνδρος* with *Σκάμανδρος*, we see two compounds with two words meaning 'Earth,' Ma and Skam (*χθών, χάμαι*, ksham): what the second element in these river-names may be, I do not venture to hold any opinion ('the man of the Earth, i.e. who rises out of the Earth' seems an idea too purely Greek).

Maiphates, then, belongs to a purely Anatolian class of names, which has no analogy in Celtic (see Holder's *altcelt. Sprachschatz*), though as might be expected,

¹ See Körte, *Athen. Mittheil.* 1897, pp. 16, 39: in *Woch. f. Klass. Philol.*, 1898, p. 3 he accepts my suggestion as to the division of the priesthood.

² See *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898, p. 123, where *Μαϊφάτει* may be either gen. or fem. dative. But *Μαικιανή*, which is there quoted, is the Latin Maeciana.

it has analogy in the Thracian *Μηφάζουλα*: the class is Phrygo-Thracian.

Now Strabo p. 304 points out that among the Greeks slave-names were either *personal names* characteristic of their nation as *Μίδας*, *Μάνης*, or actually their race-name, as *Αυδός*, *Σύρος*; hence we infer that Maiphates was a Phrygian slave by race. It is true that the master gave the name to his slave; but it is clear that in some cases the name which had been given by the slave's parents was allowed to remain. For example, when we find a Jewish slave Antigona with two daughters Theodora and Dorothea (Wescher-Foucart 57), we can hardly doubt that these names, so characteristic of Jewish habits, and obviously translations of Hebrew names,³ were given by the parents and permitted by the purchaser to continue. Three Phrygian slaves (i.e. slaves from Phrygia Asiana) are mentioned in the Delphic deeds. They are called Menophilos, Diodorus Diodora (Wescher-Foucart 45, 257, Baunack 2289): these are so characteristic of Phrygian religion that they are either the original names or are given by the purchaser⁴ from knowledge of Phrygian religion.

Among Syrian slaves we find the names Kossypha, Manthane, Enome, Libanos, Zois,⁵ (W. F. 426, B. 2175, 2183, 2184), which are probably pure Syrian; Ladika, Asia, which are selected apparently as suitable to Asiatics from the Seleucid realm; Eirana, (i.e. Salome), Boethos (Oser, Ezra), Eutycho (Naamon), Elaphion (Tabitha), Agatho, Theodosios, &c., which are probably translation of Semitic names (see Herzog, *l.c.*); Aphrodisia (twice), Sarapion, &c. which are connected with deities reckoned characteristic of the East.⁶

There is therefore every probability that, among ten slaves, some would bear the names characteristic of their race; and among these slaves from Galatia the names Maiphates, and Artemon are characteristic of Phrygian language and religion, while Athenais is probably a translation of a Phrygian name.⁷ Had there been Gaulish slaves,

³ See Herzog in *Philologus* lvi., p. 50 ff.

⁴ The slaves were bought from abroad: if born in Greece they were called *ἐνδογενής* or *οἰκογενής*.

⁵ Enome, perhaps a grecized form of Naomi, Libanos of Liban, or the mountain-name.

⁶ Similarly we find in the Delphic lists Menophilos and Mithradates Cappadocian slaves, Ioudaios Jewish, Bithys Thracian, Ana and Ammia Illyrian, and so on.

⁷ Compare Athenais *ἡ καὶ Βαζέις* in Cappadocia (*Journ. of Philol.* xi., 1882, p. 148); Baziis means 'belonging to the God' (bagha), see *Cit. and Bish. of Phr.* i. p. 153.

we should certainly have expected some indication of the fact.

When the masters gave a name purely of their own choice, they selected as a rule one of good omen: hence there is a vast number of names connected with *σώζω*, Soso, Sotion, Sosikles, Sosias, Sosieka, Sosikrates, Sosis, Soteris, Soteles, Soteridas, Sosila, Soto, Soterichos, Sokrita, Sokratis, Sopolis, Agathon, Eutychos, &c. Yet, even of these, some are probably the translation of Semitic names, as Herzog recognises in the case of Boëthos, Eirene, Eutychos &c. Now at Delphi among the Galatian slaves we find Sosias,¹ Sosos, Sosandros, Agathon, and twice Eutychos; some of these may be merely for good luck; but it seems not improbable that Sosias was partly suggested by connexion with Phrygian worship: the name sounded fortunate in Greek, and had at the same time a suitability to a person from the land of the god Sozon.

We are forced, therefore, to the conclusion that early in the second century B.C., the word *Γαλάτης* was used among the Greeks simply in the sense of 'sprung from the country called Galatia,' without implying Gaulish blood. Further, this bears on the point, which I have elsewhere urged, that no term *Ituraea* is ever used by the ancients. The *Ituraei* were a tribe pure and simply, or perhaps a set of tribes, and certainly nomads: they had no settled territorial organisation, and therefore did not constitute a country, so that the noun *Ituraea* never came into existence. But Galatia was a country with a definite organisation; and when the political term once establishes itself for the country, then the ethnic comes to be used in the sense of 'belonging to the

country.' Yet distinguished 'North-Galatian' scholars assert that, as late as A.D. 50, the term *Γαλάται* could not be applied to any one who was not of Gallic blood, oblivious of the fact that, when Churches began to exist in the cities of North Galatia, they would probably to a large extent consist of persons who had not a drop of Gallic blood in their veins.

In such a passage as Pausanias vii. 17, 10, *Γαλατῶν οἱ Πεισσινοῦντα ἔχοντες, ἰδὼν οὐχ ἀπτόμενοι*, it is clear that *Γαλάται* is not restricted to persons of Gallic blood. Pausanias means to say that the population of Pessinus refrained from touching the flesh of the pig. As we have seen above, the Gallic element was weaker probably in Pessinus than in the other great Galatian cities Ancyra and Tavium; and there existed there even aristocratic Phrygian priestly families, while in other parts of North Galatia the aristocracy was Gallic, and the trading and working classes were Phrygian. The whole cycle of legend in which this passage of Pausanias moves is Phrygian, and he obviously uses the name 'Galatian' without any thought of birth, simply to denote the inhabitants of Galatia.

The Galatian slave-traders seem to have been specially distinguished in their own line, to judge from Ammianus xxii. 7, 8 (who speaks of them as specially concerned even with Gothic slaves). Considering the permanence of trades in Asia Minor, which is so remarkable a feature in the country, it is probable that the number of Galatian slaves in Greece in the second century B.C. is due to the fact that even then the merchants of Galatia (Phrygians or Greeks by race, doubtless) had a prominent place in the slave market.

W. M. RAMSAY.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES ON BACCHYLIDES.

As every Greek poet of the first rank, of whose works we have any considerable remains, has contributed something to our knowledge of Greek religious forms or religious thought, every scholar interested in Greek religion, immediately on the discovery of the new Bacchylides, would be naturally eager to learn what we can gather from him in this field. The result is somewhat disappointing, in spite of his bright and occasionally original treatment of certain

myths. As regards religious poetry proper, the sphere in which his contemporaries, Pindar, Aeschylus and Sophocles, achieved much, we can quote nothing of first importance from Bacchylides. He moralises like the others on the divine government of the world, but his words do not strike home; he speaks without profound or original conviction and without the glow of inspiration. He follows the tendency of his age in the personification of abstract ideas,

and he says some graceful words about some of them such as *Εἰρήνη*; but moral forces are not living powers for him as for Aeschylus. His poetry teems with epithets of divinity, some of which have the merit of novelty; for instance, *Νίκη κυανοπλόκαμος*, *σεμνοδότειρα φήμη*, *Ζεὺς βαθυπλόκαμος*, *κερυνεγχής*, *μεγιστοπάτωρ*, *εὐκλειος*, *Ἥρα μεγιστοάνασσα*, *Ἀθηνᾶ χρύσαιγίς*, *χρυσάρματος*, *πολέμαιγίς*, *Διόνυσος ὀρσιβύκχης*, *Ποσειδῶν ὀρσίαλος δαμασίχθων ἀναξίωλος*, *Ἄρτεμις ἀριστόπατρα*, *λευκώλενος*, *Ἀφροδίτη θελήμβροτος*, which will all go to enrich the new edition of Bruchmann's 'Epitheta Deorum.' The enquiry into the multitudinous epithets of divinities is important, because much religious thought or ritualistic observance is expressed or is latent in them. The Greek worshipper was careful in this matter; so also as a rule were the Greek poets. Few epithets are fixtures; most are chosen with a strict sense of relevance. Bacchylides on the contrary is here most lax and vague; he selects his epithets mainly for picturesque or decorative effect or for the purposes of metre, or to assist him in introducing an irrelevant story. And his accumulation of divine adjectives is frequently wearisome. The following notes may perhaps seem to justify these strictures.

Bacchylides ii. 1:—*Ἀ[ξόν, ᾧ σ]εμνοδότειρα φήμη*. Kenyon compares *αἰνοδότειρα*—*Ἐρινύες αἰνοδότειραι*, Orph. *Argon.* 354: *βαρυδότειρα*, Aesch. *Sept.* 975. The emendation seems inevitable, but the meaning K. suggests 'giver of glory' is open to doubt. *τὸ σεμνόν* is not an obvious expression for glory, and *σεμνοδότειρα* ought to be translated 'august giver'; for where the first part of a compound is an adjective, the normal meaning of the compound is the same as that of the adjective and noun uncompounded, e.g. *καλλίπαις*, *καλλίπολις*, *προβουλόπαις*, *αἰνόπαρις*, *αἰνολέων*. The other two compounds of *δοτειρα* that K. quotes may be translated in accordance with this rule—*αἰνοδότειρα* fell awardee, *βαρυδότειρα* heavy awardee; so also *ὀρθοδότειρα*, which he does not quote, in Orph. *Hymn* 76, 5 (*Μοῦσαι*) *διανοίας ὀρθοδότειραι*. (*Ὀλβοδότειρα* which he quotes from Euripides—an epithet of *Εἰρήνη*—is obviously of different formation, cf. *Πλουτοδότειρα Carm. adesp.* Bergk iii. p. 703.). The new-coined *σεμνοδότειρα* is either laxly employed or is vague in its significance. The personification of *φήμη*, of which this is the first example in literature, is in accordance with a general tendency of contemporary poetry to present such abstractions in personal form. The scholiast on Aeschines

in *Timarch.* (Dindorf, p. 33) tells us that the Athenians erected an altar to *φήμη* in consequence of the miraculous rumour that reached them of Cimon's victory; assuming the statement to be historical, we are still uncertain whether the poem of Bacchylides was earlier or later than the erection of the altar.

iii. 2. *ιοστέφανόν τε Κούραν*: the absence of the article suggests that *Κόρη* is a proper name, being probably used in this way as early as 500 B.C.; the epithet is merely decorative, the violet-crown being no special attribute of Kora.

v. 33. *κυανοπλόκαμον θ' ἔκατι Νίκας*—a new-coined and irrelevant epithet, rather less natural than the *καλλίσφυρος* of Hesiod's Nike, *Theog.* 384. All the other epithets applied by the poets to this goddess are expressive, even his own *γλυκύδωρος*, xi. 1.

v. 99. *καλυκοστέφανον σεμνᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος λευκωλένον*: the accumulation of epithet is characteristic of his profuse decorative style: the first is a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, the second never elsewhere attached to Artemis; neither has any significance for the context.

v. 102. *αἰγὼν θυσίαισι καὶ βοῶν φοινικόνων*: the goat is the sacrificial animal especially appropriate to Artemis: the ox was rarely offered, but was proper to this occasion, for Oeneus had offended by neglecting Artemis in the *Θαλύσια*, the agricultural sacrifice. But it is doubtful, whether B. is writing with any careful attention to ritual.

v. 123. *ἀγροτέρα Λαοῦς θυγάτηρ*: for once the epithet is appropriate, the legend referring to the goddess of the wild; but *Λαφρία* would be the title more strictly in accordance with local cult.

v. 175. *Κύπριδος θελήμβροτον*, cf. Orph. *Λίθ.* 315: epithet of Aphrodite not found elsewhere.

v. 199. *ὁ μεγιστοπάτωρ Ζεὺς*—unique epithet: for the formation of the word, cf. 19, 21 *μεγιστοάνασσα* (*Ἥρα*) and Orph. *Hymn* 15 (2), 7 *αὐτοπάτωρ*.

vii. 1. This passage and a fragment of Pindar (Plutarch 1007 b *ἀνακτα τῶν πάντων ὑπερβάλλοντα χρόνον μακάρων*), are the earliest personifications of *χρόνος* in literature. *Χρόνος* is here treated after the manner of Hesiod as an elemental power with a progeny. The personification appears in Sophocles and was frequent enough in Euripides to attract the sarcasm of Aristophanes. The phrase in Bacchylides is somewhat of a poetical conundrum, for no ordinary Greek would know who was the daughter of Night and of Time.

viii. 10. Ζεῦ κεραννεγχές, unique epithet.

xi. 1-9. A new genealogy is here given to Nike. While in the epigram attributed to Bacchylides (Bergk 48) he follows the Hesiodic tradition and calls her the daughter of Pallas the giant, he here affiliates her to Zeus. The latter genealogy appears only in much later literature (Himerius *Or.* xix. 3), unless the epithet εὐπάτεια (Menander *Incert.* 218) may be supposed to allude to it. We may account for it through the close affinity between Nike and Athena. 9. βαθυπλοκάμου κόυρα Διὸς ὀρθοδίκου. If both these epithets, which seem to be rightly restored, belong to Zeus, the incongruity in their juxtaposition may remind us of a verse in a Vedic hymn. But is Bacchylides capable of calling Zeus in a single breath 'god of long tresses' and 'of upright justice'? Perhaps. The epithet βαθυπλόκαμος is certainly out of harmony with the representation of contemporary art; but a poet need not follow the lead of the contemporary artist. Bacchylides might be content to follow Homer. Jebb's emendation βαθυπλόκαμ' ὦ is intended to save the poet's character as touching the choice of epithets; but Bacchylides, although the sign Ω for long O does not occur in the few inscriptions of Ceos that belong to the fifth century, would probably use Ionic letters, and the two forms would not be liable to confusion.

37-39. νῦν δ' Ἀρτεμις ἄγροτέρα χρυσάλα-
κατος λιπαρὰν [ἡμέ]ρα τοξόκλυτος νίκαν ἔδωκεν.
The restoration ἡμέρα must be right, for out of the multitude of Artemis epithets none other would suit the metre or the subtle purpose of Bacchylides. But the editor remarks that ἡμέρα is a title specially appropriate here. It would be truer to say that a more inappropriate title could not have been chosen. No passage betrays more glaringly the carelessness of Bacchylides in his selection of the appropriate adjective. So far he has been dutifully pursuing his proper theme, which was the celebration of the Pythian victory of the boy-wrestler of Metapontum. There was no reason why he should bring Artemis into the poem at all, who had no connection with the Pythian or any other national festival. It may be that she was a prominent goddess of Metapontum, as we gather from Bacchylides but from no other author. It may be that he was aware that in many parts of Greece boys were specially put under the protection of Artemis, who as φιλομείραξ presided over the boys' gymnasium in Elis. But, granting this, we cannot by reference to any fact or the suggestion of any hypothesis justify the grotesque ac-

cumulation of epithets which cloud his picture of the goddess. Τοξόκλυτος of course may pass, so may χρυσάλακατος, an appellative which few divine females in Greek poetry could escape. These two would suffice, but Bacchylides like the composers of the later Orphic hymns, demanded more, and he chooses the two most irrelevant to his legitimate purpose, and most incongruous in themselves, ἄγροτέρα and ἡμέρα. As ἄγροτέρα, Artemis should be slaying wild beasts and devouring goats and boars, not presiding at the games, and so far as she was ἄγροτέρα she was decidedly not ἡμέρα. As ἡμέρα she should be releasing someone from madness; and we dare not suppose that the boy-wrestler or that Bacchylides had recently been suffering. But Bacchylides is moved by a real motive other than the mere exigencies of metre; he wishes at this point to find a stepping-stone to the story of the Proetides: in this story Artemis ἡμερασία or ἡμέρα was prominent (see my *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. ii. Artemis *R.* 38); therefore he artfully suggests that it was Artemis ἡμέρα who gave the victory in the wrestling-match. He now feels justified in telling us another story about Artemis ἡμέρα, how she healed the daughters of Proetus and was therefore worshipped at Lousoi in Arcadia under that title. Having achieved this remarkable leap from the Pythian games to the Arcadian city, he found it a light matter to bring in by the way the story of the foundation of Tiryns. Then having followed Proetus as far as Lousoi in Arcadia he naturally wants to return to Metapontum. The clue for the return journey is given thus: (113): Artemis was so pleased with the Arcadian temple which Proetus and the Argives erected that she was willing to follow the Achaeans all over the world; therefore she dwells at Metapontum (which was built either by the Achaeans of North Peloponnese or by the Pylians according to Strabo p. 264, not by Proetus or the Argives). And someone's ancestors (possibly the ancestors of Alexidamos, scarcely of Bacchylides himself, see *Revue des Études grecques* 1898 p. 25-26) built a shrine to Artemis on the river near Metapontum. The editor finds in Artemis a thread of connection in this labyrinth; but the thread is not discoverable by modern ingenuity. We must either suppose that Bacchylides is the most rambling and incoherent of poets; or we must defend him by the following hypotheses: there was a worship of Artemis ἡμέρα at Metapontum, which was affiliated

to that at Lousoi in Arcadia: this latter shrine which Proetus built was a centre of Achaean worship and a starting-point for Achaean colonisation, or at least for the colonisation of Metapontum; therefore a citizen of Metapontum would be under the protection of Artemis Ἡμέρα. These hypotheses have no shadow of probability about them; even if based on fact, they would only excuse Bacchylides to some extent; for no poet who had any sense for the real significance of divine epithets could have written lines 37-39. The goddess who here is content with the modest style of these four epithets is allowed two more in 106-107, Ἀριστόπατρα and Θηροσκόπος, and in these last lines her name is omitted altogether, for Bacchylides, like Lycophron, is fond of omitting the proper name and substituting vague appellatives for it (cf. 16, 19 and 18, 30).

But to the spirit of irrelevance we owe many interesting stories: and we have in this ode a detailed account of the myth of the daughters of Proetus who mock at Hera and give themselves over to orgiastic revels on the mountains and are finally cured by Artemis. The legend appears to have been already noticed by Hesiod (Apollod. 2. 2. 2); and Pherecydes handled it in much the same way as Bacchylides (Schol. Hom. *Od.* 15, 225). I have pointed out the possible anthropological significance of this story, in which the cult of Artemis is associated with a rebellion of the women of the tribe against the married state (*Cults of the Greek States*, vol. ii. p. 448). Bacchylides adds little to our knowledge of a very curious legend: and he does not allude to Teiresias and the dance of the young men.

xiii. 25. βωμὸν ἀριστάρχου Διός. An interesting epithet of Zeus, derived very possibly from actual cult, cf. Simonid. Frag. 231. The only clear cult-record appears to associate the word with Artemis.

xviii. 22. Κρονίδα Λυταίου σείσυχθονος τέκος. Does Λυταῖος signify the god 'who loosens the land' or the god of Lutai in Thessaly? Steph. Byz. s. v. Λυταί and Hesych. s. v. Λυταίη: see Kenyon's note. It is natural that Sinis, like other violent characters, should be the son of Poseidon, but we hear nothing elsewhere of Poseidon Λυταῖος or of any connection between Sinis and Thessaly.

Frag. 1, 7. Δὼς εὐκλείου δὲ ἔκατι. Minos is said to have won the maiden Dexithea in the name of Zeus εὐκλείος. This epithet of Zeus, hitherto unknown, can

scarcely have been invented at random. It may have alluded to the glory of the offspring that was to come from this union, though Greek mythology seems to know nothing of Euxantios. We may rather perhaps believe that the title was suggested by the cult of Artemis εὐκλεία, the name as applied to Artemis possibly alluding to the honourable estate of matrimony, a meaning appropriate to the passage in Bacchylides.

These disconnected notes may close with a suggestion about the Croesus-story which has naturally attracted attention since the new version given by Bacchylides. He believes that the king placed himself on the pyre, was saved by Zeus, and translated by Apollo to the land of the Hyperboreans. The poet was perhaps not alone in this belief, as the representation on the vase in the Louvre (*Mon. d. Inst.* pl. liv.) may show. Apart from Bacchylides, there were other writers who treated the Croesus story differently from Herodotus: Ctesias (Frag. 29, Müller) seems ignorant of the pyre episode; he recounts how Croesus was again and again put in bonds by Cyrus and always miraculously released and at last forgiven by the Persian king and treated with reverence as a holy man. Later writers also, like Castor, ignore the burning, while others such as Plutarch, Diodorus, Ptolemaeus, Hephaestion, and Ausonius, follow Herodotus. What is singular is that both Herodotus and Ctesias are aware that Croesus survived the capture of Sardis and became the trusted friend of the Persian monarch. We can scarcely believe then that there is any historical basis for the appearance of Croesus on the pyre. The Persians might have put him there or he might have placed himself there; but in that case we should probably have heard nothing more of his subsequent career. Bacchylides transplants the story into fairy-land. May not the pyre-episode be simply part of an Oriental and European myth of the self-immolation of a divine personage on the pyre, the story told of Sardanapalus, Heracles and Dido, and at last, singularly enough, attaching itself to the half-heroic figure of the last Lydian king? Mr. Frazer knows of certain gods of the people who were burned.¹ I would not venture to say that Croesus was afterwards regarded in this light: but the story probably belongs more to religious myth than to secular history.

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¹ *Golden Bough*, vol. ii. p. 275.

ON THE WORD *παρεξαιρεσία* AND ON GREEK SUBSTANTIVES COMPOUNDED WITH PREPOSITIONS.

THE word *παρεξαιρεσία* is usually explained to mean that part of a ship's upper-works which is either forward or abaft of the rowers' benches, the ship's bows or quarters. This is the explanation given by Suidas, by Stephanus, and all later lexicographers, by the Scholiast and all later commentators on Thucydides, by Dr. Warre in Smith's *Dict. Antiq.* and by Mr. Cecil Torr in *Ancient Ships*. Hesychius gives the same meaning, but with the important difference that he calls the word *παρεξαιρέσιον*, not *παρεξαιρεσία*.

Dr. Assmann in Baumeister's *Denkmäler* gives a different meaning. He translates the word 'Riemenkasten' and explains it to mean a projecting part of the ship's sides, built out in order to give room for the longest and most effective bank of oars. He compares its form to the closed keyboard of the ordinary cottage piano. The meaning given by Dr. Assmann agrees perfectly with all the passages in which the word is found, and there are two at least which, so far as I can see, will admit of no other meaning. These are (1) Thucyd. vii. 34, 5, and (2) Arrian, *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* p. 4. In the former passage Thucydides says that the carrying away of the *παρεξαιρεσία* made the ships *ἄπλοιοι*, that is, crippled, unable to move, unmanageable; and this must of necessity mean that the rowing power was destroyed. A ship would certainly not be rendered *ἄπλοος* by having either the forward or after part of its upper-works carried away, so long as the oarsmen's part of the ship's sides remained safe.

Arrian, in the passage mentioned above, says that on one occasion the sea ran so high that not only did the water come through the port-holes, but the seas broke right over the ship's sides—*μὴ κατὰ τὰς κόπας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς παρεξαιρεσίας ἐπαισρεῖν ἡμῖν ἐκατέρωθεν ἀφθόνης τοῦ ὕδατος*. It is evident that in this sentence the expression *ὑπὲρ τὰς παρεξαιρεσίας* means something higher than the port-holes, not forward or abaft of them. (I am not able to refer to Agathias, but if he is correctly quoted in Stephanus he implies clearly that the *παρεξαιρεσία* was the part of the ship used by the oarsmen.)

But even Dr. Assmann accepts the ordinary account of the origin of the word,

and supposes it to mean literally the part of the ship which is outside the rowers' benches; and it does not seem to have struck him that there is anything extraordinary in supposing that *παρεξαιρεσία* is equivalent, as Suidas says, to *τὸ παρὲξ τῆς εἵρεσίας*. And yet such a compound is almost unparalleled in classical Greek. It is true that the form *παρεξαιρέσιον*, given by Hesychius, might and probably would have that meaning, but *παρεξαιρεσία*, whatever it might mean at the date of Suidas, in the time of Thucydides could only mean the 'outside rowing place' or the 'outside crew.'

No rule on this subject has been given, so far as I am aware, by any writer on Greek grammar, and it seems desirable that it should be stated. It is this: (1) When a preposition is prefixed to a substantive so as to form a compound substantive, the form of the substantive itself remaining unchanged, the preposition must take an adjectival force. (2) On the other hand, when a preposition is combined with its case to form a new compound substantive, the compound takes a new termination, and this termination is usually either a neuter adjective form in *-ον* or *-ιον* (sometimes *-αιον* or *-ειον*) or else a feminine in *-ίς*. Other terminations are rare, and when they occur they are probably to be considered not as original compounds, but as derivatives from compound adjectives or compound verbs, e.g. *παράνοια*, *ἐκδομία*, *ἐμμετρία*.

Illustrations of rule (1) are so numerous that it is scarcely necessary to mention any of them. Take for instance the various compounds formed by prefixing prepositions to *ὁδός*, *ἔδρα*, *πλόος*. In all of them the preposition has an adjectival force.

Exceptions to these rules are both rare and late. For instance, the word *ἀντιστράτηγος* in Thucydides means an opposing general, but in Polybius, *ἀντιστράτηγος* and *ἀνθύπατος* are used as translations of the Latin *propraetor* and *proconsul*. Again the classical word for a pillow is *προσκεφάλαιον*, but in the Septuagint it is *προσκεφάλη*.

The rules given above apply of course only to the formation of compound substantives. The case is quite different with adjectives. In them, in the majority of cases, the preposition retains its prepositional force; e.g. *ἀντίθεος*, *παράνομος*, *παρά*

λογος, ἔκτοπος, προσήλιος, ὑπόσπονδος. And in some cases adjectives formed in this way seem to be used as substantives. This may be the explanation of the words Προκύνων and Πρότῃθυσ, ἀστήρ being used with the former and γράϊα with the latter; but I should be more inclined to treat these proper names as exceptions to the general rule. Cicero at any rate seems to take Προκύνων as a substantive, and translates it Antecanis, which is as great a rarity in Latin as Προκύνων and Πρότῃθυσ, if they are to be considered substantives, are in Greek. With regard to ἀντιστράτηγος and ἀνύπατος and their Latin originals propraetor and proconsul, there can be little doubt that these titles were originally pro praetore and pro consule, but that almost immediately the necessity for case inflexions of these titles would be felt, and it would be inevitable that they should be turned into compounds which could be declined throughout. They stand on the same footing as the proper names mentioned above.

I have given παράλογος as an instance of an adjective normally formed from παρὰ λόγον, but there is also a substantive παράλογος, and it is possible that this word also may in some cases be an exception to rule (1), and may be equivalent to τὸ παρὰ λόγον. But this is not at all necessary. It is more probable that the word always means, what it certainly means sometimes, not a surprise but a miscalculation. The word πρόδομος again might be understood in two ways, but the existence of the synonym προδομάτιον and the fact that πρόδομος is sometimes followed by the genitive δόμον both seem to imply that the preposition is used normally with an adjectival force as in the English 'ante-room.'

It is much to be regretted that neither Lobeck nor Donaldson, the two grammarians who might have been expected to deal with this subject, have given us any definite rules about it. Some materials may be found in Lobeck's writings, especially in the *Parerga*, Cap. I., and in the *Paralipomena*, Diss. 5. There is nothing to help us, so far as I have been able to discover, in Buttmann's larger grammar.

I should like to take this opportunity of calling the attention of Latin scholars, before it is too late, to a class of abnormal compounds which have been introduced into the English language during the last fifty years. The compilation of the great Oxford Dictionary seems to offer an opportunity, such as may never occur again, for removing these anomalies. I allude to the numerous adjectives like pre-historic, pre-Socratic, etc., which have been introduced into the language, I know not by whom, in defiance of grammar, and without any excuse on the ground of necessity or even convenience. Antelucanus and antemeridianus are normally formed from ante lucem and ante meridiem, and furnished examples which were followed by English writers down to the end of the first half of the present century. Why we should say prediluvian instead of antediluvian, or prehistoric instead of antehistoric, is a question which I leave to be answered by those who use these words. So far as my recollection goes, the first of these monstrosities was the word Pre-Raphaelite. I should be glad if the *Classical Review* would use its authority to check this growing mischief.

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CLYTEMNESTRA'S WEAPON.

A DIFFICULTY, well known but not yet solved, is presented by the different allusions in the *Agamemnon* and *Choephori* to the weapon or weapons employed by Clytemnestra in the murder of the King and Cassandra. The familiar idea that he was slain with an axe is not derived, directly at least, from Aeschylus but from his successors. In collating the Aeschylean references we have to distinguish (a) those which more or less distinctly indicate a sword from (b) those which cannot be understood in that sense. The

former are three: (1) *Agam.* 1262, Cassandra prophetically describes the queen as whetting a sword (φάσγανον) for her husband. On the other hand, where she refers in the same context to her own impending death, it is not in connection with the sword. The employment of two different weapons is thus, perhaps, implied. (2) *Agam.* 1528, the Elders, immediately after the deed and while the two bodies are displayed, speak of the murder of Agamemnon as a 'death by the sword' (ἐξοδὴλητος θάνατος). (3) *Choeph.*

1009; φᾶρος τόδ' ὡς ἔβαιψεν Αἰγίσθου ξίφος. From this it must undoubtedly be concluded that Clytemnestra borrowed and used the sword of Aegisthus. It is likely also that Aegisthus himself refers to this when he boasts of having had a hand in the murder, though he was at a distance (*Agam.* 1608). If it is argued that in the first two passages the 'sword' need not represent that particular weapon but merely a bloody death, it may fairly be answered that the third allusion is so definite as to give some evidential value to the others. The sword, therefore, must first of all be assumed.

But there are two references to a different weapon, viz. *Agam.* 1520 ἀμφιτόμον βέλεμον and *ibid.* 1149 ἀμφήκει δορί. The epithets here are, no doubt, applicable to a 'two-edged' sword, but the nouns are not. Though the 'sword' may stand for any deadly weapon, it cannot be maintained conversely that a sword can be indicated by terms properly denoting a spear or an axe. As to the first, indeed, there is some slight ground for doubt, because in another passage, *Choeph.* 164, as the text stands, we must assign the meaning 'sword' to the cognate word βέλος: σχέδια τ' αὐτόκωπα νομῶν βέλη, that is, as Butler translates, 'quae in pugna stataria adhibentur, cum ad digladiationem ventum est, enses scil. quibus manubrium est.' But, as the word is used just before in the same sentence with the meaning 'arrows,' we may well dismiss it with Pauw as a slip of the copyist for ξίφη; and even if it is allowed, the meaning 'sword' really resides in the epithets σχέδια and αὐτόκωπα, which serve precisely to exclude the ordinary sense of βέλος. In the other passage, however, it is quite impossible to take δόρυ for a sword. The word means primarily a wooden shaft and by extension a weapon with such a shaft; but a sword cannot be so described, nor is the term anywhere open to that interpretation. Hence, unless Aeschylus wrote very vaguely here as well as in the prophecy of Cassandra just quoted, it results that a second weapon was used.

So far as the bulk of the evidence goes, that weapon might be either a spear or an axe. 'Spear' is the first obvious interpretation of ἀμφηκες δόρυ and of βέλεμον, which does not really differ from βέλος, though in the singular it is somewhat more individual. The phrase ἐκ χειρός with βέλεμον (*l.* 1520) is appropriate enough either to the throwing of a spear or to the wielding of an axe. But in favour of the axe there are two, if not more, strong arguments. First, the word σχισμός (ἀμφήκει δορί) in Cassandra's

prediction of her own death decidedly points to that weapon, suggesting the downward blow cleaving the head, and still more the fuller description *l.* 1277 f.: she is to bleed on a block (ἐπίξηνον), as though she was an ox or a sheep. Secondly, in the narrative of Orestes, *Eumen.* 625 (κόπτει πεδήσας ἄνδρα κτλ.), the verb at once recalls the axe, and that the axe of the butcher, as in Homer *Il.* xvii. 521, cf. *Od.* xiv. 425. It might of course be used in the general sense of 'slaughter,' but this would certainly weaken the description, which is otherwise highly picturesque in its definiteness. If the sword had been meant, another word must have been used (*e.g.* παλεῖν). A spear is still more out of the question; the verb is only thus used in the sense of 'smiting' with a spear on the back (*Od.* viii. 528).

While these two descriptions are directly in favour of the axe, we have another possible indication of it in the weird vision of the King's death *Agam.* 1127, where the murderer is compared to a bull goring him μελαγκέρῳ μηχανήματι ἐν πέπλοισι. What Cassandra 'saw' may well have been the crescent-bladed axe like the horns of a bull beneath the robe. The words ἀπέδικες, ἀπέταμες, *l.* 1410, may also furnish evidence to the same effect. The ordinary explanation of the former, 'thou didst fling him away,' is altogether bad; for, if the 'flinging away' is taken to mean that she thrust him from her in a literal sense, the word is quite inappropriate; while, if we understand it metaphorically in the sense of 'cast off,' it is weak and pointless. In both verbs the preposition evidently has the same value and is simply intensive, being thrown in partly for the sake of alliteration with ἀπόπολις. Thus, as ἀπέταμες does not mean 'cut off' from anything in particular, ἀπέδικες should be taken equally simply, and the likeliest explanation of the two may be found, if we regard them as suggesting and suggested by a hatchet (δίκελλα) and a sword respectively: 'thou didst hack and hew him.' We have thus one of those verbal quibbles or assonances, which are a marked feature of the language of Aeschylus. The indirectness of the allusion in the first word is no more than is usual. The fanciful connection which Dr. Verrall has noticed as present to the poet's mind between δίκη, δικάιν and δίκελλα (see his notes on *Agam.* 560, *Choeph.* 946 and *Septem c. Theb.* app. ii.) would amply cover and explain the pun in ἀπέδικες.

Coming lastly to Clytemnestra's own description, *Agam.* 1384-6, we have an em-

phatic allusion to 'two blows' followed by a 'third,' which is intentionally separate. This surely accords well with the supposition that there were two implements: she first cut him down with two blows of the axe falling on the head, which was an easy mark; then, when he was down and at her mercy, she finished him with one thrust of the sword of Aegisthus.

We can found only a general presumption on the fact that Sophocles (*Elect.* 99) and Euripides (*Ilec.* 1261) gave Clytemnestra the axe. But at any rate this cannot have been borrowed, as a scholiast suggests, by a hasty inference from Homer *Od.* iv. 535, 'he (Aegisthus) slew him like an ox at the stall, when he had feasted him'; for in the other version (*Od.* xi.), where the very same phrase is repeated, the sword is expressly mentioned (424). On the other hand it is likely enough that Sophocles and Euripides followed a dramatic precedent and brought in the axe

as familiar, leaving out the sword. That Aeschylus placed both in her hands is the only theory which appears to fit with the data. His reason for adding the sword is obvious: it was to bring into clear relief the instrumentality of Aegisthus in the fulfilment of the inherited curse on the house of Atreus, to which he belonged. From this point of view Aegisthus was the chief agent, Clytemnestra the accessory.

This solution involves no technical difficulty either as regards the execution of the double murder or the presentation by means of the ecyclema. We may conjecture that Cassandra was despatched with the axe after Agamemnon and the sword then used on Agamemnon's body in gratuitous cruelty, and that Clytemnestra was exhibited with the sword in her hand and the axe lying at her feet.

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ON PINDAR *PYTH.* II. 161 *sqq.*

In a note on Pindar *Pythia* ii. 161 *sqq.* (*C.R.* vol. xii. No. 4, p. 208), *στάθμας* δέ *τινος* ἐλκόμενοι *περισσᾶς* κ.τ.λ., my first edition is quoted, though in the second (1893) I give a different explanation according to which the lines in question 'form part of the equine metaphor.' A glance at Xenophon *περὶ ἵππικῆς*, chap. v., shows that *στάθμη* could hardly mean 'the halter of a horse as used at the present day'; and any groom or veterinary surgeon

would assure us that a horse does not 'naturally gall his chest' by straining at a weighted halter passed through a ring. The 'weight' on the said halter is as light as may be, and has very slight similarity to a plummet. The general meaning of 'measure,' which I have proposed for *στάθμα* in this passage, is found in *σταθμᾶν*, *ἀστάθμητος*.

C. A. M. FENNELL.

NOTE ON THE ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ.

AMONG the lately-discovered Λόγια Ἰησοῦ one that has most excited speculation is No. 5 ἐγειρον τὸν λίθον καὶ ἐδῆρῃς με, σχίσον τὸ ξύλον καὶ ἐκεί εἰμί. The doctrine is ridiculed by Lucian *Hermotim.* 81 ἀκούομεν

δὲ αὐτοῦ (a professor of philosophy) λέγοντος ὡς καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστι, ἀλλὰ διὰ πάντων πεφοίτηκεν, οἷον ξύλων καὶ λίθων καὶ ζώων, ἄχρι καὶ τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων.

W. HEADLAM.

SALLUST. ORAT. PHILIPPI IN SENATU § 7.

At tum erat Lepidus latro cum colonibus et paucis sicariis, quorum nemo non diurna mercede vitam mutaverit: nunc est pro consule cum imperio...

There is some MS. authority for omitting *non* after *nemo*, and editors have never known which reading to accept: the latest text that I have seen reads *nemo*. The meaning supposed by this must, I conceive, be 'fellows that were not likely to sacrifice their lives for a mere day's pay'—and therefore were not formidable. Usage proves that this is not the point. Isocrates 109 b says ἡγοῦμαι...πολλὴν ἀπληστίαν ἔχειν ὅστις προαιρεῖται κινδυνεύειν ὥστ' ἢ ταῦτα (i.e. δυναστείαν καὶ πλοῦτον) λαβεῖν ἢ στερηθῆναι τῆς ψυχῆς. *Nothing is worth that price but glory, ἢς ἄξιον ὀρεγομένους καθ' ὅσον οἰοί τ' ἔσμεν ὅτιοῦν πάσχειν.* ἴδοις δ' ἂν καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς ἐπεικεστάτους ὑπὲρ ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἂν τὸ ζῆν ἀντικαταλλαξαμένους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ τυχεῖν καλῆς δόξης ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐθέλοντας... Similarly Lysurg. 159. 2, Kaibel *Ep.* 21,

Verg. *A. v.* 230, xii. 49 *vitam* or *letum* *pro laude pacisci*. The patriot is described as willing to give his life, or body and soul, for his country, Dio Cass. xxxvi. 10, lii. 14. But the *φιλάργυρος* is the man who will sell his soul for *gold*: Pollux iii. 112 gives Attic phrases to describe him, τὴν ψυχὴν ἂν ἀνταλλάξας τοῦ χρυσίου, τὴν ψυχὴν ἂν ἀργυρίου προέμενος. To that class belongs the *latro*, the *mercenary*—for that is the original meaning of the word (Servius on *Aen.* xii. 7 and the dictionaries), the *needy adventurer*; Plaut. *Stich.* 135 *vosne latrones et mendicos homines magni penditis?* And what is the contemptuous phrase for such a hireling? *Bacchid.* 20 *latronem, suam qui auro vitam venditat*; a jesting description laboured in *Mostell.* 354–361 *isti qui hosticas trium nummum causa subeunt sub falas*. The phrase then, as one might expect, is Greek; and the point is that such hired assassins care nothing for the cause, but will sell their lives for money.

W. HEADLAM.

I.—CICERO, AD ATT., I. 1. 2.

NOSTRIS rationibus maxime conducere videtur Thermum fieri cum Caesare. Nemo est enim ex iis, qui nunc petunt, qui, si in nostrum annum reciderit, firmior candidatus fore videatur, propterea quod curator est viae Flaminiae: *quae cum erit absoluta, sane facile eum libenter nunc ceteri consuli acciderim.*

The italicised passage has caused very great difficulties. For the various emendations proposed I refer to *Tyrrell's Correspondence of Cicero*, Vol. I.² p. 148. Boot (Cic. Epist. ad Att.² p. 5) points with a comma after Flaminiae and writes *quae erit tum absoluta sane facile; eum libenter nunc Caesari consulem acciderim* and Tyrrell (l.c.) seems to favour the same reading. It may be noted in passing that he ascribes *acciderim*, which is Bosius's correction if we may trust Boot, to Boot himself. Exception can hardly be taken to *tum* for *eum*, and *acciderim* to *acciderim* is hardly liable to any objection on the palaeographic side. But *accidere* is a nonce-word at Plaut. *Merc.* 432:

tris minas accudere etiam possum, ut triginta sient—

where *accudere* means 'manage to raise (coin outright)' and we have here no fit place for *acciderim*, though I am willing to allow all of Tyrrell's claims for the correspondence of the diction of Cicero's letters with the diction of comedy: only the diction must correspond. The charge of *ceteri consuli* to *Caesari consulem* is not easy to my mind. A variant reading in the margin of M changes *nunc ceteri* of that manuscript to *nunciteri*, while Z, teste Lambino, reads *nunciteri consuli acciderunt*. I cannot see how we have any warrant here to change *ceteri* to *Caesari*.

If, in spite of this scepticism, I may operate with all the emendations approved by Boot for this passage, save *acciderim* whose incorrectness seems to me certain, I propose for *acciderim* to read *addicerem*, imputing to an ignorant and careless scribe first syllable transposition, *acciderem*, whence next *acciderim*. The confusion of

-em with -im is too common to raise a question and may have antedated the transposition of -dic- to -cid-, thus giving to that transposition the character of an emendation on the part of the scribe. Thus my sentence becomes: eum libenter nunc Caesari consulem addicerem (sc. si. possem); here *libenter addicerem* is much like *vellem addicere*, and the whole means 'I would fain make him over now to be Caesar's colleague.'

I think however that we may mend the entire passage with very much less textual juggling than any of the corrections yet proposed has offered. Cicero has been saying: Thermus seems likely to be a stronger candidate than any in the present canvass if he should stand again next year when I propose to come up, and this because he is the superintendent of the Flaminian road: quae cum erit absoluta sane facile eum [libenter] nunc alteri consuli addicerem. 'and, supposing him to have finished this road (by that time), I should be quite ready (*sane facile*) now to adjudge him (as colleague) to the other consul.

In this reading of the passage *libenter* is excised as a gloss. The reading *alteri* for *ceteri* is based on the common half-uncial and minuscule confusion of 'open' *a* with *ci*, according to which *alteri* would give *ciliteri*, whence, *citeri* (as in Z and the marginal variant in M) by a haplography between *l* and the tall form of *i* (cf. Lindsay's *Textual Emendation in Plautus* pp. 82, 84). The *ceteri* of M would be an emendation of *ciliteri*.

There is an anacoluthon in the sentence however, *quae cum erit absoluta*, a future perfect, is balanced by an unreal Apodosis *nunc addicerem*, but as *sane facile...addicerem* is practically equivalent to *vellem addicere* we can defend the combination of a not-yet-realized future protasis with an unreal apodosis. It does not commit us to any 'potential' subjunctive speculations if we should supply here a fresh protasis to *addicerem*, viz: *si possem*.

Bosius imagined there was a pun here between Thermus, which in Greek (θέρμων) meant 'lupine,' and *cicer* 'vetch' in allusion to Cicero's name. One of Tyrrell's ventures, based on that suggestion, is *eo libenter* <Ther> mum ciceri consulem obduxerint: 'therefore they will gladly enough run Thermus against Cicero, the lupine against the vetch.' We might retain the pun and read *ciceri* for *citeri* (*ceteri*). This would give us, still reading *addicerem*: 'On the completion of his road I should be glad to

set him down now (as colleague) to the vetch-consul, myself,' that is to say 'I wish I were as sure of election now as he will be on the completion of his road.'

II.—Plautus, Captivi 1-3.

The *editio minor* of Goetz and Schoell reads these verses as follows:

hos quos uidetis stare hic captivos duos,
illi qui astant—*i* stant ambo, non sedent:
hoc uos mihi testes estis me uerum loqui.

This is practically the consensus of the manuscripts save for the words in italics; *i* is a correction for *hi* and *hoc* a correction for *hos*; while J. reads *os quos* for the third line. The other modern text-editions agree with that quoted in pronouncing *illi qui astant* corrupt, viz: Leo's and Sonnenschein's. Schoell, in the triumvirate edition, reports various emendations for this passage, and to these the reader is referred. His own proposal is *ingati* qui astant, which has nothing to commend it textually. Brix⁴ reads *in vinculis* qui astant and Lindsay merely reprints the text of Fleckeisen which had been adopted for his school-edition, and so reads *uincti quia* astant. The above statement will serve to show that the corruptness of the passage is universally admitted, while none of the emendations stands in a conceivable relation with the *illi* that is rejected.

I propose to emend the text as follows:

1. hos quos uidetis stare hic captiuos duos—
3. hoc uos mihi testes estis me uerum loqui
2. illi <c> qui asta[n]t <is>—*i* stant ambo non sedent.

I remark that illi <c> for illi is not necessary to my conjecture as the adverb *illi* might stand without -c. My restoration of -is in *asta[n]t <is>* is based on the assumption of its loss by haplography with the following *i* stant. It is assumed that the copyist changed the resulting *astat* to *astant* by way of making the word construe. This was complicated with a change of order.

In the ultimate archetype of the Palatine recension I assume that verses 1-2 stood as follows in their initial words:

HOSQUOS—
HOCUOS—

This was very like a homoioarchaion. Now in B the second of these lines reads *Hos uos* (*hoc uos* being a correction in B²), and with it DE agree, while J reads *os quos* which shows even more the influence of the first line. The possibility of confounding C and Q in a capital manuscript is proved by A's reading at Merc. 781 HAEQUASSA for *haec uassa*, and if, as seems to me not unlikely, this demonstrates rather the confusion of the group *qu* with *cu*, than of Q with C, why it is just that group we have here.

We have seen that the initial words of what appear as lines 1 and 3 in the extant Palatine manuscripts show a corruption by way of the assimilation of 3 to 1; this may, I think, be taken to show that the similarity of their ductus made itself felt to the copyists. My emendation supposes that their order was 1 and 2, and this supposition throws light on the assimilation of the second to the first of these lines.

Let us call the original manuscript as pictured above P. A copy of this read, I will assume

1. HOSQUOS—

2. HOQUOS—, and this copy we will call P^r.

In P^B this second line was rendered

hos uos—

while still another copy, P^J, got from it

hos quos—

Back of P^B and P^J, but subsequent to P^r, let us postulate a copy P^p. In this copy the scribe skipped line 2 altogether because of its homoioarchaion, but either put it in directly after line 3 or put it on the margin whence it got back into subsequent copies out of its proper order.

The chief difficulty to be met here is that the mistake occurs so early in the play. It is easy to claim that a scribe would be less likely to make a mistake there, but this it would be hard to demonstrate when the mistake is of so nearly mechanical a nature. It would help us to form an idea if we knew whether the copyist was working by the hour or by the piece. In the latter case he might not have stopped to take a rest after the previous play, but have hurried on to finish his task. In Studemund's Apograph fol. 432ⁿ (= Quaternion liiii, 8ⁿ) lines 12–19 are devoted to a colophon of the following description:

T[MACCI PLA]UTI

MENAECKMI EXP[LICIT]INC[ipit] TRINUMMUS

FELICITER

The next folio, 433^r (= Quat. lv, 1^r) leaves one blank line at the top of the page, doubtless to have been filled out with names of characters, and goes straight on with the prologue to the Trinummus. To a copyist plodding on mechanically Trin. 1–3 would be as liable to offer occasions of error, I should think, as any other three lines of a play.

Another objection arises, viz. whether *uos* can be combined with *illic*. In the last resort *illic* might be corrected to *istic*, but that does not seem to me necessary. In my interpretation of this passage *astatis* refers to the late-comers at the extreme rear of the audience, cf. vss. 10–12:

negat hercle ille †ultimus, accedito,
si non ubi sedeas locus est, est ubi ambules,
quando histrionem cogis mendicariet.

Here it is perhaps fair for us to infer from *sedeas* and *cogis* that *accedito* is in the 2nd person. At any rate the man who is *ille* in vs. 10 has become *tu* (*iste*) in vss. 11–12. These lines therefore seem to me to give some warrant to the combination of *uos* and *illic* in vss. 2–3.

Two grounds of a general nature may be given for the use of *illic*: (1) As *hic* in vs. 1 refers to the stage, it may be questioned whether any word but *illic* would refer to the rear end of the audience; (2) the *uos* of vs. 2 may not include all the persons included in the subject of *uidetis* (vs. 1): *uidetis*, we will say, refers to the entire audience while *uos* refers to those only who are standing far back in the rear. In other words, *istic* would have referred to the entire audience and not to the late-comers only standing up in the rear; while if it was necessary to subdivide the audience, *uos illi* and *uos hic* would be used.

It may be that this reasoning does not sufficiently explain why we have *illic* and not *istic*. In that case we can correct to *istic*, basing the change on Most. 1064, where A reads ILICINTRALIMENISTASTATE, but P reads . . . *astate illic*. The editors very plausibly correct to *ist* < *i* > *astate*.

I note that *astatis* may well be for *apstatis*, with the phonetic treatment of *ostendere* for **obstendere*. The only use of this word put down in the lexica is in the form *abstes* (Horace). If it was spelt *abstatis* the writing *adstatis*, whence *astatis*, would come very easily. For the confusion of B with D I refer to A's AEBIS for AEDIS at Truc. 252 (cf. *Class. Rev.* x. 155), and Lindsay (Text. Emend. p. 84) notes *b/d*. Doubtless either

absta or *adsta* was pronounced *asta* except when there was a special reinforcement due to the etymological consciousness. I do not doubt that the impv. *a(b)sta* occurs elsewhere in Plautus in the sense 'stand off, back,' Grk. ἀπόστηθι (Aristophanes) and ἀπόστα (Menander). The difficulty of *illic astate* (Rud. 836, cf. Bach in Studemund's Studien ii. p. 268) will be greatly relieved if we may translate *astate* by 'stand back.'

Our passage will then lend itself to the following rendering, reading *illic* and not *istic*.

'These whom you see standing here, these captives twain,
—I should like you to witness that I'm speaking truth,
Those of you standing-back yonder—why *they* both stand and sit not down.'

With this interpretation the passage does not seem to me to lose in point. Indeed, the 'gag' seems to me very good. In

none of the other prologues is the audience directly charged to look upon the actors already 'made up' for exhibition. Here after pointing out the two captives the prologizer solemnly tells the audience that he is going to tell them the truth. We may imagine him to proceed solemnly and the audience to fall agape till the prologizer comes out with the ponderous truism 'they are both standing, not sitting.' There may further be an adroit fling at the late-comers standing at the rear, first if the prologizer pointed them out far away (*illic*), and second when the actors are shown to be standing ready when the curtain rises while the spectators are not yet all seated.

That a broad 'gag' of some sort should come at the very introduction of the prologue need not surprise us. I cite Men. 1-3.

salutem primum iam a principio propitiam
mihi atque uobis, spectatores, nuntio.
apporto uobis Plautum—lingua, non manu.

EDWIN W. FAY.

NOTES ON CATULLUS AND ON THE AGRICOLA OF TACITUS.

CATULLUS 39, 11 *parcus Vmber codd.*

It is worth while noticing with regard to the much contested epithet that the MS. of Catullus which Petrarch had, or at least read, apparently gave *parcus*, thus removing the reading at least one generation further back toward the archetype than our existing MSS. can carry it. See the gloss in Petrarch's hand on his MS. of Vergil ('the Ambrosian Vergil'), fol. 29, *Geor.* ii. 192 (*Aut parcus Vmber, aut obesus Etruscus*) as mentioned by De Nolhac in his *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, p. 140. I have not seen attention called to this point.

Cat. 63, 77 *lenumque (leuumque G?) pectoris hostem GO.*

The reading in *O* is perfectly clear. In Clédat's facsimile of *G* the reading appears to be the same, but as if corrected from *leuumque*. Yet all the editors so far as I know, who have examined the original, give *leuumque*. The MS. will evidently repay a new glance at this verse. The old emendation of *pectoris* to *pecoris*, found even in at least two minor MSS., seems certain. But *laeuum* has never appealed to me as satisfactory. The augural explanations offered for it are too far-fetched. I have myself tried to explain it as a bit of realistic speci-

fication, but without much conviction of success. More recently I have wondered whether Catullus did not write *lentumque*. To the fierce resentment of the goddess even the natural ferocity of the *pecoris hostis* seems too slow and hesitating. So her hurrying words of eager urgency to rage flow on even while she is yet loosing the yoke from his neck, and she sends him off in a tumult of madness.

Cat. 64, 309 *roseo niuee codd. roseae niueo Guarinus et al.*

The emendation of Guarinus can hardly be supported by citing the reading of *O* in 64, 31 as an instance of precisely similar confusion in the MSS., for in this case *optato finitae* is very probably what Catullus wrote, as Professor Ellis pointed out. The MS. reading in 64, 309 should, I think, also be retained, as some few critics, though for varying reasons, have from time to time claimed. It may perhaps find some support in the verses given in *Augustin. de Mus.* iii. 2 (Baehrens *Fragm. P. R.* p. 403, no. 175) *ite igitur, Camenae | . . . quae lauitis capillum | purpureum Hippocrenae | fonte, etc.* Here the roseate tresses of the Muses are not, I think, characteristic of their youthful beauty (for it is not the *hair* of youth that is

proverbially rosy), but of the rosy effulgence of that divine nature, which they, like the Fates, shared. So Venus *auertens rosea ceruice refulsit*, when she revealed herself as *uera dea* (Verg. *Aen.* i. 402). In Catullus the rosy locks of the Fates are specified to afford the familiar colour-contrast with the white fillets that matched the rest of their clothing. The crimson *instita* is mentioned to mark the dignity of their garb.

Cat. 110, 2 *accipiunt pretium quae facere institunt codd.*

The device of accounting for *quae* by supposing it equivalent to *eorum quae* (neut.) is at best objectionable. The reading in both *G* and *O* is *que* (in *O* in ligature), for which I would suggest *quod*, 'they easily get their regular market price.' *Pretium facere*, 'to set a price,' is supported by Plaut. *Pers.* 586 '*indica; fac pretium.*' '*Tua merx est; tua indicatio est*'; and a similar error of *que* (in ligature) for *quod* is found in both *O* and *G* in 51, 5 *miseroque* (corrected in *G* to *miseroquod*), and in *O* in 66, 41 *feratque* (where, however, *G* has *ferat qd'*). I have before mentioned this suggestion, but so briefly and in so obscure a place that I trust I may be pardoned for repeating it in this connection.

Tac. *Agr.* 28 *mox ad aquam atque ut illa raptis secum plerisque Britannorum codd.*

Halm's *egressi et cum* seems as satisfactory as anything that has yet been proposed in the puzzling coil of *raptis secum*, and Selling's *utilia* for *ut illa* appears to me certain. But *ad aquam atque utilia* needs no further adjustment to fit in with *egressi* directly, as may be seen from such a passage as Liv. v. 20, 10 *ad praedam Veientem . . . proficisc-*

cerentur. The only further change necessary is in the word following *utilia*, which I should read as *raptim* (from *rapti*). The passage would then stand *mox ad aquam atque utilia raptim egressi et cum plerisque Britannorum*, etc. *Raptim* occurs a dozen times in Tacitus, and always with the idea of something like disorderly haste, such as must have characterised these hurried landings of the Usipii.

Tac. *Agr.* 34 *novissimae res et extremo metu corpora defixere aciem* in his *uestigiis codd.*

One must evidently choose between *corpora* and *aciem*, and *corpora defixere* sounds to me much more true in this setting than *defixere aciem*, though I cannot share the conviction of Wex that, leaving the question of *corpora* aside, *defixere aciem* would be impossible here. But the attempt to heal the difficulty by quietly dropping out *aciem*, with Rhenanus and others down to Wex, appears to me unreasonably arbitrary, nor am I satisfied with the suggestion that *aciem* is merely a gloss upon *corpora*. Perhaps *aciem* is simply an error for *etiam*, in which case the passage would run *novissimae res extremo metu corpora defixere etiam in his uestigiis*, etc. *Et* may be considered as a gloss of some student who imagined, and wished to point out, that their desperate plight and the extremity of their fear were co-ordinate causes in planting the Britons where Agricola found them. Yet there are other and common ways of accounting for the unauthorised appearance of an *et* in the MSS.

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THE SEQUENCE AFTER *NE* PROHIBITIVE.

I.

The question as to the sequence after *Ne* Prohibitive in Classical Latin is one of the most interesting that have emerged in recent years, and America has produced in the person of Professor Elmer a Protagonist¹ whose verdicts on the subject command attention and cannot be ignored or overlooked. In the following papers it is intended to present the results of independent

investigation in the same field, results that are found largely confirmatory of his main position, and it is singular that simultaneously with the researches at Cornell University there should have been developed in the North of Scotland a kindred inquiry on kindred lines coming substantially to the same conclusion, viz. the overthrow of the Madvigian canon as absolutely controlling the sequence in question.

The incidents which led to the critical inquiry in Aberdeen were originally local

¹ Professor Elmer's views are found in *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xv. 2 (1894), and in volume of *Cornell Studies in Cl. Philology*, 1898.

and personal and need not here be detailed. Suffice it to say that Aberdonian scholars, with some trifling exceptions, adhered to the former lead of an Aberdonian scholar, Dr. Melvin, on the subject, and had dared to dissent from the Madvigian canon, thereby arousing some local controversy on the point. In the course of the controversy the present writer was delighted afterwards to find that a strong diversion had set in from the Transatlantic side, and that although English scholarship seemed for a time to have succumbed to the Madvigian influence, the fastnesses of the North refused to accept the yoke, and Aberdeen can now claim to have been the first to maintain the old doctrine and disown the now crumbling heresy.

The canon of Madvig which he sought to impose (Opuscula 2. 105) was that which enjoined the use of *Ne* with the Perfect Subjunctive as the proper form of prohibition or deprecation, and denied or denounced the use of *Ne* with the Present Subjunctive (in *prosa oratione prorsus inusitatum*), except in what he chose to call general maxims of prohibition. The practical effect was to reduce almost every verb to the maimed condition of Preteritive Verbs, where of course *Ne* with the Perf. Subj. is, from the nature of these verbs, the recognised and

sole machinery. *Ne meminervis* is the proper formula, but it does not follow that with another verb having ampler forms, *don't recall* or *don't bear in mind* should be limited, e.g. to *ne sis recordatus*, and that *ne recorderis* should be tabooed when addressed to an individual. On the contrary, the absurdity of the canon should have been manifest when *ne sis recordatus* is pronounced the right thing, but not *ne sis (stultus, e.g.)* which on Madvig's canon we must not address to an individual. For, if the canon were correct, *ne fueris recordatus* ought to be the sole formula, whereas *ne sis recordatus*, implying that *ne sis* can specifically prohibit, is a demonstration of its futility, when imposed as absolute and indefeasible.

In the present paper, which is merely preliminary, I give only a few salient facts, not from classical ground proper but from important outlying fields, showing the instinct of the Latin tongue as strongly opposed to Madvig's dictatorship.

In a fairly representative book such as Alfred Henderson's 'Latin Quotations,' (1869) representing the cream of Latin diction in all the eras, I had the curiosity to count up the several instances of *Ne Prohibitive*. The following is the enumeration:—

Ne with Pres. Subj.

Actum ne agas.
Ad finem ubi perveneris, ne velis reverti.
Aliena ne concupiscas.
Ante victoriam ne canas triumphum.
Aurea ne credas, quaecumque nitescere cernis.
Cave ne quidquam incipias quod post poeniteat.
Cave ne titubes.
De re amissa irreparabili ne doleas.
Esurienti ne occurras.
Ignem igni ne addas.
Leonis catulum ne alas.
Maritimus quum sis, ne velis fieri terrestres.
Mulieri ne credas, ne mortuae quidem.
Ne, cinerem vitans, in prunas incidas.
Ne credas undam placidam non esse profundam.
Ne cui de te plus quam tibi credas.
Ne cuius invidas.
Ne depugnes in alieno negotio.
Ne despicias debilem.
Ne gladium tollas, mulier.
Ne quid expectes amicos facere quod per te queas.
Ne quid moveare verborum strepitu.
Ne sis unquam elatus.
Ne tentes aut perfice.
Ne vile velis.
Neque nulli sis amicus neque multis.
Nulli te facias nimis sodalem.
Quod sis esse velis, nihilque malis.
Rosam quae praeteriit, ne quaeras iterum.
Uni navi ne committas omnia.

30 Examples.

Ne with Perf. Subj.

Ad consilium ne accesseris, antequam voceris.
Amico ne maledixeris.
Ne vidēris quod videris.
Malum bene conditum ne moveris.
Ne cuius dextram injeceris.
[Ne malorum meminervis.]
Nemini dixeris quae nolis efferri.
Officium ne collocaris in initum.
Quod dubites, ne feceris.
Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.

9 Examples (*ne meminervis* not being in dispute).
N.B. Four of these instances are with the usually instantaneous verbs *dico* and *facio*.

In these 30 are included three Present Subjunctives where the negative is *nec* or *nullus*, virtually equivalent to *ne*, and two examples with *cave* prefixed which may be held as auxiliary in proof. Deducting these, however, for sake of Draconian rigidity, there remain 25, all with *ne* and *Pres. Subj.* against 9 with *Perf. Subj.*¹ Here, it is manifest, the artificial distinction which the followers of Madvig have rigidly formulated between general and particular prohibitions utterly breaks down; for, if it were valid and binding, these current proverbs and maxims ought to be all in *Pres. Subj.*, and not one ought to be in the *Perf. Subj.* tense. But the distinction is futile, and the real *differentia*, as Prof. Elmer has indicated, appears to lie in the conception of the action forbidden, according as it is instantaneous or continuous: in the former case the *Perf. Subj.* is naturally preferred; in the latter the *Pres. Subj.*

N.B.—In the same volume I noted, in a cursory examination, only one example of *Noli* (p. 169) but *four* of *ne* with *Imperative* (pp. 3, 145, 242, 243).

Another important outlying field, though not strictly classical, is the Vulgate version of the Scriptures, which may be claimed as representing the outcome of the Latin Genius at the close of the old classical era and ought to yield evidence of an interesting and valuable kind. In the investigation pursued I have taken the Vulgate of Popes Sixtus V.

and Clement VIII., first for the Old Testament, and thereafter for the New Testament, with results almost uniform throughout the vast area.

These results, which may be held as substantially correct, may be briefly summarised as follows:—

1. *Noli*, very common, especially with a verb of fear (*timere*, *pavere*, &c.).

2. *Non* with *Pres. Subj.* not infrequent.

Non with *Fut. Indic.*, not infrequent, as in the prohibitions of the Decalogue.

Sometimes simply predicting, as Job 6, 30.

Non with *Imperative*, only in limitation to individual *word*, as *Non nobis*, *Domine*, Ps. 115, 1.

3. *Ne* with *Imperative* seems not to occur.

Ne with *Pres. Subj.* is vastly preponderant both in general and in individual prohibitions. Prohibitions of *customs* or *usages* are as a rule so expressed as e.g. Deuteronomy 14, vv. 3, 10, 12, 21.

Ne with *Perf. Subj.* occurs both in general and in individual prohibitions. Rapid and instantaneous prohibitions are for the most part so expressed.

The examples in the Old Testament of *Ne* with *Pres. Subj.* or its equivalents are 344. The examples of *Ne* with *Perf. Subj.* or its equivalents are only 24, and adding the 4 examples of *Ne meminervis* not included as of no evidence, the total is only 28, as against 344 of the *Pres. Subj.* The following tables present details.

VETUS TESTAMENTUM.

I.—SECTION. PENTATEUCH TO ESTHER INCLUSIVE

	Pentateuch.	Jos. & Judices.	I.—IV. Reg.	I.—II. Paral.	Ezra, Neh. Esth.	
<i>Noli</i>	41	6	27	11	5	90
<i>Non</i> with <i>Pres. Subj.</i>	12	1	9	1	2	25
<i>Ne</i> with <i>Pres. Subj.</i>	40	10	22	4	6	82
— with <i>cave</i> , <i>obsecro</i> , <i>quaero</i> , &c.	26	7	1	0	1	35
— by <i>nec</i> , <i>nihil</i> , &c.	11	2	4	6	0	23
<i>Ne</i> with <i>Perf. Subj.</i>	0	0	2	2	0	4
— with <i>do.</i> and <i>obsecro</i> , &c.	0	0	0	0	0	0
— by <i>nec</i> , <i>nil</i> , &c.	0	0	0	0	0	0

N.B.—The four occurrences of *Perf. Subj.* in this section are—

I. Regum 3, 17; 20, 38; and II. Paral. 6, 42; 26, 18.

¹ A similar proportion of 3 to 1 holds in the case of the Latin Mottoes Heraldic in *Burke's Peerage*: viz.

<i>Pres. Subj.</i>	<i>Perf. Subj.</i>
<i>Ne obliviscaris.</i>	<i>Ne te quaesiveris extra.</i>
<i>Ne tentes aut perfice.</i>	
<i>Ne vile velis.</i>	

II.—SECTION. FROM JOB TO MALACHI INCLUSIVE.

	Job.	Psalmi.	Proverb.	Cantic.	Eccles.	Isaias.	Jerem.	Lament.	Ezek.	Dan.	XII. Minor Proph.	
Noli	1	18	11	1	2	20	36	1	3	2	15	110
Non with Pres. Subj.	0	9	3	0	1	2	5	1	0	0	1	22
Ne with Pres. Subj.	7	39	48	0	10	20	21	2	4	1	8	164
— with cave, obsecro, quaero, &c.	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
— by nec, nihil, &c.	1	0	8	3	3	2	12	0	6	0	1	36
Ne with Perf. Subj.	0	9	6	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	19
— with do. and obsecro, &c.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
— by nec, nil, &c.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

The twenty occurrences of Perf. Subj. in this section are—
Psalmi 22, 11, 19 ; 27, 12 ; 37, 1 ; 38, 21 ; 40, 17 ; 49, 16 ; 55, 1 ; 109, 1. (N.B.—In two of these there are variants by Pres. Subj. in Hieronymus [Migne, vol. x. p. 154]).
Proverbia 6, 4 ; 25, 6 ; 26, 25 ; 27, 10 ; 30, 8 ; 31, 3.
Eccles. 5, 5 ; 10, 20.
Isaias 58, 7.
XII. Minores, Osee 4, 15 bis.
(Two occurrences of ne memineris in Isaias 43, 18 ; 64, 9, and two in Psalmi 25, 7 ; 79, 8.)

CONJOINT RESULT IN OLD TESTAMENT.

	Total Examples.
Noli	200
Non with Pres. Subj.	47
Ne with Pres. Subj. and equivalents	344
Ne with Perf. Subj. and equivalents	24

In the above we have not included, though we might have done so legitimately, *oriental* deprecations by the *third* person Pres. Subj. which, being indefinite, are virtually = ne with *second* person Pres. Subj.; viz. Exodus 32, 22 ; I. Reg. 25, 25 ; II. Reg. 13, 32 and 33.

NOVUM TESTAMENTUM.

	Matthæus.	Marcus.	Lucas.	Joannes.	Acta.	Romans.	1 Cor.	2 Cor.	Gal.	Eph.	Philipp.	Coloss.	Thess. I. & II.	Tim. I. & II.	Hebr.	Jac.	Petr. I. & II.	Joan.	Apoc.	
Noli	27	5	27	13	2	8	11	1	2	8	0	3	3	5	8	7	1	5	3	139
New. Pres. Subj.	9	5	13	0	4	1	2	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	42
New. Perf. Subj.	6	7	3	0	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	1	1	4	35

N.B.—The 42 passages with Ne and Pres. Subj. are—

Matth. 3, 9 ; 5, 42 ; 6, 1 ; 6, 13 ; 6, 25 ; 7, 6 ; 18, 10 ; 23, 10 ; 24, 6 ; Mark 5, 7 ; 9, 25 ; 10, 19 (ter.) ; Luke 1, 13 ; 1, 30 ; 3, 13 ; 3, 14 (bis) ; 6, 30 ; 8, 28 ; 9, 3 ; 9, 4 ; 11, 4 ; 12, 4 ; 17, 23 ; 21, 8 ; Acts 7, 60 ; 9, 38 ; 18, 9 ; 27, 24 ; Romans 13, 8 ; I. Cor. 5, 9 ; 10, 7 ; Gal. 5, 13 ; 5, 15 ; Eph. 3, 13 ; Philipp. 4, 6 ; I. Thess. 3, 14 ; Hebr. 12, 5 ; 12, 25 ; Apoc. 11, 2. About one-half of these rest on aorists conjunctive, the rest on presents imperative, of the Greek.

N.B. 2.—The 35 passages with Ne and Perf. Subj. are—

Matthew 5, 36 ; 8, 4 ; 10, 5 (bis) ; 10, 26 ; 17, 9 ; Mark 1, 44 ; 8, 26 ; 9, 25 ; 10, 14 ; 10, 19 (bis) ; 13, 7 ; 13, 21 ; Luke 3, 8 ; 9, 3 ; 10, 7 ; Acts 10, 15 (11, 9 repeated) ; 16, 28 ; 23, 21 ; Rom. 10, 6 ; 13, 14 ; I. Cor. 10, 10 ; II. Cor. 6, 17 ; Coloss. 2, 21 (ter.) ; I. Tim. 5, 1 ; 5, 22 (bis) ; I. Peter 3, 14 ; II. John 1, 10 ; Apocal. 5, 5 ; 19, 10 ; 22, 9 ; 22, 10. Of these, about 12 are with dixeris or feceris.
In Greek original the *Aorist* Conjunctive is found in all these passages except Mark 10, 14 ; 13, 7 ; 13, 21 ; Luke 9, 3 ; Acts 10, 15 ; Romans 13, 14 ; I. Cor. 10, 10 ; II. Cor. 6, 17 ; I. Tim. 5, 22 (bis) ; II. Ep. John 10 ; and Apocal. 5, 5. In these last the Greek original has *Present* Imperative. In two of the former list the Greek is elliptic, presenting no verb, simply *ἄρα μή*, viz. Apoc. 19, 10 and 22, 9. Thus out of the 35 examples with Perf. Subj., all except 12 plus the two elliptic examples, rest on Aorists in the original.

N.B. 3.—Non (or nihil, &c.) with Pres. Subj. (Prohibitive or Deprecatory) has been noted only in N.T. in Luke 14, 8; John 3, 7; I. Peter 3, 14; I. John 3, 18; Apoc. 2, 10. If these, as being with Pres. Subj. are added as falling under the Ne group, the examples in N.T. of prohibition with Pres. Subj. number 47.

CONJOINT RESULT FROM BOTH OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

	O.T.	N.T.
Noli	200	+ 139 = 339
Ne with Pres. Subj., &c.	344	+ 42 = 386 = (with non, &c., added 5) 391
Ne with Perf. Subj., &c.	24	+ 35 = 59

∴ Pres. Subj. : Perf. Subj. :: 391 : 59, or more than 6 : 1.

The Books of the Apocrypha have been similarly examined in their Latin version, and the results need not be detailed, being kindred to those exhibited especially by the Old Testament, showing a considerable preponderance for Ne with the sequence of the *Present Subjunctive*. Thus in the book of Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) the examples of Ne with *Present Subj.* amount to 77; of Ne with *Perf. Subj.* : 18.

The futility of attempting to differentiate between general and special prohibitions is thus evinced by the interplay of the rival forms in such books as Proverbs, or Ecclesiasticus, where maxims of life conveying general prohibitions to nobody in particular are frequently expressed in the Perfect Subjunctive, in entire discordance with the Madvigian canon.

In particular, *per contra*, we call attention to the oldest prohibition, so reputed, in the world's history, the canon against eating the forbidden fruit. It is the first occurrence in Scripture of the Prohibitive Ne, and if any prohibition was ever individual, it must be that addressed to Adam, apart apparently

from Eve, for the verb is in the Hebrew as in the Latin, in the *Singular* number. But what do we find? in defiance of Madvig, there emerges in the Vulgate Ne comedas (Gen. 2, 17).

How the LXX. Greek has adopted a plural οὐ φάγεσθε, it boots not here to inquire, neither need we remark that 'noli,' as a prohibitive form, would here be entirely inappropriate.

On the whole, it appears probable that the *differentia* is to be sought, not in the arbitrary canon of Madvig, but rather in the nature of the action of the verb, the prohibitive of instantaneous actions falling chiefly into the Perfect, that of continuous actions or states falling chiefly into the Present Subjunctive.

The above is only a preliminary reconnoitring of the field, a distant survey of the *champ de bataille*. In our next paper we hope to present evidence from the early Latin time, fairly conclusive in the same direction.

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PRAETERPROPTER IN GELL. NOCT. ATT. XIX. 10.

THE purpose of this note is primarily to call attention to a hitherto unused illustration of the connection between archaic and colloquial Latin, and incidentally to rescue from ignominy the reputation of a worthy Roman *grammaticus*. Gellius in his *Noct. Att. XIX.* 10 writes that on a certain occasion, when a few literary friends were gathered at the house of Cornelius Fronto, architects submitted to Fronto specifications for some projected baths. The story proceeds: *Ex quibus cum elegisset unam formam speciemque veris, interrogavit, quantus esset pecuniae sumptus ad id totum opus absolvendum? cumque architectus dixisset necessaria videri esse sestertia ferme trecenta,*

unus ex amicis Frontonis: 'et praeterpropter', inquit, 'alia quinquaginta.' Tum Fronto dilatis sermonibus, quos habere de balnearum sumptu instituerat, aspiciens ad eum amicum, qui dixerat, alia quinquaginta esse necessaria praeterpropter eum interrogavit, quid significet verbum 'praeterpropter.' Atque ille amicus: 'non meum', inquit, 'hoc verbum est, sed multorum hominum, quos loquentis id audias; quid autem id verbum significet, non ex me, sed ex grammatico quaerendum est', ac simul digito demonstrat grammaticum hant incelebri nomine Romae docentem. Tum grammaticus usitati pervulgatique verbi obscuritate motus: 'quaerimus', inquit, 'quod honore quaestionis minime dignum est. Nam

nescio quid hoc praeinimis plebeium est et in opificum sermonibus quam in hominum doctorum disputationibus notius. At enim Fronto, iam voce atque vultu intentiore: 'itane', inquit, 'magister, dehonestum tibi deculpatumque hoc verbum videtur, quo et M. Cato et M. Varro et pleraque aetas superior, ut necessario et Latino usi sunt?' Thereupon also one of Fronto's friends reads a passage from the Iphigenia of Ennius in which praeterpropter occurs. The story proceeds: Hoc ubi lectum est, tum deinde Fronto ad grammaticum iam labentem: 'audistine', inquit, 'magister optime, Ennium tuum dixisse 'praeterpropter' et cum sententia quidem tali, quali severissimae philosophorum esse obiurgationes solent? petimus igitur, dicas, quoniam de Enniano iam verbo quaeritur, quis sit ignotus huiusce versus sensus:

'Incerte errat animus; praeterpropter vitam vivitur.

Et grammaticus sudans multum ac rubens multum, cum id plerique prolixius riderent, exsurgit et abiens: 'tibi', inquit, 'Fronto, postea uni dicam, ne inscitiores audiant ac discant.' On the one hand the colloquial or vulgar character of the word under discussion is abundantly proved by the remark of Fronto's friend that it is *multorum hominum quos loquentis id audias*, by the confession of the narrator that *praeterpropter* is a *verbum usitatum pervulgatumque*, and by the scornful words of the *grammaticus* who stigmatizes it as *praeinimis plebeium et in opificum sermonibus.....notius*. On the other hand it occurs in the classical Latin of Cato, Varro and Ennius and is used by *pleraque aetas superior*. Perhaps no better illustration can be found of the fact that

colloquial Latin and archaic formal Latin have much in common. To put it in another way, the *sermo cotidianus* of a given period evidently preserved many words, expressions and constructions, which in an earlier period had been the common property of colloquial and literary Latin, but which contemporaneous literary Latin did not use. This fact has been recognized by Schmalz (e.g. *Z. f.d. Gymn.* 1881, p. 87), and by others, but the failure to recognize it constitutes in the writer's opinion the fundamentally weak point in the attempt which Sittl has made (in the *Jahresbericht ii. Vulgär- u. Spätlatein*, 1891, pp. 226-286) to prove that 'das Vulgärlatein, mit welchem die Latinisten operieren, ist ein Phantasiegebilde.' Words and expressions which are not found in the formal writings of men who are accepted as the literary models of a certain period are not necessarily vulgar or even colloquial, and in inveighing against the practice of those who would thus classify them Sittl is doing a service; but, on the other hand, to prove that a certain word in a piece of literature of Cicero's time, for instance, occurs in the formal Latin of an earlier period does not, as Sittl tacitly assumes throughout his article (e.g. pp. 231-4), disprove its colloquial character. The truth of this fact is well illustrated by *praeterpropter*. This brief discussion has perhaps also accomplished the secondary purpose of this note in showing that the judgment of the maligned *grammaticus* with reference to good usage was better than that of his critics.

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DOMI, DOMO (CATULLUS 31, 14).

THE use of *domi* denoting 'of one's own' to which editors of Plautus have called attention (e.g. Tyrrell on *Mil.* 194, myself on *Rud.* 1335) is, I am persuaded, of wider extent than is commonly supposed, and is not limited to Plautus.

The following list of passages is merely a 'prima vindemiatio.'

1. *domi est*: Plaut. *Rud.* 292, 357, 1335, *Bacch.* 225, 365, *Pers.* 45, 122, *Mil.* 1154, *Poen.* 867, *Truc.* 554; Cic. *ad. Att.* x. 14, 2 (*nam id quidem domi est*). But the most interesting passage under this head is Catullus 31, 14. I find I have been antici-

pated by Prof. Tyrrell in my interpretation of the phrase *quidquid est domi cachinnorum*, but it seems worth while to put on record the results of an independent observation. I would punctuate the preceding line somewhat differently from Prof. Tyrrell, so as to make the *vos* emphatic:—

Gaudete vosque, o Lydiae lacus undae;
Ridete quidquid est domi cachinnorum.

'And do you too rejoice, ye Tuscan waters of my lake; laugh all the rippling laughter that you know'; the clause *quidquid*—

cachinnorum I take as a cognate object of *ridete*. My interpretation of the first line agrees with that of Prof. Ellis; cf. too his note on 102, 3. But I wish it were possible to retain the *quoque* of the MSS. The epithet *Lydiae* is not really suitable, because the Lago di Garda is not in Etruria as commonly understood. Could not some epithet beginning with a vowel be suggested to follow *quoque*? *o meae* departs a good deal from the ductus litterarum. Possibly *albidae*, suggestive of the *fluctus fremitusque marinus* of these waters; cf. 63, 87 *umida albicantis loca litoris*. *Umidae* would perhaps be too colourless.

2. *domi habeo*: Plaut. *Mil.* 191–194; Ter. *Ad.* 413.

3. *domi* with other verbs: Plaut. *Cas.*

224, *Cist.* 204, Juvenal 13, 57 (*domi videre*). The usage is here well illustrated and its origin shown by Cic. *ad Fam.* ix. 3 *sed quid ego nunc haec ad te, cuius domi nascuntur?* γλαῦκ' ἐς Ἀθήνας. In Livy vi. 36, 9 *quod domi praeceptum erat* we have a slight departure from the original sense of the word ('what they had been told before-hand').

4. *domo* 'from one's own resources': Plaut. *Bacch.* 648, *Curc.* 685, *Amph.* 637 ('from within'), *Truc.* 454, *Poen.* 216, *Merc.* 355. Livy xxii. 1, 6 illustrates the origin of this use: *magistratus id a domo ferre* 'brought it from home' = 'had it as their own.' Numerous other instances could doubtless be quoted from Livy.

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NOTE ON VALERIUS FLACCUS IV. 129–30.

nec iam nova morti
hinc erit ulla tuae: reges preme, dure, secundos.

Neptune apostrophizes his son Amycus on the eve of the latter's death at the hand of Pollux. Yielding to the higher power of Jupiter he resigns his son to his fate, and ends his farewell with the words above quoted. The words 'reges preme, dure, secundos' have given much trouble, some even applying them to Jupiter. But the change from *tuae* (Amycus) to *dure* (Jupiter) is intolerably abrupt.¹ Ellis (*Journal of Philology*, vol. ix. p. 56) cut the knot by proposing *treme* for *preme*. But the sense obtained is unsatisfactory, and no change is required. The words mean 'do thou crush

those princes only *who are not thy match*.' From v. 151 we learn that Amycus fought with those who were 'aequae uirtutis egentes,' probably not as the result of deliberate choice, but expressing the simple fact that no one was fit to cope with him. V. 111 indeed tells us that he selected to box with him only those who had 'forma praestantior.' I do not understand the remarks of Mr. Summers (*A study of the Argonauticon of V.F.* p. 74) on these lines: but I do understand that 'tortures' is a mistranslation of 'torquet agens' in v. 111 which surely means that Amycus hurled his victims into the sea. And surely the victims might have the 'forma praestantior' and yet be 'aequae uirtutis egentes,' relatively to Amycus.

J. A. NAIRN.

THE CARTHAGINIAN PASSAGES IN THE 'POENULUS' OF PLAUTUS.

THE recent discovery of a collation of the lost 'codex Turnebi' (*T*) in a Gryphius edition of Plautus in the Bodleian Library (*Class. Rev.* xi. 177, 246) makes it possible to provide a more certain text of the Carthaginian passages in the *Poenulus*. With the help of *T* we can trace the text of the 'Palatine' MSS. (*B C D*) further back than their common original (*P*). We can trace

it as far as an archetype (*P*^A) apparently little inferior in age to the Ambrosian Palimpsest (*A*), the sole representative of the other tradition of the text of Plautus. And we can detect the errors (e.g. *lueui* for *luful*, v. 945) which were introduced into the text by the scribe of *P*, errors reproduced by all our extant minuscule MSS.

Of the Carthaginian passage of ten lines

(Iambic Senarii), which are spoken by Hanno on his first appearance on the stage (Act v. Sc. i.), and which are followed by a Latin version in eleven (or ten) lines (vv. 950–60), there were two versions in antiquity. One of these (vv. 930–39), providing a smooth and intelligible text, was adopted by the archetype of *P*⁴; the other (vv. 940–49), which offers more difficulty to interpreters, was adopted by the archetype of *A*. But this second version seems also to have been jotted in the margin of the archetype of *P*⁴, having been excerpted, we may guess, from a MS. of the *A* family. For it appeared in *P*⁴ incorporated in the text immediately after the first version, but with its first four lines written as three, and these grievously curtailed and corrupted.¹

In *A* each line is written continuously without division of the words. In *P*⁴ both Carthaginian passages had probably the words divided. This division has been in the main preserved in our extant MSS. (*BCD*),² and seems to have been preserved in *T* also. But it has probably suffered from the tendency of mediaeval scribes to write short words along with neighbouring long words and to break up foreign vocables into elements that might resemble Latin forms. Nor can we be sure that the variants from *T*, entered on the margin of the Oxford Gryphius, reproduce faithfully the word-division of *T*. Here is a list of them, with the uncertain letters in italic type:—930 ythalonium, 931 erybar, uimythi, 932 ad ed in (adedin?) bynui (bymy? possibly belonging to v. 933), 933 bymarob hamolomim, 935 yssiderbrum (-am?), liful, 937 elycothi sith, 938 ydchid lithyly, 939 choth iufim (tu-?), 940 exalnim altimocum esse, 945 butune celtummo (celtu mmco?), mucro luful. We should expect to find, in accordance with the ordinary practice of mediaeval scribes, confusion of the following letters in our MSS.:—(1) *y*, *i*, *u*; especially substitution of *i* for *y*, (2) *c* and *ch*, *t* and *th*, *p* and *ph*, (3) *f* for *ph*. And the transcription of foreign, unintelligible words would aggravate the tendency of a scribe to transpose the vowels of neighbouring syllables or to attach *h* to the wrong consonant of two consonants in proximity. In early minuscule, a script in which *P* and the original of *T*

were apparently written, *c* and *t*, *y* and *r*, *a* and *u* were very similar in form. Both in minuscule and in majuscule script *ii* was easily mistaken for *u*.

Here is what seems to be the best available text of the two versions, with a list of the more important variants. For a full list of variants the student must consult (1) Studemund's Apograph of the Ambrosian Palimpsest (Berlin, 1889), (2) the critical apparatus of the large Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1884), (3) my 'Codex Turnebi of Plautus' (Oxford, 1898).³ Doubtful letters and words are in italics.

First Version, contained only in *P*⁴ (the proto-archetype of (1) *P*, the archetype of our extant minuscule MSS., and of (2) *T*, the 'codex Turnebi').

- 930 ythalonimualonuthsicosathismacom-
syth
chymlachchunythmumysthyalmyethyba-
ruimysehi
liphocanethythbynuthiadedinbynuii
bymarobsyllhomalonimuybmysyrtho-
ho
bythlymmothynnocothuulechanta-
maschon
935 yssidobrimthfelythchylschonchemli-
ful
ythbinimysdyburthinnochotnuagorast-
ocles
ythemanethihychirsaelychotsithnaso
bynnyydchilluchilygubulimlasibithym
bodaliytheraynnynnuyslymmonchothiu-
sim

Notes:—The Greek letter X, the 'nota personae' of Hanno was prefixed to v. 930. The scene-heading was HANNO POENVS LOQVTVR. 930 ythalonim *P*, ythalonium *T*. The reading of *T* seems at first sight to be confirmed by the MSS. of Rufinus in *Met. Terent.* vi. 560, 28 K. Rufinus quotes from Sisenna's commentary on the *Poenulus* the explanation of *halonium* (so the MSS.) as the Carthaginian word for god, to be pronounced with the first (?) syllable⁴ long: Sisenna in commentario Poenuli Plautinae fabulae sic. : Halonium Poeni dicunt deum; et producenda syllaba metri gratia, sicut exigit iambus). But *-ium* for *-im* is a natural change for a mediaeval scribe to make (cf.

³ Beside the actually recorded variants of *T*, one may within limits infer the reading of *T* from the absence of any record of its divergence from the reading of the Gryphius text.

⁴ The lengthening of this syllable is mentioned apparently as one of a number of other metrical licences (real or seeming) of Plautus, such as the lengthening of the first syllable of *lūtrones*.

¹ How far the corruption is due to the torn or illegible state of the marginal jotting, and how far to erroneous transcription of un-Latin letters, or to an attempt to Latinize un-Latin words, is a point for Semitic scholars to decide.

² Notice the interpunctuation in *B* between these words of v. 935 yth chil ys chon chem liful, and these of v. 936 yth binim ysydybur etc., etc.

v. 1023 below) in order to adapt the ending to a Latin form, and may possibly have been made independently by the scribe of *T* and the scribe of the archetype of the Rufinus MSS. Sisenna's remark clearly proves that the Carthaginian lines are Iambic Senarii like their Latin translation (vv. 950-60). 931. The marginal *erybar* (*eybar*?) *uimysthi* (*uiniysthi*?) of the Oxford Gryphius may be miswritten for *chybar uimysthi* or the like. 932 Whether the Oxford variant *bymvii* (*bymuy*? *byimy*? possibly for *bymy*) refers to this line or the next (*hamolomim bymy*?) is open to doubt. *P* may have had *bymviii*. 933. The ending of the Oxford marginal entry is difficult to decipher, *hamolomim*, or *-iui*, or *-ine*. It can scarcely be *-inur*. The *urby* of *B* for the *wyby* of *CD* is merely the common mistake of transcribing as *r* the early minuscule form of *y*. 935. In the Oxford marginal entries *o* is often miswritten as *r*, so that *yssiderbrum* (*-am*) may represent *yssidobrum* or the like. The confusion of *-um* and *-im* is frequent both in majuscule and in minuscule MSS. 936. *thinnochot B*, *-chut CD*. There is no evidence of *T* to enable us to decide; but the text of *B* in the *Poenulus* is in much better repute than that of the original (*P^{cd}*) from which *C* and *D* were directly transcribed. 937. *aelychot P*, *elycothi T*. The initial *e* of the *T*-reading may have been *ae* in the original. 938. *idchillihibly P*, *ydechid lithyly T*; *lasibit thim B*, *lasibit thym P^{cd}*, 939, *bodi B*, *body P^{cd}*; *mon P*, *Tn.l.*; *choth lusim P*, *choth iufim* (*tufim*?) *T*.

Second Version, contained in *A* (the Ambrosian Palimpsest), and, in a less perfect form, in *P^A* :—

him

940 ythalonimualonuthsycorathiisthymacom-
 mysth
 combaitumamtialmellotiambear
 iulecanthiconaaonimbalumbardechore
 batsellihunesobinesubicsillimbaim
 esseantidamasconalemedubertefet

945 oonobunthunecelthumcommucro-
 lul
 altanimauosduberithem/yacharistoclem
 sittedanecnasotersahelicot
 alemusdubertemurmycopsuestitti
 aoccaaneclictorbodesiussilimlimmimco-
 lus

Notes:—In *P^A* has prefixed the Scene-heading HANNO (?) POENVS PVNICE (?) DV. (sc. 'Diverbium,' i.e. in Iamb. Sen.) The Scene-heading in *A*, perhaps identical, is now illegible. 940-3. For these four lines *P^A* had only three, which in *P* appeared in this form :—

N. exanolimuolanussuccurratimistim-altim-
 acumesse
 concubitumabellocutimbeatlulacantic-
 hona
 enuseshuiecsilihepanasseathidmascon

The fourth line in *P^A* began with *alem* etc.; the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth correspond closely with vv. 945-9 of *A*. 940 The line began with *exalonim* in *P^A*. Is the *ex-* a corruption due to a prefixed *X*, the 'nota personae' of Hanno (see above)? The excessive length of the line in *A* and in *P^A* makes one suspect that a suprascript variant had been incorporated in the verse. If so, the *al* of *altimacumesse* of *P^A* may have been merely the symbol AL. (i.e. 'aliter'). *A* has between *sicorathi* and *syth* the curious jumble *isthymhimihymacom*. 941 Unfortunately there are no *T*-variants for this line (nor for the three following). The *P*-reading is clearly Latinized (cf. *succurrat* for *sicorathi* in the preceding line). Does *cutim*, compared with *tiam* of *A*, suggest some original like *chthym*? 942 *iulecanthe(i?)cona A*, *lulacanticthona P*. 943 The opening part of the line in *A* cannot be deciphered with certainty. The *P*-text differs widely from the *A*-text of the remaining part. 944 (end) *fet A*, *fel P*. In majuscule writing *t* and *l* are easily confused. 945 *d(o)ono A*, *ono P*; *bunthunec A*, *butune P^A*; *celthumcommucro A*, *celtummcomucro P^A*. 946 *duberithemhu A*, *ouberhenthly P*. 947 *sittedanec A*, *ettesanec* (*-nehe*?) *P*; *tersa A*, *ctelia P*. 948 *temurm A*, *termi P*; *titi A*, *tipti P*. 949 *aocca A*, *aode P*; *iussilimlimmim A*, *iussumlimnim P*.

What is the relation of this second version to the first? Of the end of the play there are also two versions; though, unlike the two versions of the Carthaginian passage, both appear in *A* and in the 'Palatine' recension. The earliest edition of Plautus we may conceive to have been made with the help of stage-copies; and where two stage-copies exhibited different versions, either a choice was made or the two rivals were adopted side by side. The determination of the relation of the second to the first version of the Carthaginian passage would throw welcome light on the history of the 'Palatine' and 'Ambrosian' recensions.

It remains to exhibit the best available text of the other Carthaginian lines and words in Plautus :—

Poen. 994 *Auo* (*AP^A*).

995 *annobynmythymballebechaedreanech* (*annobynmythymballeudradaitannech A* *anno muthum balle bechaedre anech P^A*).

998 auo (*AP^A*) donni (*AP^A*).

1002 meharbocca (mepharbua *A*, me har-
bocca *P^A*).

1006 rufe (Latin?) ennyccoissam (ru-
fee(y?) nnyccoissam *A*, rufeen nuco istam
P^A).

1010 muphursa (*AP^A*) miulec hi an na
(*P*, *AT^{n.l.}*).

1013 lechlachananilimniichot (lechlach-
ananilimniichto *A*, laechlachananimliminichot
P).

1016 assam (assam *A*, issam *P*).

1017 palumergadetha (palumigadetha *A*,
palumergadetha *P*).

1023 muphonnimsycorathim (mufonnim-
si(y?)ccorathim *A*, muphonnium suchorachim
vel -him *P^A*).

1027 gunebelbalsamenizrasa (gunebbal-
samemly(i?)ryla *A*, gunebelbalsamenierasan
vel -am *P^A*).

1141 auonesilli (auammailli *A*, haudones-
illi *P*).

hauonbanesilliimustine (hauonbanesill . .
mustine *A*, hauon bene si illi in mustine *P*).

1142 mepsietenestedumetalannacestimim
(mi(e?)pstaetemestæsdumetalan . . . sti—*A*
messiestenestedum—*T*, mepsietenestedumet-
alannacestimim *P*).

1152 lachanna (lach . . na *A*, lachanam *P^A*).

I may add that an 'African' word *mu*,
strangely included by Charisius (i. 240, 3 K.)
among Latin interjections, appears in a
play (the 'Caecus' or 'Praedones') at-
tributed to Plautus:—

A. Quis tu es qui ducis me? B. Mu. A.
Perii hercle, Afer est.

W. M. LINDSAY.

BLAYDES' ADVERSARIA.

Adversaria in varios poetas graecos et latinos,
by FRED. H. M. BLAYDES. Halis Saxon-
um, 1898.

MR. BLAYDES has given us some 200
pages of notes and conjectures on the Latin
and Greek poets of which the majority will
be of value to many students. To some of
the writers—and they are very numerous—he
has paid greater attention than to others,
and his work certainly deserves the attention
of readers of Theognis, Theocritus, Pindar,
Horace, of Aeschylus and of the fragments
of the Greek Tragedians. It is not merely

that many of his conjectures and emenda-
tions of the texts of these writers are in-
genious and sometimes almost convincing,
but his pages in hundreds of brief notes
contain the conjectures of others and happy
illustrations or elucidations such as a per-
usal of classical writers unremitted during
a long life can alone furnish.

Mr. Blaydes' book is we notice printed
and published at Halle and the type and
matter is as good as the contents are on the
whole interesting to students of the classics.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

ROHDEN AND DESSAU'S PROSOPOGRAPHIA IMPERII ROMANI.

Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Pars III.
(*P—Z*). *Consilio et auctoritate Aca-*
demiae Scientiarum Regiae Borussicae.
(*Berolini apud Georgium Reimerum.*
MDCCCLXXXVIII). 25 Marks.

WITH laudable promptitude comes the
third volume of a work which, as we can
affirm from use of the earlier volumes
(published last year), is invaluable for pur-
poses of reference. Some notice of the
general scope of the book appeared in the
Classical Review for Dec. 1897. It is a sort

of Dictionary of Biography, as complete as
anyone could wish where the materials are
quite solid and trustworthy, but omitting all
theories and reconstructions of character, and
giving chiefly facts of public, official, or
historical value. It could never have been
written without incessant and restless
thumbing of indices to other works, as well
as of the works themselves. But the labour
has not been in vain. The preparation of
the third volume was assigned to P. v.
Rohden, and, on his illness, was completed
by H. Dessau, the compiler of vol. ii, who

has of course had the use of v. Rohden's papers. Vol. iii seems to be printed with the same remarkable care and accuracy which we noticed in the preceding parts of the book. A fourth volume is in prospect, to contain the *fasti consulares* and lists of

magistrates and officials, within the same limits as the rest of the work, *i.e.* the battle of Actium and the rise of Diocletian to supreme power.

F. T. RICHARDS.

SEGEBADE AND LOMMATZSCH'S LEXICON TO PETRONIUS.

Lexicon Petronianum composuerunt JOANNES SEGEBADE et ERNESTUS LOMMATZSCH, pp. vii., 274. Leipzig, Teubner. 1898. Mk. 14.

THIS lexicon is an indispensable adjunct to the study of Petronius. It was begun, and a third part of it (*A to hic*) written out in its final shape by Segebade before his untimely death: the second editor then completed the work from Segebade's materials. The plan is the same as that of Menge and Preuss's lexicon to Caesar except that the German translations are omitted. The basis of the lexicon is Buecheler's third edition (1882) but all the fragments are added which are contained in his *editio maior*. Full account is taken of recent conjectures, though the most improbable of the older ones are ignored. The ridiculous practice of

enumerating every occurrence of the commonest words in the language without classification is not adopted: thus the occurrences of *esse* with an adjective predicate are omitted, and those of *et*, which occupy six and a half pages of the lexicon, are distributed under the proper heads. The citations, so far as I have verified them, are accurate. The brief preface includes a short account of the vocabulary and grammar of Petronius which does not call for much remark. It may be doubted whether collocations like *nemo nihil* are grecisms: all over the world the vulgar tongue is fond of the reduplicated negative. The following forms which occur in Mr. Lommatzsch's preface are not in accordance with correct Latinity: *impetratus sum*—*poematibus*—*dua* (neuter)—*ceperat* (for *coeperat* or *inceperat*).

J. P. P.

BRADLEY AND BENSON'S PHILOSOPHICAL LECTURES AND REMAINS OF R. L. NETTLESHIP.

Philosophical Lectures and Remains of R. L. Nettleship. Edited by A. C. BRADLEY and G. R. BENSON. London (Macmillan), 1897.

THIS is not the place to dwell upon the character and abilities of Lewis Nettleship, either from personal recollections going back to undergraduate days at Balliol, or from a general survey of what he wrote and spoke, and the admirable memoir of him contributed to these volumes by his friend Professor Andrew Bradley. His premature death on Mont Blanc in 1892 was a great loss to Oxford and above all to his college, and even here it may be permissible to refer to the striking and characteristic passage relating to him in Jowett's *College Sermons*. He was not a rapid worker and his time

was much taken up with teaching; but it seems likely that, if he had lived, he might have produced some original philosophical work of considerable importance.

In these *Remains* what seems to me of the greatest intrinsic value relates to logic. But much the larger part of the two volumes is occupied with Plato, and this is all that I am entitled to deal with in the *Classical Review*. The first volume contains among other things a long essay on *Plato's Conception of Goodness and the Good*. This was meant to be a chapter of a book on Plato which Nettleship undertook for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He had himself begun to cut it down considerably. It is easy to understand that the editors did not like to omit anything, nor could they, without to some extent

spoiling the form of the essay. But what might well appear in such a book as Nettleship had in mind is not equally well suited to the publication it has eventually found. The very long abstracts of such Platonic dialogues as the *Gorgias*, the *Philebus*, the *Republic* (part), though of course excellently done, hardly justify publication, when Balliol has already given us Jowett's similar analyses, not to mention the other books we have, such as Grote's *Plato*, which contain the same matter. Nettleship's work, for instance the essay of unusual length in *Hellenica*, had perhaps a tendency to diffuseness, and I am not sure whether the editors were right in restoring to this paper on the *Good* passages which, they tell us, the author himself had excised.

It is natural to compare Nettleship's paper with Mr. Shorey's study, *The Idea of Good in Plato's Republic* (Chicago, 1895). The two studies have much in common, and their explanation of Plato's meaning is, if I understand them rightly, to a large extent the same. Mr. Shorey writes that 'as "the good of them," the purpose, the *ἔργον*, or the type is the chief cause of things in both the physical and the moral world, so it is their best explanation': and again that the Idea of Good is 'a rational, consistent conception of the greatest possible attainable human happiness, of the ultimate laws of God, nature, or man that sanction conduct, and of the consistent application of these laws in legislation, government, and education.' Nettleship puts it that 'to discover the truth of things is to discover their reason, that is, to see them in their true order and relations. And that which determines their order and relations is always some form of "good"' (p. 362), and (p. 363) the highest function of education is to supply man with an adequate object in 'the ultimate Good or reason of the world,' while 'the dictates of law and morality, if pressed for their final justification, lead to the conception of the same ultimate Good.' I think mature scholars will hold Mr. Shorey's paper somewhat the more valuable of the two, but the difference of conditions and aim must be borne in mind.

The lectures on that great Oxford book, the *Republic*, filling the whole of the second volume, seem to me to deserve very high praise. They do not deal at all with the Greek text, nor is there any display of Platonic erudition or dialectical skill in citation of illustrative matter and in statement and discussion of various views. They are put together, we are informed,

from the notes of pupils, not from MSS. of Nettleship's own; it may be presumed, however, that these topics were not handled by him. But as a clear, sympathetic, skilful, and in a sense complete exposition, with some criticism added, of all the chief contents of the *Republic*, the lectures are admirable. No topic of importance is passed over, and, though one may not concur in every point of interpretation, it is an excellent piece of work. In this volume, which might well be published separately at a lower price, the teaching of the *Republic* is set forth in a way quite sufficient for most readers and intelligible to almost all. Not that it is at all 'popular' in the common sense of the word. It is thoroughly scholarly and requires close attention, but it has none of the wilful or careless obscurity that often renders such writing difficult and even unintelligible. Nettleship always knew what he meant and knew how to say it. If he was always careful about committing himself, it was at any rate not to obscurity that he had recourse. Thus his comments on the more difficult parts of the treatise from the later pages of Book V. to the end of VII. will be found of great assistance to the student. He is, by the way, when he makes the 'ignorance' which is correlative to not-being, as knowledge is correlative to being, simply 'blankness of the mind,' surely more in the right than Mr. Lutoslawski, who in his recent and most valuable book on the logic of Plato says that 'ignorance' here is identical with wrong opinion. But on the vexed question of the exact difference between the 'justice' and 'temperance' of the *Republic* I cannot think he has made everything clear by explaining justice as a sense of duty.

The editors have done very skilfully their really difficult task of putting these lectures together from various people's notes taken in various years. It is Mr. Benson who seems mainly to have undertaken this part of the work, and he is entitled to great praise for the way in which he has carried it out, not least for the exclusion of those repetitions which are not only unavoidable but often actually desirable in oral teaching. He has added a very few notes of his own, in one of which he seems to me to have fallen into an odd error. When Socrates speaks to Glaucon (534 D) of τοὺς παντὸς παῖδας οὓς τῷ λόγῳ τρέφεις τε καὶ παιδεύεις, he does not mean Glaucon's actual sons as Mr. Benson seems to take it (p. 289) but his spiritual children, the 'airy burgomasters' of the ideal state. The translation of

τἀναγκαῖα δίκαια καλοῖ καὶ κακά (493 C) by 'can only say that the just and good are the necessary' (p. 206 note) seems to be Nettleship's, and is somewhat misleading. More serious are two misunderstandings of the Greek in the famous Theætetus passage (176 A foll.) quoted at the end of Vol. I. The subject of συγχωρεῖν in 176 D is 'we,' not the man spoken of; in 177 A the meaning is that impure souls after death will not

gain admission to the 'pure region,' but by reincarnation or otherwise will still, as in the *Phædo*, haunt this unclean and evil earth, living as they did before. Both Nettleship and Jowett seem to take the time of this haunting to be before death, not after it; but perhaps their views are not quite clear.

H. RICHARDS.

HEADLAM'S EDITION OF THE *MEDEA*.

Euripidis Medea, edited with introduction and notes by C. E. S. HEADLAM, M.A. Pp. i.-xxv. 1-124. Pitt Press Series. 2s. 6d.

THERE is a freshness and originality about this edition of the *Medea* which makes it pleasant reading. The editor is not a mere compiler. In dealing with the many difficult passages which occur in this play, he has exercised his own judgment, and put forward his own views clearly and concisely, but without dogmatism, and with due deference to the opinions of others. The text is very conservative. The editor seems unwilling to accept an emendation, and he retains and defends the MSS. reading in several passages (137, 160, 843, 851, 1053) where the text is usually considered corrupt, and emendation necessary.

Line 30. ἤν μὴ is retained, and defended as a colloquialism. 45. Καλλίνικον οἶσεται is translated 'win a prize of success.' Neither of the passages quoted justifies this use of καλλίνικον without the article as a noun, and to take καλλίνικον with ἔχθραν, as Mr. Verrall does, is better.

106. In this difficult passage Mr. H. puts a full stop at οἰμωγῆς, and gives as a literal rendering 'plain it is that from a beginning is gathering a cloud of lamentation: I fear that presently she will make it blaze with access of rage.' νέφος οἰμωγῆς is defended by δφρύνων νέφος (Hippol 173) and by πολέμου νέφος. στεναγμῶν νέφος in Herc. Fur. 1140 might also be quoted.

137. ἐπεὶ μοι φίλον (sc. δῶμα) κέκρανται. The scholiast's explanation of κέκρανται, τετέλεσται οἷον ὑπάρχει is adopted. The sense is good, but the meaning of κέκρανται more than doubtful.

160. ὦ μεγάλα Θεμι καὶ πότνι' Ἀρτεμι. The editor keeps the MSS. reading, and thinks

Artemis is appealed to 'with special reference to her magical aid in the domain of love.' The difficulty which arises from the nurse's mention of Zeus in 168 is got over by supposing that she inaccurately reports the words of Medea, and misses the significance of the appeal to Artemis. This explanation is certainly ingenious, but not quite convincing. The reply of the nurse is strongly in favour of Munro's conjecture καὶ πόσις ἄρτι με, and may it not be urged against retaining πότνι' Ἀρτεμι, that Medea would have appealed to the goddess under the name of Hekate, not Artemis, as it is under that name she appears as patroness of spells, cf. 395.

209. νύχιον is well defended by the remark that 'a night voyage was a daring feat, and implies desperate effort to elude pursuit.'

215-18 is a well-known crux. Mr. H. reads δύσνοιαν, τοὺς ἐν θυραίοις, and ῥαθυμίαν, and translates 'I know that many people by a reserved demeanour get a reputation for sourness or slothful indifference—some who appear in public because men judge them by the eye.' It seems simplest to translate τοὺς μὲν ὀμμάτων ἅπο—'Some through the fault of their eyes,' as Mr. Verrall does in his school edition. No edition at hand points out that Ennius and Cicero seem to take ἐξῆλθον δόμων as meaning 'I left my father's home in Colchis,' or that it is possible to take σεμνοῦς in a good sense: 'I know many who have (left their country and gained) high respect.' In this connection I would refer to a note on Cicero *Fam.* vii. 6 in *Hermathena* vol. v. where this passage of the *Medea* is discussed.

305. εἰμὶ δ' οὐκ ἄγαν σοφή. The MSS. reading is kept and translated 'others again find me disagreeable nor do I seem to them particularly wise.' If the clause is so very closely connected with what goes before the

stop before εἰμί should be omitted. It is better, however, to keep the stop. Medea is here attempting to disarm Creon of his suspicions. In 303 she admits she is σοφή, here she denies she is ἄγαν σοφή. 'But in spite of the different opinions people form about me I am not so very wise.' This rendering gives more force to δέ.

841. Mr. H. defends the MSS. reading which is usually considered corrupt. He refers πόλις to Athens, and χώρα to Attica. A comma is placed at δότιαν, and the difficult μετ' ἄλλων is treated as a prolepsis and translated 'to associate with others.'

852. τέκνων of the MSS. is defended as an obj. gen. dependent on the idea of the clause χειρὶ...τόλμαν. In spite of Mr. H.'s ingenious defence of this view, it is hard to accept it.

905. In this difficult line the ingenious conjecture of Mr. Walter Headlam is adopted γάμους παρεμπολῶντ' ἐπεισάκτους πόσιν. ἐπεισάκτους is an excellent word, but it is hard to see why it was ousted by ἀλλοίους, which however has no meaning here unless it can mean 'wrong,' i.e. different from right.

1053. The MSS. reading ἐκεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν ζῶντες usually considered corrupt is retained, and defended by translating 'In the land of exile they will cheer thee, if they continue alive with me,' i.e. as I continue. μεθ' ἡμῶν is compared with μητρὸς μέτα in 892 'as your mother does.'

1104. οὕτως is read, but the translation of φροῦδος 'the children's spirit of Life

vanishes to the world below,' calls for some remark. φροῦδος means 'gone,' 'vanished,' i.e. has the meaning of a perfect tense. Here it may be compared with the use of a perf. for a future, cf. Soph. Philoct. 75.

1216. ποθεινὴ δακρύοισι συμφορὰ is read, and explained as ποθοῦσα δάκρυα συμφορὰ, a poetical inversion. But as ποθεινός is always passive, with δακρύοισι it could only mean 'desired,' i.e. followed by tears as L. and S. translate. This is so harsh that few will accept it.

In the very corrupt passage 1263-5 only one change is adopted πῖτνει τ' ἐπὶ for πῖτνουντ' ἐπὶ. Mr. H.'s translation of the passage makes good sense in English, but it is hard to see how it is derived from the Greek.

In a second edition, if the editor would add notes on the following lines he would make his book still more useful. On 228 the reading γινώσκειν καλῶς for which the editor reads γινώσκω, might be mentioned, and a longer note on σιωπηλὸς σοφός (320) would be useful. Attention might be called to the quotation in 522. A note might be added on εἰδαιμονοίτην (1068) as contrasted with the reading εἰδαιμονοῖτον.

1293. The construction of γῆς and κρυφθῆναι should be noticed. There is no note on the metrical irregularity in 1393. It remains to add that there is an excellent introduction, and a copious index.

W. E. P. COTTER.

CORRESPONDENCE.

AN UNKNOWN MS. OF THE *AGRICOLA* OF TACITUS.

THE following note is from a dissertation by Dr. R. Wuensch on various MSS. of the *Germania* in Hermes xxxii. (1897) p. 59.

'Nach Abfassung dieser Zeilen hatte ich Gelegenheit, eine Germania-Handschrift der Capitular-Bibliothek von Toledo einzusehen, ueber deren Vorhandensein Herr Oberbibliothekar Dr. A. Holder mich gütigst belehrt hatte. Sie ist signiert num. 49, 2, geschrieben 1468-1474 von M. Angelus Tuders, Stadtschreiber von Foligno, und enthält ausser der Germania...den *Agricola* und einige Plinius-briefe. Einen besonderen Werth scheinen die Lesarten dieser Handschrift nicht zu haben.'

Editors of the *Germania* may probably be

justified in thus summarily dismissing this MS.; but to other students of Tacitus by far the most important fact is that it also contains the *Agricola*. Of this treatise only two MSS. are known, both of very late date, and traceable to some one wholly unknown original, and the existence of any third MS. of certainly not later date than these is a very interesting discovery. As the announcement does not seem to have been hitherto noticed, it is well here to direct attention to it, in the hope that some scholar may find an opportunity of giving us a full collation of this portion of the MS.

H. FURNEAUX.

LEOPARDI'S ODE ON THE MONUMENT OF DANTE AT FLORENCE.

The following version was made in connection with the Italian celebration of the hundredth anniversary of Leopardi's birth at Recanati (June 29, 1898) and privately printed. Professor Jebb's permission has been obtained for its publication in the *Classical Review*: and the subjoined brief summary is taken from the prefatory note to the private issue of the translation.

The sequence of topics may be shown in outline as follows (the two principal parts of the ode being denoted by I. and II.):—

I. Verses 1—17. Italy should honour her great sons who are gone; she has none such left now.

18—34. The deep reproach that Dante has no memorial on Tuscan soil.

35—73. The praise of those who are preparing to remove that reproach.

SOPRA IL MONUMENTO DI DANTE
CHE SI PREPARAVA IN FIRENZE.

Perchè le nostre genti

Pace sotto le bianche ali raccolga,

Non fien da' lacci sciolte

Dell' antico sopor l' itale menti

5 S' ai patrii esempi della prisca etade

Questa terra fatal non si rivolga.

O Italia, a cor ti stia

Far ai passati onor; chè d' altrettali

Oggi vedove son le tue contrade,

10 Nè v' è chi d' onorar ti si convegna.

Volgiti indietro, e guarda, o patria mia,

Quella schiera infinita d' immortali,

E piangi e di te stessa ti disdegna;

Chè senza sdegno omai la doglia è
stolta:

15 Volgiti e ti vergogna e ti riscuoti,

E ti punga una volta

Pensier degli avi nostri e de' nepoti.

D' aria e d' ingegno e di parlar
diverso

74—102. Apostrophe to Dante. If he is conscious of these destined honours, he values them, not as done to himself, but for the spur which they may give to the spirit of his country, now fallen so low.

II. 103—136. And happy indeed was Dante to have died before Italy became a prey to foreign invaders.

137—170. The piteous fate of the Italians who perished in Napoleon's Russian campaign.

171—187. Will not one arise to rescue the fatherland of Dante from these miseries?

188—200. If the memories and monuments of Italy can no more rouse her sons, then let them pass out of the land, and leave it desolate for ever.

ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ
ΤΟ ΕΝ ΦΛΟΡΕΝΤΙΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΝΤΕ
ΜΗΗΕΙΟΝ.

Γὰν μὲν Εἰρήνην περὺ γέσσιν ὑπαὶ λευκαῖς
ἔχει στρ. α'
τάνδ'· ἀλλὰ πῶς ῥήξαισα πανώλεος ὕπνου
δεσμὰ πατρὶς τῆς χρονίας ἀφάτας εὖξαιτό
κεν ἐξαναδύμεν,
τῶν πάλαι εὐδοκίμων εἰ μὴ πάλιν

5 μναμοσύναν πατέρων
ἀνγείροι, μορσίμῳ
συμφορᾷ κεκραμένα;

τὴν μεριμνᾶν, Ἰταλία, κορυφὰν ταύτῃ
ἐννέπω, ἀντ. α'
τιμὰς νέμειν τοῖς οἰχομένοισι δικαίας·
10 οὐ γὰρ ἄνδρας τοῖσι πρὶν ἀντιπάλους ταῖς
σαῖς ἐθ' ὄρας ἐν ἀρούραις,
οὐδὲ τεῶν τιν' ἐπαίνων ἄξιον.
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς φθιμένους
ἀπὸ τῶν νῦν ἔμπαλιν
τρέψον, ὦ πάτρα, νόον·

15 κείων δ' ἀπέρωντο ἰδοῦσ' ἴλαν, οἷοις
ἐπ. α'
κῶδος ἀγήραον ἀνθεῖ, δάκρυσσι δενομένη
γνώθι τάλαιν' ἵν' ἀτιμίαις μόλες·
ἵν' γὰρ ἀνωφελὲς ἄλγος,
ὧ τινι μὴ κέαρ αἰσχύνας ἅμα κέντρον
ἐπέγῃ·
20 κείσε βλέποισα κατασχύνον τε καὶ ὄρσο,
διδαχθεῖς εἰσάπαξ
ἀλὶκ' ἔργ' ἀραμένων προγόνων
οἷαν ἐπαίδευσας σποράν.

Per lo toscano suol cercando gia
 20 L' ospite desioso
 Dove giaccia colui per lo cui verso
 Il meonio cantor non è più solo.
 Ed, oh vergogna! udia
 Che non che il cener freddo e l' ossa
 nude

25 Giaccian esuli ancora
 Dopo il funereo dì sott' altro suolo,
 Ma non sorgea dentro a tue mura un
 sasso,
 Firenze, a quello per la cui virtude
 Tutto il mondo t' onora.

30 Oh voi pietosi onde sì tristo e basso
 Obbrobrio laverà nostro paese!
 Bell' opra hai tolta e di che amor ti
 rende,
 Schiera prode e cortese,
 Qualunque petto amor d' Italia accende.

35 Amor d' Italia, o cari,
 Amor di questa misera vi sproni,
 Vêr cui pietade è morta
 In ogni petto omai, perciò che amari
 Giorni dopo il seren dato n' ha il cielo.
 40 Spirti v' aggiunga e vostra opra coroni
 Misericordia, o figli,
 E duolo e sdegno di cotanto affanno
 Onde bagna costei le guance e il velo.
 Ma voi di quale ornar parola o canto
 45 Si debbe, a cui non pur cure o consigli,
 Ma dell' ingegno e della man daranno
 I sensi e le virtudi eterno vanto
 Oprate e mostre nella dolce impresa?
 Quali a voi note invio, sì che nel core,
 50 Si che nell' alma accesa
 Nova favilla indurre abbian valore?
 Voi spirerà l' altissimo subbietto,

πατρίδων μὲν παντοδαπὰν ἀπο δεῦρ' ὁρμώ-
 μένοι στρ. β'
 ξείνοι, τρόπον τ' αὐδάν τ' ἀνόμοιοι, αἰδοῦ
 25 σᾶμα δίζηνται, πόθι νιν κατέχει Τυρσανίδος
 εὐκλεές αἶας,
 οὐ σοφίας χάριν αἰδοιεστάτας
 οὐκέτι Χῖος ἀνὴρ
 ἐπέων ἐν τέκτοισιν
 χωρὶς ἦσται γειτόνων.

30 τοὶ δὲ πείθονται λόγον ὃ πόποι αἰσχιστον
 κλύειν, ἀντ. β'
 ὡς ἐν ξένα ψυχρὰ κόνις ὅστέα τ' ἀνδρὸς
 γυμνὰ κείνου καὶ μένει, φυγάδος πάτρας
 ἀπάνευθε ταφέντος,
 οὐδέ τι Φοι κτίσας, ὦ Φλωρεντία,
 μνᾶμα, δι' οὐ μεγάληαν
 35 ἀρετὰν αὐτὰ πρέπει
 πᾶσιν ἔνδοξος βροτοῖς.

ὦ κτησάμενοι πραπίδων ἐξαίρετον ἐπ. β'
 εὐσεβίαν, χάριν ὧν κηλίδος ἔτι στυγεράς
 νύφεται ἄδε μελαμπαγὲς μύσος
 40 χθὼν ὁσίοισι καθαρμοῖς,
 ἔργματος ἵστε καλοῦ θέντες βάθρον, αἰδό-
 φρον ἴλα,
 φροντίδος οἶον ἀπ' εὐψύχου παρὰ πᾶσιν
 ἐπαίνου τεύξεται,
 οἷς γ' ἐνὶ στήθεσιν Ἰταλίας
 μὴ πᾶς κατέσβαχ' ἥμερος.

45 ἤμμε δ', ὦ γενναιότατοι, τόδ' ἐπ' ἔργμ'
 ὥρμαμένους στρ. γ'
 στέρνῃθρα γὰς παμπειθέα τᾶσδ' ἐποτρύνει
 τὰς ἄγαν δυσδαίμονος, ἧς σέβας ἤδη πᾶσι
 φρενῶν ἀπόλωλεν,
 ἀνίκα τὰς προτέρας ἐξ εὐδίας
 κλαρονόμους ἀχέων
 50 πόρε δαίμων ἡμέρας·
 ματρὸς ὧν νιοὶ χάριν

τᾶσδε κοινὰν πάντες ὁμόφρονος ἐν βουλᾷς
 ἀκμᾷ ἀντ. γ'
 τολμᾶτε τοῦδ' ἔργον κορυφαῖς ἐπιβᾶμεν,
 πατρίδος δ' οἷα συνέκυρσε, νεμεσσάθητ'
 ἐσιδόντες ἀνίαν,
 55 ἃς καὶ ἑκατὶ παρεάς τ' ἔμπεδον
 ἃ κακοπομπούτα
 δακρύων ἄβρὰς ἄχνα
 καὶ καλύπτραν τέγγεται.

τίς δὴ λόγος ἢ τίς αἰοῖα δαιδάλον ἐπ. γ'
 60 τέκτονος ἤμμι πρεπόντως ἀρμόσει, ἀφθιτον
 οἷς
 δόξαν ἄγει φιλόφρων τ' εὐβουλίᾳ
 καὶ σύνεσις πολύμητις
 χεῖρ θ' ἡμ' ἀριστόπονος λαμπρά τε καλὸν
 φύσις οἶμον
 ἱεμένα: τίνα πέμπων ἤμμι μεγασθεῖος
 Φοῖβον νόμον

Ed acri punte premeravvi al seno.
 Chi dirà l' onda e il turbo
 55 Del furor vostro e dell' immenso
 affetto?
 Chi pingerà l' attonito sembiente?
 Chi degli occhi il baleno?
 Qual può voce mortal celeste cosa
 Agguagliar figurando?
 60 Lunge sia, lunge alma profana. Oh
 quante
 Lacrime al nobil sasso Italia serba!
 Come cadrà? come dal tempo rósa
 Fia vostra gloria o quando?
 Voi, di che il nostro mal si disacerba,
 65 Sempre vivete, o care arti divine,
 Conforto a nostra sventurata gente,
 Fra l' itale ruine
 Gl' itali pregi a celebrare intento.
 Ecco voglioso anch' io
 70 Ad onorar nostra dolente madre
 Porto quel che mi lice,
 E mesco all' opra vostra il canto mio,
 Sedendo u' vostro ferro i marmi avviva.
 O dell' etrusco metro inclito padre,
 75 Se di cosa terrena,
 Se di costei che tanto alto locasti
 Qualche novella ai vostri lidi arriva,
 Io so ben che per te gioia non senti,
 Chè saldi men che cera e men ch' arena,
 80 Verso la fama che di te lasciasti,
 Son bronzi e marmi; e dalle nostre
 menti
 Se mai cadesti ancor, s' unqua cadrai,
 Cresca, se crescer può, nostra sciaura,
 E in sempiterni guai
 85 Pianga tua stirpe a tutto il mondo
 oseura

65 μείζον ἄρω μένος ἑσσυμένους
 σπουδάν τ' ἐπιφλέξω φρενῶν;
 αὐτὸ μὲν ἀρκεῖ χρέος οὐ καὶ ἀγωνίζεσθ'
 ὕπερ στρ. δ'
 ὥστ' ὀξέα ψυχαῖς ὑπὸ κέντρα δονῆσαι·
 τίς κεν εἴποι κῦμα μέγ' ὑμετέρας χειμῶνά
 τ' ἀθέσφατον ὀρμᾶς,
 70 δέργμα τίς ἔνθεον ὅσων τ' ἀστραπάς;
 χρῆμα γὰρ οὐράνιον
 πόθεν ἂν θνατῶν φάτις
 γαρούι; θεῖος δ' ἔρως
 εἴ τιν' οὗτος μῆδὲν ἔθελξε, χοροῦ τοῦδ'
 ἐκποδὼν ἀντ. δ'
 75 στᾶμεν προφωνῶ. φεῦ, λίθον ὅσος' ἐπὶ
 κείνον
 πένθιμον μέλλει δόσιν Ἰταλία δακρύματα
 πατρὶς ἐνείκαι·
 πῶς θέμις ὕμιν ποτ' ἐκλείπειν κλέος;
 τίς δὲ περιπλομένων
 ἐτέων εὐδοξίαν
 80 τάνδ' ἀμανρώσει χρόνος;
 τεχνᾶν βασιλειαὶ ἀγακλειτᾶν, ὑφ' ἂν, ἐπ. δ'
 θεσπέσιαι Χάριτες, λωφᾶ πικρὸν ἄμμιν
 ἄχος,
 ὕμιν μὲν ἀθάνατος ζωὰ μένει,
 τλάμοσι φάρμακον ἀστοῖς
 85 ὄνυστον ἀλεγεινᾶς, αἱ κάκ' ἐς αἰνὰ
 πεσοῖσας
 Ἰταλίας ἀρετᾶν μνάμαν ἐπεγείρετε τᾶν
 ἐγχορῶν
 ματρὶ δ' ἀμᾶ γέρας ἀχρυνμένα
 κἀγὼ προσάψαι μῶμενος
 οἶδ' ἂν ἴσχω δῶρα πάρειμι φέρων, ὑμαῖς
 ἐμὴν στρ. ε'
 90 μίξαις αἰοδῶν ἐργασίαισι ποθειναῖς,
 ἀγχιτερον ναιετῶν ἔδος, οὐ καὶ καλλίτεχ-
 νοι τελέουσιν
 χεῖρες ἀλίγκιον ἐμψύχῳ λίθον.
 ὦ σοφίας ὕπατον
 στέφανον δρέψαις πάτερ
 95 μουσικᾶς Τυρσανίδος,
 πύστις εἰ κακέι τις ἐπιχθονίων, εἰ πατρίδος
 ἀντ. ε'
 κείνας ἰκάνει σ' ἂν πολύφαμον ἔθηκας,
 οὐχ ὑπὲρ σαντοῦ, τόδ' ἴσαμεν καλῶς, τιμαῖς
 ἐπὶ ταῖσδε γέγαθας,
 εἰ γ' ὃ λέλοιπας ἐν ἀνθρώποις κλέος
 100 μνάμα βεβαιότερον
 λιθίνον θ' ἰδρύματος
 καὶ τύπων χαλκαλάτων
 τόσσω τετέλεσται, ὅσω περ καὶ λίθον
 ἐπ. ε'
 ψάμμος ἀφανρότερον χαλκοῖό τε κηρὸς ἔφν·

- Ma non per te ; per questa ti rallegri
 Povera patria tua, s' unqua l' esempio
 Degli avi e de' parenti
 Ponga ne' figli sonnacchiosi ed egri
- 90 Tanto valor che un tratto alzino il viso.
 Ah, da che lungo scempio
 Vedi afflitta costei, che sì meschina
 Te salutava allora
 Che di novo salisti al paradiso !
- 95 Oggi ridotta sì che, a quel che vedi,
 Fu fortunata allor donna e reina.
 Tal miseria l' accora
 Qual tu forse mirando a te non credi.
 Taccio gli altri nemici e l' altre doglie,
- 100 Ma non la più recente e la più fera,
 Per cui presso alle soglie
 Vide la patria tua l' ultima sera.
 Beato te che il fato
 A viver non dannò fra tanto orrore ;
- 105 Che non vedesti in braccio
 L' itala moglie a barbaro soldato ;
 Non predar, non guastar cittadi e colti
 L' asta inimica e il peregrin furore ;
 Non degl' itali ingegni
- 110 Tratte l' opre divine a miseranda
 Schiavitù oltre l' alpe, e non de' folli
 Carri impedita la dolente via ;
 Non gli aspri cenni ed i superbi regni ;
 Non udisti gli oltraggi e la nefanda
- 115 Voce di libertà che ne schernia
 Tra il suon delle catene e de' flagelli.
 Chi non si duol ? che non soffrimmo ?
 intatto
 Che lasciaron quei felli ?
 Qual tempio, quale altare o qual mis-
 fatto ?
- 105 εἰ δ' ἔπεισες σύ ποτ' ἐξ ἁμῶν φρενῶν
 ἢ ἐπέσοις ἔτ' ἄτιμος,
 μείζονα δὴ πόροι ἁμῖν, εἴ τιν' ἔχοι, κακὰ
 δαίμων,
 σὺν δ' ὀδύναις γένος ἀλλήκτοις τεὸν ἀκλεῆς
 ἐν θνατοῖς στένει.
 σαῖς μὲν οὐ τέρπεται ἀγλαΐαις,
 110 οἰκτρὰς δ' ὑπὲρ σᾶς πατρίδος,
 εἴ ποτ' ἀστοὶ κυδαλίμων προγόνων μεμνα-
 μένοι στρ. 5'
 ῥαθυμίας ἀλλαξάμενοι σθένος ἀργᾶς
 κρατ' ἀνορθώσονται χρόνον γ' ἐπὶ παῦρον.
 φεῦ· χαλεπαῖς ὅσα λώβαις
 δαρὸν ἐλαννομένην λεύσσεις πάτραν,
 115 ἃ σ', ὅτ' ἐς Ἡλυσίας
 μακάρων ἔδρας στόλον
 ἐστάλης τὸν δεύτερον,
 οὐκ ἐν ὥρᾳ θήκατ' ἀποιχόμενον· νῦν δ' αὖ
 κακοῖς ἀντ. 5'
 ἀλγεῖ τοιοῦτοις, ὥστε παρ' ἂν σὺ δέδορκας
 120 ὀλβία δόξαι τᾶς τόθ' ἑκατὶ τύχας χώρα
 πᾶρος ἐμβασιλεύσιν·
 θαῦμα κ' ἄπιστον ἴσως κείθεν δρακεῖς
 πῆμα τοσόνδε λέγοις.
 τὰ μὲν ἄλλ' ἐχθροὺς τ' ἀφείς
 καὶ πόνους σιγάσομαι·
- 125 δεινῶν δ' ὁ νεώτατον ἐχθιστόν θ' ὁμῶς,
 ἐπ. 5'
 τοῦτο φράσαιμ' ἂν, ὑφ' οὗ μοίρας ἐπιόντα
 τεὰ
 πατρὶς ὅπωπε τελευταίας ζόφον.
 ἄξιος εἰ μακαρίζειν,
 ὃν πότμος οὐ κάθειλεν λεύσσειν θ' Ὑπερίονος
 αὐγὰς
- 130 ταῖσδε σῖνοιικον ἐν ἅταις ἔμμεναι, οὐδ'
 ἀκολάστους προσβλέπειν
 ἀγκάλας ἀμφιτιθέντα βία
 νύμφαισιν αἰχματὰν ξένον
 Ἱταλαῖς· οὐδ' εἰσίδες ἄστυα καὶ λευροῦς
 γῆρας στρ. 5'
 ὡμὰς βριατᾶν ἀλλοδαπῶν ὑπὸ λύσσης
 135 δαίαις ἐν δούρασι περθομένους, ἔργων θ'
 ὅσ' ὑπέρτατα τέχναις
 Ἱταλικάις Χάριτες θείαις κάμον
 ἐλκόμεν' εἰς ὕποχον
 Βορέα γὰρ, βαρβάρων
 δεσποτᾶν κόσμον δόμοις·
- 140 οὐδ' ἁμαξᾶν πλήρε' ἴδες πυκινᾶν λυγρὰν
 ὀδόν, ἀντ. 5'
 ξείνων ὅπ' οὐκ ἄκουσας ἀμείλιχον ἀστοῖς
 ἐντολὰς κραίνοισαν ὑπερφιάλους, δούλοις τ'
 ὄνυμ', ὥσπερ ἐφ' ὕβρει,
 σεμνὸν Ἐλευθερίας, χειρωμάτων
 δυσσεβέων πρόφασιν,
 145 ἀνάκαρνηθέν, πεδᾶν
 ἔν τε μαστίγων ψόφῳ.

120 Perchè venimmo a sì perversi tempi?

Perchè il nascer ne desti o perchè
prima

Non ne desti il morire,

Acerbo fato? onde a stranieri ed empì

Nostra patria vedendo ancella e schiava

125 E da mordace lima

Roder la sua virtù, di null' aita

E di nullo conforto.

Lo spietato dolor che la stracciava

Ammollir ne fu dato in parte alcuna.

130 Ahi non il sangue nostro e non la vita

Avesti, o cara; e morto

Io non son per la tua cruda fortuna.

Qui l'ira al cor, qui la pietade abbonda:

Pugnò, cadde gran parte anche di noi:

135 Ma per la moribonda

Italia no; per li tiranni suoi.

Padre, se non ti sdegni,

Mutato sei da quel che fosti in terra.

Morian per le rutene

140 Squallide piagge, ahi d' altra morte

degni,

Gl'itali prodi; e lor fea l'aere e il

cielo

E gli uomini e le belve immensa guerra.

Cadeano a squadre a squadre

Semivestiti, macerì e cruenti,

145 Ed era letto agli egri corpi il gelo.

Allor, quando traean l'ultime pene,

Membrando questa desiata madre,

Diceano: oh non le nubi e non i venti,

Ma ne spegnesse il ferro, e per tuo

bene,

150 O patria nostra. Ecco da te rimoti,

Quando più bella a noi l'età sorride,

A tutto il mondo ignoti,

τίς πένθεος οὐ μετέχει; ποῖον δ' ἄχος
ἐπ. ζ'

οὐ φέρομεν; τί δ' ἀπόρρητον νοέουσιν ἑῶν
οἷδ' ἄνομοι, τί θεῶν ἀνάκτορον

150 ἢ τίνα βωμὸν ὑβρισταί;

ποῖα κάκ' οὐ τελείουσ'; εἴθ' ὥφελε μὴ ποθ'
ικέσθαι

σκαiosisύναν ἐπὶ τοιαύταν γένος ἁμόν· ἰώ,
ζῶαν τί δή,

πικρὰ δαίμον, πόρες ἄμμιν ἔχειν,
ἀλλ' οὐ φθάσαις Αἰῶνός τέλος;

155 ἀλλοφύλοις ὦν ἀθέοις ὑπακούουσιν πάτρην,
στρ. η'

δούλαν τιν' ὥς, ἀστῶν τ' ἀρετὰν ὑπ'
ἀνάγκας

εἰσορώντες τειρομένην δακεθύμοι, οὔτε τιν
ἄμμες ἀρωγὰν

οὔτε παραγορίαν ἔμπας φέρειν

ἄλλιοι ἀρκέσαμεν,

160 ὀδύνas θελκτῆριον
τᾶς διανταίας ἄκος.

ὦ φίλα θρέπτειρα, σέθεν δ' ὑπερ οὐκ ἔτλα
θανεῖν ἀντ. η'

ψυχάν τις αἰχμαῖς ἀνδροφόνοισι προτείνων·
σαῖσι δ' ἐν λώβαις σόος εἴμ'. ἐλέτω θυμὸν

χόλος ἥδ' ἐκαὶ οἶκτος,

165 οὐνεκα μαρνᾶμενοι πλείστοι πέσον

οὐχ ὑπὲρ Ἰταλικᾶς

φθινάδος γᾶς Ἰταλοί,

ἀλλὰ τῶν κείνα ζυγὸν

ἔχθιστον ἐπ' αὐχένι θέντων. ὦ πάτερ
ἐπ. η'

170 ἀμετέρων μέγ' αἰοιδῶν ἔξοχε, ταῖτ' ἐπιδὼν
εἰ σὺ χόλῳ φρένα μὴ δάκνει, φύσιν

ἢ ῥα νέαν μεταμῖψαι

φαμί σε τᾶς προτέρας ἂν ζωὸς ἐὼν ποτ'
ἐφαινες·

τηλεπόρου γὰρ ἀπώλοντο Σκυθίας καθ'
ὁδοὺς δυσστερπέως

175 Ἰταλῶν φέρτατοι, οὗ τι τύχας,

αἰαί, τοιαύτας ἄξιοι·

τοῖς ἀμᾶ δυσχείμερος ἄλγεα πόρσυν'
οὐρανός, στρ. θ'

ἀνδρῶν δ' ἀμᾶ θηρῶν τ' ἀπερείσιος ὕβρις·
ἡμίγυμνοι δ' ὥς χαμαὶ ἰσχνὰ μέλη, χραν-

θέντα φοναῖσι, κατ' ἱλας

180 θέσαν, ἱπῆρ' ἰσοστροφῶς πᾶσι λείχους.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ σφιν ἄγεν

Ἀΐδας τέρμ' ἔσχατον,

φιλιτάτας μεμναμένοι

ματρὸς εἶπον· φεῦ, τί κελαινεφέων πορθοῦ-
μενοι ἀντ. θ'

185 πλαγαῖς θηελλᾶν θνάσκομεν, οἷσι προ-
σῆκεν,

- Moriam per quella gente che t' uccide.
 Di lor querela il boreal deserto
 155 E conscie fur le sibilanti selve.
 Così vennero al passo,
 E i negletti cadaveri all' aperto
 Su per quello di neve orrido mare
 Dilacerâr le belve ;
 160 E sarà il nome degli egregi e forti
 Pari mai sempre ed uno
 Con quel de' tardi e vili. Anime care,
 Bench' infinita sia vostra sciagura,
 Datevi pace ; e questo vi conforti
 165 Che conforto nessuno
 Avrete in questa o nell' età futura.
 In seno al vostro smisurato affanno
 Posate, o di costei veraci figli,
 Al cui supremo danno
 170 Il vostro solo è tal che s' assomigli.
 Di voi già non si lagna
 La patria vostra, ma di chi vi spinse
 A pagnar contra lei,
 Sî ch' ella sempre amaramente piagna
 175 E il suo col vostro lacrimar confonda.
 O di costei ch' ogni altra gloria vinse
 Pietà nascesse in core
 A tal de' suoi ch' affaticata e lenta
 Di sî buia vorago e sî profonda
 180 La ritraesse ! O glorioso spirito,
 Dimmi : d' Italia tua morto è l' amore ?
 Di : quella fiamma che t' accese, è
 spenta ?
 Di : nè più mai rinverdirà quel mirto
 Ch' alleggiò per gran tempo il nostro
 male ?
 185 Nostre corone al suol fien tutte sparte ?
 Nè sorgerà mai tale
 Che ti rassembri in qualsivoglia parte ?
- ὦ πάτρα, σοῦ καδομένοισι πεσεῖν χάρμαι
 ἐνὶ κυδιανείραις ;
 νῦν δ', ἐρατώπις ὄτ' αἰὼν προσγελᾷ,
 φθειρόμεθ' οἷδε σέθεν
 οἶχα, παντᾶ νόονμοι.
 190 σὼν ὑπὲρ λυμαντόρων.
 τοιαῦτ' ὀλοφυρομένων κρυσταλλοπαῖ
 ἔπ. θ'
 αἶε γαῖα λιγύφθογγοί τ' ἀνέμοισι νάπαι.
 τάνδε βίον μὲν ἀπαλλαγὴν λάχον·
 σώματα δ' οἰκτρὰ θανόντων
 195 ἄμ πεδίον χιονοβλήτους πλάκας ὀκρυνόσ-
 σας
 δάπτον ὑπαίθρια θῆρες· δόξα δ' ἴσα τὸν
 ἔπειτ' αἰεὶ χρόνον
 τοῖσι λαμπροῖς ἀγαθοῖς θ' ἔπεται,
 δειλοί θ' ὁμοίως εἴ τινας
 ἦσαν αὐτῶν καὶ κακοί. ὦ μεγαλᾶν δὴ
 συμφορᾶν
 200 κύρσαντες ἔμπας στέργετε· πῆμασι οἱ
 εἵπερ
 μήτε νῦν μήτ' εἰσοπίσω ποτὲ παιὼν ἡμε-
 τέροισι πελάσσει.
 πλᾶτε τόδ' αὐτὸ μαθόντες καρτερεῖν.
 σίγα τρέφοντες ἄχος
 ἀνέχεσθ' ἐξαΐσιον,
 205 γνήσί ᾧ τέκν' ἀθλίας
 ματρός, ᾧ πάντων ὑπάτοισι δαμασθείσι
 πόνοις
 οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν ἡμῶν ὃς ὁμοῖα πέπονθεν.
 οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν μέμφεται Ἰταλία, κείνῃ δ' ὃς
 ἐπῶρσ' ἀέκοντας
 πατρίδι δίσθεος ἀντᾶραι μάχαι·
 210 ὦν ἕνεκ' ἀχθομένα
 δρόσον αἰεὶ δακρύων
 ἡμμι κοινὰν εἴβεται.
 πῶς ἂν πολυπύμονος αἰδῶ πατρίδος ἔπ. ι'
 τὰς πρὶν ὑπέροχον ἄλλων κῆδος ἀειραμέναις
 215 ἐν πραπίδεσσι λάβοι τις ἐγγόνων,
 ὃς κ' ἐρύσαιο κλύδωνος
 ἐκ μέλανος βαθυδίου τριβομένην καμί-
 τοισιν ;
 εἰπέ μοι, ᾧ μακάρων τιμαῖσιν αἰοδὲ μιγεῖς
 ὑψιθρόνοις,
 ἄρα σᾶς οἴχεται Ἰταλίας
 220 πρόρριζος ἐκ θνατῶν ἔρως ;
 ἄρ' ἀπέσβακ' ἔνθεος ἃ σὲ κατεῖχ' ὄρμα
 φρενῶν,
 οὐδ' ἀθλῖς ἀμᾶν, ὡς τὸ πάροθ', ὀδυνᾶων
 μαλθακὸν κοῖφισμα φέροισ' ἀναθαλήσει
 ποτ' ἐν ἀνδράσι μῦρτος ;
 ἄρα χαμαιπετέων ἡμμι φθίνει
 225 πᾶσα χάρις στεφάνων,
 παρόμοιον δ' οὐδαμοῦ
 σοί τιν' αὖ θρέψει πατρίς ;

In eterno perimmo? e il nostro
scorno
Non ha verun confine?
190 Io mentre viva andrò sciamando in-
torno:
Volgiti agli avi tuoi, guasto legnaggio;
Mira queste ruine
E le carte e le tele e i marmi e i
templi;
Pensa qual terra premi; e se destarti
195 Non può la luce di cotanti esempi,
Che stai? levàti e parti.
Non si conviene a sì corrotta usanza
Questa d' animi eccelsi altrice e scola:
Se di codardi è stanza,
200 Meglio l' è rimaner vedova e sola.

ἦ ῥ' ἔσαεὶ κείμεθα; μέτρον ἄρ' οὐκ ἔσται
ψόγον; ἀντ. κ'
ζῶας ἔγωγ' ἔστ' ἂν μετέχω, τάδε παντᾶ
230 πᾶσι καρύξω· προγόνων ἀρετᾶς μνάσασθε,
γένος πολὺ χεῖρον·
λείψαν' ὁρᾶτε τὰδ' ὧν κείνοι κάμον,
Πιερίδων τ' ἐρατᾶν
μελέτας ἰστών θ' ὑφὰς
ἔργα τ' εὐμόρφων λίθων
235 ναοὺς τε θεῶν· χθονὸς ἴσθ' οἷας πέδον
ἐπ. κ
στείβετε· κυδαλίμων δ' εἰ πᾶν φάος ἐκ
πατέρων
ἤμμι μάταν κέχνται, ποῖ χρὴ μένειν;
ἔκτοποι ἔρρετε γαίης·
οὐ γὰρ ἔοικεν ἀνάνδροις θρέμμασι πατρίδ'
ὀμυλῇ
240 ἃ μεγαλόφρονα παίδευσ'· εἰ δὲ γενήσεται
ἀψύχων λιμὴν,
κρέσσον' αἰσάν κε λαχοῦσα πέλοι
χῆρα τ' ἐρήμα τ' εἰσαεί.

R. C. JEBB.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

NOTE ON CYPRIOTE POTTERY.

M. E. POTTIER, to whose *Catalogue des Vases Antiques de Terre-cuite du Louvre* students of ancient pottery owe so many valuable observations, has been good enough to call my attention to a passage in my paper on 'Excavations in Cyprus in 1894,' (*J.H.S.* xvii. 153), in which I have inadvertently mis-stated his views as to the date of two classes of Cypriote pottery.

First, I failed to state expressly, in the passage referred to, that the 'red-ware' to which I alluded is not the *handmade* 'red-ware,' which M. Pottier rightly assigns to the pre-Mykenaeen period (*Catalogue*, p. 84, No. A 24. 27. *Album*, Pl. 5 (= A 24. 27), but, as I thought might be inferred from the context, the Graeco-Phoenician *wheel-made* redware, such as *Catalogue*, p. 112, No. A 166-175: *Album*, Pl. 9 (= A 167), which does disappear, as I stated, in the eighth century or soon after, with the exception of certain local fabrics, (such as *Catalogue*, p. 111, No. A 165. *Album*, Pl. 9) which M. Pottier is wholly justified in regarding as having persisted into the period when Attic fabrics of sixth and fifth century styles were being imported into Cyprus.

These fabrics, however, are easily distinguished from the purely Cypriote style, which, so far from being the 'perfectionnement de la fabrique à ton rouge,' (*Cat.* p.

112, = A 166-175) or indicating 'une époque assez récente ou l'on chercher à imiter le beau brillant des vases grecs du vi^e et du v^e siècle,' had entirely gone out of use, at a period not much later than that of the Proto-Corinthian vases with 'running dogs' upon them, which are the only Hellenic fabric which occurs in the same tombs with them.

Secondly, with regard to the 'Cypriote bucchero,' I stated (*J.H.S.* xvii. p. 153) that this 'begins in the Mykenaeen Age, and disappears earlier than the fibulae'—i.e. in the eighth century or a little later;—and I observed that M. Pottier regarded them as a Hellenistic fabric; for he describes his 'quatrième période,' under which heading he classes this fabric, (p. 116) as 'allant du v^e siècle à l' époque gréco-romaine' (*Catalogue*, p. 102). M. Pottier points out to me that he had himself contemplated the possibility of an earlier date, in a phrase which I confess that I overlooked, and which I take this opportunity, with his permission, of quoting in full.

D. *Quatrième période* (ci-dessus p. 102).

253-255. 'Je place ici quelques spécimens d'une catégorie toute particulière; ce sont les vases imitant la technique du métal dont deux (253, 254) pourraient appartenir à une époque ancienne si l'on en juge d'après la gaucherie du façonnage, la rudesse de la

terre ; mais il n'est pas toujours facile de dire si l'aspect grossier d'une poterie est dû à une haute antiquité ou à une exécution négligée. On peut les comparer à certains vases italiotes d'argile noire, imitant par des cannelures l'aspect du métal, et dont la date est relativement récente.

J. L. MYRES.

MONTHLY RECORD.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part i. 1898.

P. Perdrizet. 'Sur un tétradrachme de Nabis. Interesting remarks on the unique coin with the portrait of Nabis published by me in *Num. Chron.* 1897, p. 107; pl. v. 2. ΒΑΙΛΕΟΣ is not an engraver's blunder but is shown to=ΒΑΗΛΕΟΣ the Laconian form of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

Part ii. 1898.

W. Wroth. 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1897.' 836 Greek coins have been added to the collection, including 20 pieces in gold and electrum and 313 in silver. Among the specimens described are the following:—*Delphi*. A unique didrachm, circ. B.C. 480–450. *obv.* Ram's head. *rev.* Ceiling of temple, with sunk panels. *Tenea* in Achaia. A rare imperial coin, type, Dionysos. *Nicaea*. Imperial, with *rev.* Lion's head radiate, probably the lion of the Zodiac. *Cyzicus*. A fine stater with a bearded head in a conical cap, often called Ulysses, but probably a Cabirus. *Éphesus*. A gold coin probably struck B.C. 87–84. *Erythrae*. Imperial, with reclining river-god, inscribed ΑΛΕΩΝ. This is the 'Aleon fluvius' of Plin. *N.H.* v. 117, elsewhere (xxxi. 14) called by him the Aleos:—'Erythris Aleos amnis pilos gignit in corporibus.' *Rhodes*. A unique gold coin struck B.C. 189? *Hierapolis* in Phrygia. A very fine specimen of an Imperial coin representing the goddess ΕΥΠΟΚΙΑ. *Syedra* in Cilicia. Coin of Salonina, inscribed ΘΕΜΙΚ, with two wrestlers: cp. the agonistic inscriptions of Syedra. *Aegean Islands?* A seventh century didrachm with a toad as type.—S. M. Alischan. 'Posidium in Coele-Syria.' An unpublished silver coin attributed to Posidium.—John Evans. 'A hoard of Roman coins.' 3169 silver coins, Nero to Severus Alexander, said to have been found in the east of England. The coins are Imperial *denarii* and there are numerous specimens of the *argenteus Antoninianus* first struck under Caracalla in A.D. 215.

Numismatische Zeitschrift (Vienna). Vol. xxix. for 1897, published 1898.

M. Bahrfeldt. 'Nachträge und Berichten zur Münzkunde der römischen Republik.' Pp. 1–150.

Additions to the coins described in Babelon's *Monnaies de la répub. rom.* (continued).—A. Markl. 'Ein Goldmedaillon von Claudius II.'

Zeitschrift für Numismatik. (Berlin). Vol. xxi. Parts 1 and 2. 1898.

H. Dannenberg. 'Alfred von Sallet.' A brief memoir of the late director of the Berlin coin-cabinet, b. 19 July 1842, d. 25 Nov. 1897.—U. Köhler. 'Ueber die attische Goldprägung.' The Athenian gold coinage has been assigned by Head to B.C. 393 and by Babelon to B.C. 407. Köhler maintains that it consists of two classes, (i) struck in B.C. 407 (ii) struck in B.C. 393 and in B.C. 295. The dates assigned by Köhler for his second division may, possibly, be open to question, but there can be little doubt that he is right, on grounds of style, in dividing the Athenian gold coinage into an earlier and a later class.—O. Seeck. 'Zu den Festmünzen Constantius und seiner Familie.'—H. Willers. 'Die Münze Thibron's.' The Θισβράνειον νόμισμα mentioned by Photius appears from a notice in Pollux to have been a false or debased coin. Willers conjectures that it was a bronze coin, plated with silver, struck by the Spartan Harmost Thibron, B.C. 400, for the payment of his troops.—J. E. Kirchner. 'Zur datierung der athenischen Silbermünzen der beiden letzten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderte.' Chiefly notes on the magistrates.—W. Drexler. 'Tantalos auf Münzen von Kyme.'

Revue Numismatique. Part ii. 1898.

E. Babelon. 'La collection Waddington... Inventaire sommaire' (continued). Coins of Cilicia, Isauria, Lycaonia and Cyprus.—P. Perdrizet. 'Statère chypriote au nom d'Épipalos.' Apparently a new king of Cyprus, nearly contemporary with the Cypriote Lysandros.—E. Tacchella. 'Monnaies autonomes d'Apollonia de Thrace.' This paper deals with the well-known series of coins with the type anchor and cray-fish. These coins have been attributed to Abydos, to Ankore, to Astacus, and are now generally assigned to Apollonia ad Rhyndacum. Tacchella brings forward some important evidence as to their *Thracian* provenance and proposes to assign some of them to Apollonia Pontica in Thrace, though he would give other specimens to Abydos.—B. Pick. 'Observations sur les monnaies autonomes d'Apollonia de Thrace.' Pick assigns the whole series of 'anchor' coins to Apollonia Pontica and rightly rejects the attribution to Abydos. On a silver coin now attributed to Apollonia Pontica he sees a reproduction of the colossal Apollo of Kalamis removed by Lucullus from Apollonia to Rome.—M. C. Soutzo. 'Étude sur les monnaies impériales' (continued).—R. Mowat. 'Arnasi.' An inscription found on Roman coins of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xix, 1. Whole No. 73. April, 1898.

The *Bhārata* and the *Great Bhārata*, E. W. Hopkins. A review of Dahlmann's *Mahābhārata*. The *Ayer Papyrus*: a mathematical fragment, E. J. Goodspeed. Obtained in Cairo about three years ago. Perhaps a fragment of one of those early mathematical works whose materials Heron of Alexandria organized and compiled. *Semasiological Possibilities*, F. A. Wood. The thesis is that differ-

ence in meaning is of itself no bar to connecting words, because each signification of a word is capable of development. I *nunc* and *i* with *another imperative*, E. B. Lease. A statistical paper giving exx. of these expressions. *I nunc* denotes emotion and does not appear in prose till Seneca's time, nor does it occur in Plautus or Terence. *I with another imper.* is much more common in poetry than in prose. In prose it is chiefly found in Livy.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES. Among the books

reviewed are Buecheler's *Anthologia Latina*, Conway's *The Italic Dialects*, Abbott's *Selected Letters of Cicero*, and Moore's *Julius Firmicus Maternus, der Heide und der Christ*. There are *Brief Mentions* of Dittmar's *Studien zur lateinischen Moduslehre* directed against Prof. Hale's treatise on *cum*-constructions, and of Starkie's edition of the *Wasps*.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 22. Part 2. April, 1898.

Le Temple d'Apollon Didyméen. Questions chronologiques, ii, B. Haussoullier. Other inscriptions explained [Cl. Rev. sup. p. 284]. APEINOS, H. Diels. This word in an inscr. of Delos denotes a species of wood. *Julius Paelignus, préfet des vigiles et procureur de Cappadoce*, Ph. Fabia. On Tac. *Ann.* xii, 49 and Dion Cassius lxi, 6, 6. Identifies the Julius Paelignus of Tac. with Laelianus of Dion l.c. *Alphabets numériques latins*, P. Lejay. On the attempts that have been made to use all the letters of the Latin alphabet as numerals. These alphabets are of two classes (1) the signs of the Agrimensores, and (2) systematic alphabets. *Notes épigraphiques*, B. Haussoullier. On inscr. to Apollo Κραταρός, Zeus Κροσσάλλος, and Zeus Έπικάρπιος. *Virgile*, Ecl. 1, 5, G. Ramain. Translates 'Tu apprends à la belle Amaryllis à faire resonner les bois.' *Sophocle*, Philoct. 32, A. Dauphin. Suggests ὁ δ' ἔνδον οἶκος ποῖός ἐστι; τίς προφή; *Phaedrus*, Append. Perott. 8, L. Havet. *Phaedrus* l.c. refers to Varro ap. Plin. N.H. vii, 81 and the Tritannus of Pliny is to be identified with the Trit. of Lucilius ap. Cic. Fin. i, § 9. *Cicero*, Fin. i, §§ 10, 11, 12, 20, 23, 24, L. Havet. *Encore Herodote*, i, 86, M. L. Earle [see Cl. Rev. xi, 174, 369]. *Notes sur Bacchylide*, A. M. Desrousseaux.

Part 3. July, 1898. *De l'orthographe des lapicides carthaginois*, A. Audolent. A contribution towards our knowledge of the pronunciation of popular Latin by the African subjects of Rome. *Le 'Protrepticus' de Galien et l'édition de Jamot (1583)*, M. Beaudoin. The ed. of Jamot is derived from the Aldine probably compared with the Basle edition. In most of the corrections the Latin translations of Erasmus and Bellisarius were used. *Cicero*, Fin. i, L. Havet. Various notes critical and exegetical. *L'oracle d'Apollon à Claros*, B. Haussoullier. Five inscriptions explained. *Questions de syntaxe latine*, J. Lebreton. (1) On the use of the tenses in the conditional comparatives (*quasi tamquam* etc.), (2) the use of the reflexive in apposition, and in the complement of the attributive adjective. *Notes sur l'Hippolyte d'Euripide*, E. Chambry. *Dierectus*, G. Ramain. Occurs twelve times in Plaut., once in a frag. of Varro, and once in the abridgment of Festus. It is not a mistake for *dierectus* or *directus*. *Encore Hérodote* i, 86, J. Keelhoff [see above]. *Διπδωρος*, P. Perdrizet. The genuineness of this name in Diod. xviii, 7, 5 defended.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 53, 2. 1898.

Die Hundekrankheit (κύνων) der Pandareostöchter und andere mythische Krankheiten, W. H. Roscher. Against Kroll's assumption of the late origin of this myth. An account is given of the chief exx. of

mythological diseases. *Oskisches aus Pompeji*, F. Buecheler. On an inscr. lately discovered at Pompeii. *Studien zu Ciceros Briefen an Atticus*, O. E. Schmidt. Continued from the last vol. [Cl. Rev. xi. 323]. 65 places from books xi-xvi examined. *Der alte Tempel und das Hekatompedon auf der Akropolis zu Athen*, G. Koerte. A polemic against Doerpfeld with an excursus on the Hekatompedon inscription. *Textkritisches zu lateinischen Dichtern*, J. Ziehen. On various fragments chiefly from Riese's *Lateinischer Anthologie*. *Bakchylides' Gedicht auf Pytheas von Aigina*, F. Blass. Does not consider that this ode is at all inferior to Pindar's fifth Nemean and therefore does not believe that on this ground B. was not called on to celebrate the victories of Pytheas' brother Phylakidas. *Der Thukydides-Papyrus von Oxyrhynchus*, J. Steup. From this we know that the text of our MSS. of Thuc. of the middle ages was essentially in existence in the first or second cent. A.D.

MISCELLAN. *Varia*, C. Weyman. *Zu Bakchylides* xi, O. Hense. *Zu Bakchylides*, J. M. Stahl. *Die Abfassungszeit von Theophrasts Charakteren*, F. Ruchl. No one date can be given. They were probably composed at various times. *Pisanders Athla des Herakles*, E. Woelflin. In Quint. x, 1, 56 we should probably read *athla* for *acta*. *Epigraphisch-Kalendarisches*, E. F. Bischoff.

Part 3. *Göttliche Synonyme*, H. Usener. *Zur Datirung einiger athenischer Archonten*, J. E. Kirchner. Those treated of here are Damasias, Urios, Sosistratos, Pheidostatos, Andreas, Herodes, Lysandros son of Apolexis, and Architimos. *Das sogenannte Fragment Hygins*, M. Manitius. The text of the *Excerptum de astrologia [Arati]* with critical notes. *Der Kalender im Ptolemäerreich*, M. L. Strack. Concludes that in the kingdom of the Lagidae, during the first half of their rule, there were two Egyptian and two Macedonian years in use. *Ueber den Mynascodez der griechischen Kriegsschriftsteller in der Pariser Nationalbibliothek*, H. Schöne. *Neue platonische Forschungen. Zweites Stück*, i, F. Susemihl. The first part was lately read before the University of Greifswald. This part is on the presentation of the theory of knowledge of the Protagoras in the Theaetetus. *Das ἐγκάμιον εἰς Προλεμίων und die Zeitgeschichte*, H. v. Prot. (1) The cult of the θεοὶ Σωτήρες, (2) the family relationships, (3) the time of the composition of the poem. This is put 273-1 B.C. *Noch ein Wort zur Topographie Korkyras*, B. Schmidt. A supplement to the writer's *Korkyraischen Studien*.

MISCELLAN. *Coniectanea A. Meinekii inedita*, A. de Mess. *Zu Aristoteles Meteorologie* i, 1, F. Susemihl. *Ueber eine Stelle in der Politik des Aristoteles*, U. Köhler. The passage is Pol. v, 4, 5. *Ein Fragment des Demetrios von Phaleron*, U. Köhler. Found in Plutarch's tractate πότερον Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ κατὰ σοφίαν ἐνδοξότεροι cap. 5. *Posidoniana*, F. Malchin. An answer to Martini's criticism of the writer's *Quaestiones Posidonianae*. *Zu Suetonis Caesares*, M. Ihm. On the archetype of our Suetonius MSS. ἀρμῶι and ἀρμῶ, R. Fuchs. Quotes a passage from pseudo-Hippokrates to show that this word also = 'entirely.'

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

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- Aeschylus Agamemnon, cum annotatione critica et commentario ed. F. H. M. Blaydes. 8vo. xv, 392 pp. Halle, Waisenhäus. 8 Mk.
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The Classical Review

NOVEMBER 1898.

The Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW will be glad to receive short paragraphs (or materials for such paragraphs) upon classical topics of current interest. These should reach him as early as possible in the month preceding the publication of the REVIEW.

THE caged report of the Cambridge Board of Classics upon the classical honours examinations has now been let loose. The report is signed by nineteen of the Board of 1897-8, but by three with exceptions, which in two cases are considerable. Six apparently dissent entirely. The support and acquiescence (for in a case like this the two must be carefully distinguished), which it has secured, are probably as great as that which any other scheme would have received. To understand the situation with which it deals, a brief retrospect is necessary.

The Classical Tripos in its beginning recognized only composition in prose and verse and unprepared translation from Greek and Latin authors. The candidates were arranged in three classes, and in the order of their marks. Under this system was developed that accurate scholarship which is one of the boasts of Cambridge. In course of time it was felt to be too narrow, and a paper of questions on ancient history was added. In 1872 the examination was still further enlarged by the addition of a paper in grammar and comparative philology, and two papers in prepared books of a philosophical or quasi-philosophical character. During this period the examination was held in February, and consequently the candidates had been in residence for three years and four months

when they presented themselves for examination. This Tripos was swept away in 1882, being replaced by a system which with certain modifications in particulars is the one that now obtains. The 'order of merit,' or marks, was abolished; in place of it the classes were divided into sub-divisions, (which have never exceeded five in number), the names in each being arranged alphabetically. The Tripos itself was split into two parts. Part I., which at present includes composition, unprepared translation, less advanced grammar, and the outlines of ancient history, together with original composition in English upon classical subjects, is compulsory on all candidates. The examination is held in May, and may be taken at the end of a candidate's second or third year of residence: if taken at the end of the third year, and then only, it constitutes a title to the B.A. degree. Part II. comprises five sections, in one or in two of which a candidate may be examined; these are scholarship, ancient philosophy, history, language (comparative philology of Greek and Latin), art and archaeology. This examination may be taken at the end of the third or the fourth year, and in conjunction with Part I. constitutes a title to a degree. In Part II. there are no divisions within the classes, but the subjects taken by those placed in the first class are indicated, and an asterisk affixed in cases of distinguished performance.

The sequel should be full of instruction to the sanguine propounders of ideal schemes. The new arrangements were in more than one important respect an abrupt breach with the past. Instead of a compulsory course of three academical years and a half, a choice was allowed between one of three years and one of four. As a rule, of course, the shorter one is chosen. A choice was allowed between one examination and two: who can marvel that the two are not preferred? From the first the well-planned sections of the Second Part were placed upon an inclined plane, which they have descended more or less precipitately. So that now, while Part I. can attract well over one hundred and thirty men, Part II. has to be content with well under twenty. For all this, Part II. has proved a powerful stimulus to research: and it has been taken in addition to Part I. by all the foremost representatives of classical teaching and research at the University since the Tripos was divided. The shrinking in Part II. was soon apparent; but this produced no action until the fact was generally recognized that Part I. did not by itself supply an adequate classical training for the average student, and it was widely held that his needs would not be met by simply prescribing a course of reading for some section of Part II.

The Board's proposals for reform may be summed up as follows. The first part is left pretty much as it is, with two important exceptions. It is to be taken by all candidates at the end of the second academical year, and it is no longer to qualify by itself for a degree. A candidate will accordingly have to take another part of the Classical Tripos, unless indeed he prefers to deviate into another Tripos, or to content himself with a modest 'Special.' If he continues to read for classical honours, he will have a choice of alternatives. He can take one or two of the sections of the present Second Part (which is to be re-christened the 'Third Part,' but is otherwise left unchanged); or a new examination, to be named the 'Second Part.' It is to consist of eight papers: (a) Two short papers in Greek and Latin prose composition; (b) A paper on a 'set' philosophical work; (c) A paper on a short period of Greek or Roman history, to be studied in connexion with the original authorities; (d) A paper on general Greek and Roman history; (e) Two papers

on Greek and Latin literature, Greek and Roman philosophy, and Greek and Roman art (candidates need not attempt questions on more than two of these subjects); (f) An essay paper. There are to be three classes in the examination, the names being arranged in alphabetical order.

We have no intention of commenting at length upon these proposals, which will be discussed before the Senate which is fixed for Nov. 3. But certain observations at once occur. The Board propose to remove the anomalous and illogical regulation under which the Second Part has withered: this will probably be generally acceptable. In their proposals to provide for the wants of the class of students for whom the thorough-going specialism of the five sections is not desirable, they break with the past. In place of adapting these sections, or portions of them, to less advanced requirements (no impossibility, it might be thought) they erect a third competing structure on a different plan with a different ideal. This experiment in educational architecture is one of undoubted boldness; perhaps not less bold would be a prophecy of its success. To the general observer it is not without interest; it marks a reaction against specialism.

In the *Mélanges Weil* forty of the most eminent Greek scholars of Europe join in a literary offering to the distinguished Frenchman upon the attainment of his eightieth year. The collection forms a handsome volume of 465 pages, with a number of plates and illustrations in the text, a portrait of M. Weil forming the frontispiece. The topics handled are of varied interest, and we notice among the contributors the names of L. Campbell, R. C. Jebb, F. G. Kenyon and J. E. Sandys.

It is not unlikely that before long there will be a boom in Theocritus. Two elaborate editions by English scholars are well advanced towards completion, each with a speciality of its own. One will, it is hoped, make contributions to our knowledge of the MSS., and simplify, we may trust, the present intricacies of the textual problem, while the other will throw light upon the background of manners, men and myth which adds so much interest to the poetry of the graceful bucolic.

THE MINOR WORKS OF XENOPHON.

(Continued from p. 292.)

XI. THE CYNEGETICUS.

Critical Notes.

1. 3. After enumerating famous pupils of Chiron, the writer goes on: θαυμαζέτω δὲ μηδεὶς ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀρέσκοντες θεοῖς ὁμῶς ἐτελεύτησαν· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις, ἀλλ' οἱ ἔπαινοι αὐτῶν μεγάλοι ἐγένοντο· μηδ' ὅτι οὐ καὶ αἱ αὐταὶ ἡλικίαι· ὁ γὰρ Χείρωνος βίος πᾶσιν ἐξήρκει.

In τοῦτο ἡ φύσις a verb (e.g. προσέταξε) may have been accidentally lost, but I think not. Though such an ellipsis is less Greek than Latin, examples may be found.

The meaning of οὐ καὶ αἱ αὐταὶ ἡλικίαι is hard to fix. Mr. Dakyns says 'that their prime of manhood so far differed,' which I understand to mean that they were born at very different times. But the thing intended should be something which they experienced in spite of being pleasing to heaven, some real or apparent evil therefore. With the word ἡλικίαι I do not see what this can be excepting that some of them died young. The words will therefore mean literally that the ages they attained varied. But the expression is imperfect, and I suggest ὅτι οὐ καὶ αὐταὶ αὐτοῖς ἡλικίαι, or perhaps πᾶσιν for αὐτοῖς. I omit καὶ as unmeaning and having arisen from an accidental duplication of αἱ. The writer seems to say, 'it is true some of them died young, but the length of Chiron's life made up for it.'

1. 7. ὦν αὐτῷ ἀντρασταὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν τότε μεγίστων γάμων μόνος ἔτυχεν Ἀταλάντης.

The sentence is somewhat awkward but not wrong. Μεγίστων γάμων is not in apposition to ὦν, but forms one expression with it, the antecedent γάμων being taken into the relative clause as e.g. in Thuc. 8. 87. 5 καταφωρᾷ δὲ μάλιστα ἦν εἶπε πρόφασιν = ἡ πρόφασις ἦν εἶπε. Exactly parallel is Dem. 45. 74 χωρὶς ὦν οὔσης τῆς μητρὸς κυρίας οὗτος ἐγκρατὴς γέγονεν πολλῶν χρημάτων. Ἀταλάντης, explaining γάμων, might be a gloss, but is probably genuine. Of course τῶν τότε goes with οἱ ἄριστοι.

1. 8. ἔτυχε παρὰ θεῶν αἰὲ ζῶν (ἀείζως Dindorf) τιμᾶσθαι.

We should certainly look for τοῦ with τιμᾶσθαι, but cf. Plato *Phil.* 50 D οἶμαί σου

τεύξεσθαι μεθεῖναι μὲ. L. and S. also cite Pind. *P.* 3. 186, but that is an oversight. § 6 here is of course different.

1. 10. πατρὸς δ' ἐν γήρᾳ ἐπιλανθανομένου τῆς θεοῦ οὐχ αὐτοῦ αἰτίαις ἐδυστύχησε.

The construction is probably πατρὸς (αἰτίαις), οὐχ αὐτοῦ, and there should be a comma after θεοῦ.

1. 11. ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς Ἀρτεμίδος ἐτιμᾶτο καὶ ἐν λόγοις ἦν.

Not 'was talked about' but 'used to talk with her.' So Herod. 3. 148 ὁ δέ... τῷ Κλεομένει τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ ἐν λόγοισι ἐὼν κ.τ.λ. It is an unusual phrase.

1. 15. δόξαν εὖσεβείας ἐξηνέγκατο ὥστε κ.τ.λ. Read <τοσαύτην> ὥστε, as in 14.

1. 16. μεγάλα μνημεῖα παρέδωκεν. Here too there seems something omitted, e.g. τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις. Παρέδωκεν could hardly stand alone.

1. 17. οὗτοι τοιοῦτοι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς παρὰ Χείρωνος, ὦν οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ κακοὶ φθονοῦσιν.

ὦν is shown to be neuter, not only by the parallels of 12. 14 and 18, but by the sense of ἐρᾶν, which almost always connotes desire. Men cannot be said to have ἐρῶς for heroes who died centuries since. Either therefore the construction is ἐπιμελείας (τούτων) ὦν, 'Chiron's attention to things which'; (cf. § 5) or possibly τυχόντες has fallen out before ὦν. τυγχάνειν is used several times in this passage of heroes obtaining distinctions and rewards.

With this sentence compare *Cyr.* 8. 8. 12 εἴ τινας φιλόπονοι γέγονεοι καὶ σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἱππεύσι θαμὰ θηρῶεν, φθονοῦντες αὐτοῖς δῆλοι ἦσαν καὶ ὡς βελτίονας αὐτῶν ἐμίσουν.

He goes on to say that in Greece εἴ τῳ συμφοραὶ ἐγένοντο ἢ πόλει ἢ βασιλείᾳ, ἐλύοντο αὐτούς, where L. has the correction δι' αὐτούς. I have thought of ἐκαλοῦντο αὐτούς (Herod. 7. 189. 1 has καλεῖσθαι side by side with ἐπικαλεῖσθαι) or of ἐρύοντο αὐτούς. Herod. uses ῥύεσθαι; in Attic prose however Thuc. 5. 63. 3 seems to be the only instance of its occurrence, and there the meaning is peculiar. In Plato *Tim.* 22 D ῥύόμενος is a v. l. for λύόμενος. The poetical word might conceivably be used here. But would he say that the hero always got people out of their difficulties?

1. 18. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν παραινῶ τοῖς νέοις μὴ

καταφρονεῖν κυνηγεσίων μηδὲ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας.

As he is not concerned to recommend other branches of education, I think he wrote <ῶσπερ> μηδὲ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας. It is remarkable how often in this chapter a slight addition will make everything right.

ibid. ἐκ τούτων γὰρ γίνονται τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀγαθοὶ, εἰς τε τὰ ἄλλα ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη καλῶς νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν.

Hunting makes young men good in the accomplishments useful for war (τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον 1. 12 : τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον 12. 1) and good for all other things which teach you necessarily to think and speak and act properly, i.e. good for other arts which are themselves an excellent education. It should be noticed that the last words are very much like the beginning of the *Hipparchicus* where the hipparch should pray the gods ταῦτα διδόναι καὶ νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἀφ' ὧν κ.τ.λ. Perhaps εἰς τε τὰ ἄλλα should be τὰ τ' ἄλλα without εἰς, which we may suppose to have been repeated by mistake.

2. 1. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρή ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ τῶν κυνηγεσίων τὸν ἥδη ἐκ παιδὸς ἀλλάττοντα τὴν ἡλικίαν, εἴτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα παιδεύματα, τὸν μὲν ἔχοντα σκεψάμενον τὴν οὐσίαν· ᾧ μὲν ἐστὶν ἱκανή, ἀξίως τῆς αὐτοῦ ὠφελείας, ᾧ δὲ μὴ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὖν τὴν γε προθυμίαν παρεχέσθω μηδὲν ἐλλείπων τῆς ἐαυτοῦ δυνάμεως.

In this unintelligible sentence the chief fault seems to be in τὸν μὲν ἔχοντα, which is unmeaning and has nothing answering to the μὲν. If we read τὸν μετέχοντα (or μεθέξοντα) and perhaps καὶ ᾧ μὲν, or a second μὲν οὖν as in 3, 11, things will go smoothly enough. Anyone sharing in these amusements should take to hunting and then to the rest after considering his means. If they are ample, he should contribute in proportion to the good he gets : if not, he must at any rate be zealous and do what he can.

In the practical chapters that follow there are many things that seem wrong or doubtful. I do not venture to deal with technicalities, but leave them to critical readers who have some knowledge of the subject. There are however many passages on which a conjecture may be hazarded even by the most unsportsmanlike of scholars.

2. 9. ἔστω δὲ καὶ ἐν ὧν ἔσονται αἱ ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ δίκτυα ἐν ἐκατέροις κυνοῦχος μόςχειος καὶ τὰ δρέπανα, ἵνα κ.τ.λ.

Ἐν ἐκατέροις is unintelligible, and the

third kind of nets τὰ ἐνόδια (4 etc.) ought also to be provided for. Without answering for the actual words, I think we should restore the meaning by reading something like ἔστω δὲ καὶ ἐν ὧν ἔσονται αἱ ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ δίκτυα καὶ τὰ ἐνόδια, ἐφ' ἑκάστοις ἑτερος κυνοῦχος μόςχειος. The τὰ before δρέπανα should be omitted. They are to take (some) δρέπανα with them.

3. 3. αἱ μὲν οὖν μικραὶ (τῶν κυνῶν) πολλάκις ἐκ τῶν κυνηγεσίων ἀποστεροῦνται τῆς ἐργασίας διὰ τὸ μικρὸν.

There would seem to be some word or words missing after κυνηγεσίων, in which the effect of their small size was stated. It would probably take a participial form and may have been ἀπαλλαττόμεναι. Cf. the use of the word in § 7.

ibid. For μυωποὶ δέ read <αἱ> μυωποὶ δέ. So αἱ ὑψηλαὶ μὲν and αἱ ἄψυχοι δέ a few lines below, τὰ ὧτα μὲν in 4, and frequently.

He says of the ἄψυχοι that they λείπονται τὰ ἔργα καὶ ἀφίστανται τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τὰς σκιάς, where τὸν ἥλιον may of course be defended by the occasional accusative after ἐξίστασθαι and ἀποστρέφεισθαι. But, as the accusative is not elsewhere found after ἀφίστασθαι, for in *Anab.* 2. 5. 7 there is not the least occasion to take it so, Weiske's τοῦ ἡλίου is much more probable. It is curious that in the passage (5. 64) in which Pollux touches on this point a similar corruption has taken place three times over. When he speaks of dogs as ἐνδιδούσας ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον, ὑποφευγούσας ὑπὸ τὰς σκιάς, μαλακιούσας (read μαλκιούσας) ὑπὸ τὸ κρίνος, ἐξανισταμένας ὑπὸ τὸν ὄμβρον, it is plain that in the first, third, and fourth places we must restore the genitive.

3. 4. εἰσι δὲ καὶ τῆς ἰχνεύσεως πολλοὶ τρόποι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν κυνῶν.

This may be right, but I suggest γενῶν for κυνῶν as going better with ἐκ. Cf. §§ 1 and 11 and more particularly 10. 1 χρή εἶναι τὰς κύνας ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γένους κ.τ.λ. (on which see note below).

ibid. αἱ δὲ τὰ ὧτα μόνον διακινούσι, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν ἡσυχῇ ἔχουσιν· αἱ δὲ τὰ ὧτα μὲν ἀκίνητα ἔχουσιν, ἄκρα δὲ τῇ οὐρᾷ σείουσιν.

Ἄκραν δὲ τὴν οὐρὰν was suggested long ago and should certainly be read, though neither Sauppe nor Dindorf adopts it, and in 6. 15 ταῖς οὐραῖς διασείονσαι should similarly be τὰς οὐράς. But apparently it has not been pointed out that we ought also (1) to read here in the first sentence ἡσύχην for ἡσυχῇ : (2) in 4. 3 to alter ταῖς οὐραῖς διασαίνουσai τὸ τὰς οὐρὰς διασείονσαι, like the ὄμματα διακινούσαι preceding it. In the latter place διασαίνω seems to suggest a wrong idea. Dogs following a scent would

hardly be said *σαίνειν* or *διασαίνειν*. The *δια* too is much more proper with *σεῖω* than with *σαίνω*. In 6. 23 again we find *διαρριπτοῦσαι τὰς οὐράς* of dogs on a scent, and it should be noticed that A. has there *ταῖς οὐραῖς*.

3. 8. ὅσαι δὲ τῶν κυνῶν τὰ ἔχνη τὰ μὲν εὐναῖα ἀγνοοῦσι, τὰ δὲ δρομαῖα ταχὺ διατρέχουσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶ γνήσιαι.

It seems to an *ιδιώτης* that there is something wrong with the sense, since (1) the *εὐναῖα ἔχνη* are necessarily much the more marked of the two (5. 7) and (2) *ταχὺ διατρέχειν* would seem a merit rather than a defect. Cf. 6. 22 : 7. 6-9. Perhaps τὰ μὲν εὐναῖα ταχὺ διατρέχουσιν, τὰ δὲ δρομαῖα ἀγνοοῦσι might be better, but I leave this to experts.

4. 3 is an amorphous sentence in which participles and imperatives are jumbled up together. Observe the MS. confusion of *διακινεῖν* and *διακινούντων*. We might insert ὧδε followed by a colon, after *ἀπαλαττόμεναι*, or something may have dropped out after *διασαίνουσαι*. Perhaps too *κύκλους πολλοὺς* should be the dative.

4. 4. ὅταν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ὦσι τὸν λαγῶ, δῆλον ποιοῦντων τῷ κυνηγέτῃ θάπτον φοιτῶσαι μᾶλλον, γνωρίζουσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων, ἀπὸ τῆς μεταλλάξεως τῶν σχημάτων.....καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλλήως ἤδη αἰωρεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ὑπερχαίρειν ὅτι τοῦ λαγῶ ἐγγὺς εἰσι.

Unless the author wrote very badly, ἀλλήως ἤδη αἰωρεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ὑπερχαίρειν should be the thing indicated by their behaviour, and not itself one of the indications. The indications are the physical movements. If this is so, either καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ should be omitted or something has been lost after τοῦ, the infinitives depending on *γνωρίζουσαι* as in 6. 23 on *ἐπιγνωρίζουσαι*. But the same objection really applies to *θυμοῦ*, which is very oddly paralleled with head, eyes, &c., nor is the word used of dogs elsewhere in this treatise. I cannot help suspecting that τοῦ *σεισμοῦ* τῆς οὐράς is what the author wrote, and that phrase (τῷ *σεισμῷ* τῆς οὐράς) actually occurs, while *θυμός* does not, in Pollux' parallel passage³ (61). Cf. *σὺν ταῖς οὐραῖς* in the very similar 6. 16 below. It will of course be noticed that in the words of Pollux *κἂν ἐγγὺς ἢ τῆς ἀνευρέσεως ὑποσημαίνειν, κατανεύειν, ὑποδηλοῦν, διαδηλοῦν τῇ χαρᾷ τῆς ψυχῆς, τῷ πηδήματι τοῦ σώματος, τῇ φαιδρότητι τοῦ προσώπου* κ.τ.λ. (a number of physical signs), the dative *χαρᾷ* supports ἀπὸ τοῦ... αἰωρεῖσθαι here. But τῇ *χαρᾷ* is really incongruous and Pollux may have written *τὴν χαρὰν*, or may have been following an

already corrupted text of our treatise. Cf. Gratius 237, where the dog, as he gets nearer, *effecta levi testatur gaudia cauda*. These conjectures are perhaps overbold; the objections to the text should however be well weighed.

The following section (5) excites suspicion in quite another way.

διωκόντων δὲ ἐρρωμένως καὶ μὴ ἐπανιῖσαι σὺν πολλῇ κλαγγῇ καὶ ὕλαγμῳ, συνεκπερῶσαι μετὰ τοῦ λαγῶ πάντῃ· μεταθεόντων δὲ ταχὺ καὶ λαμπρῶς, πυκνὰ μεταφερόμεναι καὶ ἐπανακλαγγάνουσαι δικαίως, πρὸς δὲ τὸν κυνηγέτην μὴ ἐπανιόντων λιποῦσαι τὰ ἔχνη.

We seem to have here two versions of the same thing. *Μεταθεόντων* corresponds to *διωκόντων*, *ἐπανακλαγγάνουσαι δικαίως* to *σὺν πολλῇ κλαγγῇ καὶ ὕλαγμῳ*, πρὸς δὲ τὸν κυνηγέτην κ.τ.λ. to *μὴ ἐπανιῖσαι, πυκνὰ μεταφερόμεναι* to *συνεκπερῶσαι* κ.τ.λ. Yet both versions are written in characteristic language (*ἐπανιῖσαι, σὺν, πάντῃ, πυκνὰ, ἐπανακλαγγάνουσαι* (6. 23), *δικαίως*) and seem to belong to one and the same hand, though they can hardly have been meant to stand together.

4. 6. εὐψυχοὶ μὲν οὖν ἔσονται, ἐὰν μὴ λίπωσι τὰ κυνηγέσια ὅταν ἦ πνίγη.

The aorist is a mistake for the present (*λείπωσι*). Cf. all the corresponding clauses. In 5. 32 *καταλιπῶν* should perhaps be *καταλείπων*, but that is less clear.

Ibid. Τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ should I suspect, be τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν, for the accusative is the case in which this word is regularly used, and we have ταύτην τὴν ὥραν 5. 6 and 9. 1, πᾶσαν ὥραν 6. 4, τὰς ἄλλας ὥρας *ib.* 14.

5. 3. καὶ οἱ ὄμβροι οἱ γιγνόμενοι διὰ χρόνον ὁσμὰς ἀγοντες τῆς γῆς ποιοῦσι δύσοσμον.

Zeune ἐκ intelligit says Schneider, and apparently he, Dindorf, and Sauppe are content to do the same. The genitive τῆς γῆς is surely impossible. Read τὴν γῆν. So in 9. 15 the MSS. have τῆς ποδοστράβης for τὴν ποδοστράβην.

5. 7. τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐναῖα (ἔχνη) ὁ λαγῶς πορεύεται ἐφιστάμενος, τὰ δὲ δρομαῖα ταχὺ.

It is difficult to believe that such an expression as *ἔχνη πορεύεσθαι* is Greek. There is of course no objection to *πορεύεσθαι* with an accusative of the ground traversed. It occurs in *Cyr.* 2. 4. 27 and belongs to the usage noticed above. The difficulty is in *ἔχνη*. You can only traverse what is already there, ground, hills, roads, tracks, &c., existing before you begin to traverse them. You cannot be said to traverse or travel over the very tracks which by moving you make. The only *ἔχνη* of its own which a hare could pass over would be old *ἔχνη* made before. Schneider condemned the emenda-

tion ποιείται for πορεύεται, because ποιῶν (ἔχνη) is used just before; but the middle seems unobjectionable. Perhaps, however, παρέχεται may be suggested, though ταχύν goes with it less well.

5. 8, 9. (1) Probably a comma should be put after ἐμπεφυκός, so that ἐν τούτῳ may be constructed with κατακλίνονται. (2) If a full stop is placed after ἐν τούτῳ, § 9 is faulty in construction: either a verb is missing or ποιούμενος should be ποιείται. I would put a less stop after ἐν τούτῳ and carry on the force of κατακλίνεται into § 9. In that case μὲν οὖν = μὲν, as in *De Re Eq.* 6. 14. μάλιστα μὲν οὖν . . εἰ δὲ μή, κ.τ.λ.

5. 10. There seems something wrong with εἶτα δέ. What follows is not additional, but contained in what precedes.

5. 13. πολύγονον δ' ἐστίν. Probably πολύγονος, unless with Pollux 5. 73 we should add τὸ θηρίον. The neuter is not so used, I think, in this treatise.

5. 15. This section, which contains a precept, certainly comes in very oddly in the midst of pure description. Yet we cannot simply omit or transplant it, because αὐτῶν in 16 would then have nothing to refer to. As a precept, its proper place would be in 6, 12, 13. Another curiously detached precept appears in § 34. In this fifteenth §, if there is nothing lost, τοὺς λειμώνας etc. must be accusatives of space traversed: cf. 4. 9 and remarks above.

5. 16. τοὺς δὲ μείζους ἐπιτρέχουσιν αἱ κύνες ἀφαιροῦνται.

They do not take the hares away: they destroy them, ἀναιροῦνται. So in 24 foxes ἀναιροῦνται hares and their young.

5. 18. εἰς ἔχουσιν ἔνιοι ἐρύθημα.

For ἔνιοι, which is clearly wrong, editors adopt ἔνιον, but the singular ἔνιος seems not known in good Attic Greek. Can the right word be ἐνόν? We have three lines further on τὸ γὰρ φανὸν τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνὸν ἀντιλάμπει. But ἔχουσιν ἐνόν is awkward.

5. 25. κυνηγέται δὲ εἰς μὲν τὰς ἐρήμους (τῶν νήσων) ὀλιγάκις ἀφικνουῦνται, ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκουμέναις ὀλίγοι ὄντες καὶ οὐ φιλόθηροι οἱ πολλοί.

Editors seem not to have seen that the predicate of the last clause is missing. He must have meant that, as the people were few and not much given to hunting, they left the hares to multiply. Something like φαίνονται οἱ ἔνοικοι might be inserted after οἰκουμέναις or ὀλίγοι ὄντες.

5. 27. καὶ ἡ πόδιώκεια πρὸς τὸ ἀμβλυνώττειν αὐτῷ πολὺ συμβάλλεται, ταχὺ γὰρ ἐκάστου παραφέρει τὴν ὥψιν πρὶν νοῆσαι ὅ τι ἐστί.

The genitive ἐκάστου seems questionable in construction and in meaning. Perhaps

we should read <παρ'> ἕκαστον, the loss of παρ being due to the very similar γάρ preceding. Cf. 6. 10 παραδεδράμκη παρὰ τάδε: *Cypr.* 5. 2. 29 παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν Βαβυλῶνα . . παριέναι.

5. 29. οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ὄντων ἰσομέγεθες τούτῳ (ἄν) ὅμοιον ἐστὶ πρὸς δρόμον.

Ὅμοιον is clearly needed, but, as all MSS. appear to have ἀνόμοιον, we might perhaps consider whether ἰσομέγεθες τούτῳ ὃν ὅμοιον should not be read. ὃν seems to me to be wanted.

5. 31. καὶ θεῖ (so most MSS.) seems better than θεῖ. Otherwise some particle (καί, γάρ or δέ) would seem needed with τιθεῖς. But θεῖ is probably distinguished from πηδᾶ.

5. 33. οὕτω δὲ ἐπιχαρὶ ἐστὶ τὸ θηρίον ὥστε οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἰδὼν ἰχνεύμενον, εὕρισκόμενον, μεταθεόμενον, ἀλίσκόμενον ἐπιλάβοιτ' ἂν εἰ του ἐρώη.

I quote these often quoted words only that I may take occasion to complete the emendation of a passage in which Plutarch refers to them. In *Moralia* 1096 c we read τὸ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος ἐκείνῳ μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα ποιῶν ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι, where Cobet saw from this passage that ἐρώτα should be ἐρώντα. But one sees also that ἂν must be added (κἂν or ἐρώντ' ἂν) as the sense is that even a lover would forget. So Arrian 16. 6 has ἐπιλάβοιτ' ἂν and again οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ γε τούτῳ ἐπιλαθέσθαι ἂν.

5. 34. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις κυνηγετοῦντα ἀπέχεσθαι ὃν ὦρα φέρονσι καὶ τὰ νάματα καὶ τὰ ρείθηρα ἔαν. τὸ γὰρ ἄπτεσθαι τούτων αἰσχρὸν καὶ καθάρ, καὶ ἵνα μὴ τῷ νόμῳ ἐναντίοι ὦσιν οἱ ἰδόντες.

No one has discovered or ever will discover what τῷ νόμῳ ἐναντίοι means. But the remedy is not far to seek. This is one of many passages where a negative prefix has been omitted. The author wrote τῷ ἀνόμῳ, the lawless sportsman. Plato *Laws* 823 E calls pirates θηρευταὶ ὅμοι καὶ ἄνομοι.

The tacking on of the clause by καὶ ἵνα is more like Tacitus (e.g. *Annals*. 1. 47. 2 *ac ne*) than Greek of this kind. Should we omit καὶ and make τὸ γάρ . . κακόν a parenthesis? Or should the words be joined with what follows, καὶ ὅταν κ.τ.λ., a full stop or colon being put after κακόν?

6. 1. ἐγκατερραμμένας δὲ ἔγκεντρίδες should be changed to the accusative. It is parallel to τοὺς ἱμάντας and governed by ἔχουσιν supplied from ἔχοντες.

6. 8. In the middle of various pieces of advice as to arrangement of nets we find interposed these incongruous words: ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἰχθυαῖς μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι ἔστι γὰρ θηρατικὸν μὲν φιλόπονον δὲ τὸ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου

ἐλεῖν ταχύ. Mr. Dakyns, following the editors, translates 'In hunting, "no procrastination" should be the motto, since it is sportsmanlike at once and a proof of energy by all means to effect a capture quickly.' On this it may be noted (1) that *ιχνεῖα* is not hunting in general but following the trail: (2) that Schneider has seen the remark to be quite out of place in a context referring only to nets: (3) that for the above sense *τε καὶ* or *καί-καί* would be needed with *θηρατικόν* and *φιλόπονον*, not *μέν* and *δέ*, which could not here mean *both, and*. Starting from these last words, we may, I think, arrive at a partial solution of the difficulties contained in the passage. From their nature the two epithets cannot be contrasted any more than with *μέν* and *δέ* they can be simply coupled. What the author wrote was therefore <οὐ> *φιλόπονον* *δέ*: to insist on a speedy capture by some means or other may be *θηρατικόν*, i.e. result in a good bag, but is οὐ *φιλόπονον*, i.e. is an indolent, unsportsmanlike practice. Of what then is he speaking? Not of procrastination, but *ὑπερβάλλεσθαι* in another sense, akin to that of 13. 13 *ἐὰν μὴ πόνοις καὶ ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ ἐπιμελείαις πολλαῖς ὑπερβάλλωνται*: cf. 1. 12. They are not to exceed in something, push something too far in an unsportsmanlike manner. But here we come to a final difficulty which I cannot quite solve. *ταῖς ιχνεαῖς* is clearly wrong, and Schneider was right in saying that something about nets was needed, though he failed to see the drift of the passage. Evidently it was that the nets were not to be put so as to give the hare no chance of escape: that would be *θηρατικόν* *μέν*, οὐ *φιλόπονον* *δέ*. But what *ταῖς ιχνεαῖς* stands for, I will not venture to suggest. Cf. however the note on 7. 10 below, and for οὐ *φιλόπονον* that on 6. 17.

6. 10. *διωκόμενον δὲ τὸν λαγῶ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προῖέσθω*.

The meaning *drive forward* for the middle *προῖέσθαι* is quite unsubstantiated (in Soph. *Frags.* 153 *προσιέται* is now read) and such action on the net-keeper's part is also superfluous. The dogs do it better. *Προῖέσθω* seems to be a mistake for *προῖτω* or *πορευέσθω*, with which we should have to read *διωκόμενον τοῦ λαγῶ*, like the *ἐμπεπτωκότες* immediately following.

Ibid. *δηλοῦτω ὅτι οὐχ ἑώρακεν ἢ οὐ κατέειδε*.

Editors usually write οὐ. I should rather regard οὐ *κατέειδε* as a repetition of οὐχ ἑώρακεν and omit it. So in the schol. to Ar. *Plut.* 1045 *ἑώρακεναι* is glossed by *θεάσασθαι*. Cf. however 19. οὐ *κατέειδε* (1) would come

out of its place, (2) has been anticipated in *παράδεδράμην παρὰ τάδε ἢ τάδε*.

6. 15. From *ἐπὶπληλαμένα* to *ἄγνωστα* should be put after *τριπλά*. Both sense and grammar will gain by this.

6. 17. *ἐπιδραμοῦνται ἐπ' αὐτόν· ὁ δ' ἐξαίφνης ἀνάξας ἐφ' αὐτόν ὑλαγμὸν ποιήσει τῶν κυνῶν*.

'Εφ' αὐτόν seems very feeble. Should we read *ὑπ' αὐτῶν*? We read of the dogs in 23 that *ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἀναστήσουσι τὸν λαγῶ*. In both places I suppose it to mean that he gets up just under them. 'Αναστήσουσι may suggest *ἀναστάς* here, and cf. *ἐξαναστήσεται* in 10. 9, but there is no reason for suspecting *ἀνάξας*.

6. 17. *ἐμβοώντων δὲ αὐτῷ (the hare) διωκομένῳ ἰὼ κύνες, ἰὼ κακός, σαφῶς γε ὧ κύνες, καλῶς γε ὧ κύνες*.

(1) All through these directions only one *κυνηγέτης* is assumed. So in 16 and immediately below in this §. For *ἐμβοώντων* therefore we must read *ἐμβοάτω* or *ἐμβοᾶν*. It does not seem possible that the *ἀρκνωρός* should be included: he is too far off.

(2) For *κακός* Sauppe and Dindorf in his Teubner text give *κακῶς*, the unmeaning reading of V (the margin of A has *κός*). *καλῶς* would be much better, but not right. Without thinking it probable, I will just suggest that *ἰὼ κύνες, ἰὼ λαγῶς* were the real words. Cf. Diog. 2. 5. 37. *Νῆ Δί', εἶπεν, ἵν' ἡμῶν πυκτεόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν λέγοι Εὐ Σώκρατες, εὖ Ξανθίππῃ*.

(3) The correction *σοφῶς* for *σαφῶς* is of course right. Besides § 13 and 3. 7 cf. Pollux 5. 60 *σοφὰς, εὐρινας, εἰαισθήτους*: Arrian *Οἰνη.* 1. 2: 3. 1: 5. 6: Ar. *Nub.* 773 *σοφῶς γε νῆ τὰς χάριτας* etc.

Ibid. *καὶ κυνοδρομεῖν . . κατὰ τὸν λαγῶ καὶ μὴ ὑπαντᾶν ἄπορον γάρ*.

For this use of *κατὰ* cf. Ar. *Pax* 1050: *Av.* 1178.

What is meant by saying that you should run with the dogs and not try to meet the hare coming back, because that is *ἄπορον*? It cannot mean 'would stop proceedings' (Dakyns) and clearly does not mean 'hopeless,' because he goes on to say that the hare usually does turn back. No doubt he wrote *ἄπονον*: 'it is an indolent thing to do.' In Herod. 7. 26 R has *πόρον*, other MSS. *πόνον*. In Aen. *Tact.* 14. 2 *πόνων* is an admitted blunder for *πόρων*. Only seven lines below he tells us *κυνοδρομεῖν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ μὴ ἀφίεναί· ἀλλ' ἐκπερᾶν φιλοπόνους, and φιλοπονία* is really the point of the whole treatise. Cf. 1. 7 and 12: 13. 14: and many passages about *πόνοι* and *πονείν* such as 12. 16, 17. Add the following passages of Plato: *Lach.* 194 B *τὸν ἀγαθὸν κυνηγέτην μεταθεῖν χρή καὶ*

μὴ ἀνίεναι: *Rep.* 535 D . . τὰ μὲν ἡμίσεα φιλοπονον, τὰ δὲ ἡμίσεα ἄπονον . . ὅταν τις φιλογυμναστῆς μὲν καὶ φιλόθηρος ἦ καὶ πάντα τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος φιλοπονηῖ: *Laus* 824 A of different forms of hunting, ἡ μὲν τῶν εὐδόντων αὖ κατὰ μέρη, νυκτερεῖα κληθεῖσα, ἀργῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ ἀξία ἐπαίνου, οὐδ' ἡ τῶν (sic) διαπαύματα πόνων ἔχουσα, ἄρκυσι τε καὶ πάγαις ἀλλ' οὐ φιλοπόνου ψυχῆς νίκη χειρουμένων τὴν ἀγριον τῶν θηρίων ῥώμην: in which ἀργῶν ἀνδρῶν and οὐ φιλοπόνου ψυχῆς answer exactly to ἄπονον here. In *Cyr.* 2. 2. 25 we hear of men βλακεῖα καὶ ἀπονία κακοί. It may fairly be argued that ἄπονον here and <οὐ> φιλόπονον in 8 confirm one another.

6. 18. The hare πάλιν περιβάλλει ὅθεν εἰρίσκεται ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ.

Sir A. Grant and Mr. Dakyns understand that it returns to the place where it was found, but the meaning of ὅθεν and the tense of the verb forbid this. For εἰρίσκεται read ἀλίσκεται, 'and this usually causes its capture.' Cf. 5. 29 περιβάλλον καὶ ἀγαπῶν τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐτράφη ἀλίσκεται.

6. 19. ἐὰν πάλιν ἀπαντῶσι διώκουσαι αὐτόν.

We seem to want something like πάλιν <περιβαλόντι>, as in 18 πάλιν περιβάλλει. That is the clear meaning.

6. 20. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις κελεύεσθαι, ἐὰν ὦσιν ἐν ὄρει αἱ μεταδρομαί, ἐπικελεύειν τόδε, Εὐ κύνες, εὐ ὦ κύνες.

Εὐ is certainly wrong. Ἐπικελεύειν implies an exhortation, not a laudatory εὐ. Moreover εὐ would almost certainly have γε added to it as it has in 19, and as καλῶς and σοφῶς have in 17: Cf. *Arrian* 18. 1: *Ar. Eccles.* 213 εὐ γ' εὐ γε νῆ Δί', εὐ γε: *ib.* 241 etc. But I would not adopt the conjecture εἰα (if indeed there was such a word). The Baccic expression is unfitted for dogs. Εἰα is obviously what we want, and perhaps should be substituted for εὐα in *Suidas*.

7. 2. Διαφθαρῶσι should have been accepted for διαφθείρωσι. *Arrian* 28. 2 points to the former, not the latter. Cf. *ib.* 17. 2: 26. 4.

7. 3. αἱ γὰρ θεραπείαι αἱ ἀλλότριαι οὐκ εἰσὶν αὔξιοι: τὸ δὲ τῶν μητέρων καὶ τὸ γάλα ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ αἱ περιβολαὶ φίλαι.

Arrian 30. 2 quotes τὸ δὲ τῶν μητέρων: at any rate his MSS. appear to give it. Is it the τὸ δὲ we sometimes find in *Plato* (*Apol.* 23 A: *Rep.* 340 D: *Theaet.* 157 B) in the sense of 'but in reality'? Cf. *Ar. Hist. An.* 10. 7. 11: *fragm.* 94.

7. 10. Even *Schneider's* transposition of §§ 10 and 11 will not make πρὸς ταῖς ἄρκυς in the former into good sense. What is needed is πρὸς τοῖς ἔχουσιν, and this has perhaps been corrupted through πρὸς ταῖς ἄρκυς

occurring at the beginning of 11. Cf. 6. 20 ἐν τῷ ἔχει ὡς and πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔχουσιν, and *ib.* 21 προσστῶσι τοῖς ἔχουσιν.

7. 11. ἀφεθήσονται δὲ τούτου ὅταν ᾗδῃ κ.τ.λ.

If τούτου means the straying or the subsequent return (*Schneider*), we should expect ἀφήσονται. But it seems to me to mean the being fed at the nets. This is to last ἕως ἂν νέαι ὦσιν, and to be discontinued ὅταν ᾗδῃ κ.τ.λ.

In the clumsy phrase ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσονται τούτου . . φροντίζειν should φροντίζειν be omitted? It is not however easy to see how it got in.

8. 1. ἰχνεύεσθαι δὲ τοὺς λαγῶς ὅταν νίφῃ ὁ θεὸς ὥστε ἡφανίσθαι τὴν γῆν· εἰ δ' ἔνεσται μελάγχμη, δυσζήτητος ἔσται. ἔστι δὲ ὅταν μὲν ἐπινίφῃ καὶ ἡ βόρειον τὰ ἔχνη ἔξω πολλὸν χρόνον δῆλα. οὐ γὰρ ταχὺ συντήκεται· ἐὰν δὲ νότιόν τε ἦ καὶ ἥλιος ἐπιλάμπῃ, ὀλίγον χρόνον· ταχὺ γὰρ διαχέεται· ὅταν δ' ἐπινίφῃ συνεχῶς, οὐδὲν δεῖ· ἐπικαλύπτει γάρ.

As the opening words of this chapter stand, they mean that the time for tracking hares is when snow is on the ground. One would think there must have been something to limit this statement, as he has previously been dwelling at considerable length on the tracking of them at other times of the year. The words are far too absolute.

A careful reading of the passage will make us hesitate about ὅταν μὲν ἐπινίφῃ. Ἐπινίφειν is not simply to snow, but to go on snowing or snow again: and what is the difference between ὅταν μὲν ἐπινίφῃ and ὅταν δ' ἐπινίφῃ συνεχῶς? Then, remembering that μὲν and μή sometimes get confused, we shall see that we ought to read ὅταν μὴ (or ὅταν μὲν μὴ) ἐπινίφῃ. The tracks are clear, when no more snow falls and there is a north wind: when it keeps on snowing, it is no good (οὐδὲν δεῖ) to try. I hardly think ἔξω can be right by itself.

9. 5. ὁ δ' ἔξει ἀτρεμα πῖεσας ὡς ἐπὶ γῆν.

πῖεσας neuter is probably right, but what is the meaning of ὡς ἐπὶ? Should we read ὡς <ἐγγύτατα> or something similar?

9. 11. Should not καὶ or τε be added to ἐν ταῖς διόδοις?

10. 1. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γένους.

As he has just named four kinds, read ἐξ ἐκάστου for ἐκ τούτου.

10. 4. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐλθόντας οὐ ἂν οἶωνται εἶναι ὑπάγειν τὸ κυνηγέσιον, λύσαντας μίαν τῶν κυνῶν τῶν Λακαιῶν, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἔχοντας δεδεμένους συμπεριεῖναι τῇ κυνί.

Mr. Dakyns translates 'the company being come to some place where a boar is thought to lie, the first step is to bring up

the pack, which done, they will loose a single 'Laconian bitch,' &c., and this, I imagine, represents the general view of the meaning. There are at least two objections to it: (1) it is impossible without inserting a *καὶ* before *λύσαντας*, (2) there seems no reason why the dogs should be carefully kept back until after 'the company' had arrived, but they would all arrive together. Taking τὸ κυνηγέσιον to mean the quarry, I propose to omit *εἶναι* and make *ὑπάγειν* intransitive. It occurs often enough of people retreating, withdrawing, &c., and we may understand it here 'wherever they think the game keeps itself retired, is lying concealed.' This is a slight development of the more usual meaning. I believe we have the same sense in 6. 12 τὰς κύνας λαβόντα ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν τοῦ κυνηγεσίου, which is translated 'to rouse the game' or 'intent on the working of the pack' (Dakyns, who adopts the former), both translations being I think untenable. Ὑπαγωγή is the 'retreat' of the game. It may be noticed that *ὑπάγειν* and *ὑπαγωγή* are used by Aristotle *Hist. An.* 5. 2. 6: 6. 29. 1 of a certain squatting posture of animals. This is again a distinct sense, but it goes to show by analogy the possibility of the sense I assume here. Pollux 5. 11 cites *ὑπάγειν* as used of such animals as are hunted, but in what sense he does not clearly indicate. I should like to find some good authority also for *κυνηγέσιον* used of the game. But, though none is quoted, compare the uses of *θήρα*, *ἄγρα*, *venatio*, *venatus*, *chasse*. It seems to be so used in 6. 11 πρὸς τὸ κυνηγέσιον.

If this is right, *εἶναι* may be a gloss on *ὑπάγειν*. Cf. *μάτην* in 13. 2, which seems to be a gloss on ἄλλως, and perhaps *φροντίζειν* noticed above in 7. 11. Or we might read <εἰκός> εἶναι.

10. 5. It is not easy to make anything of *ἡγουμένη ἀκολουθία*. We might read *ἡγουμένη* δὲ ἀκολουθοῦσιν ἔσται καὶ κ.τ.λ., or ἔσται δὲ καὶ τοῖς κυνηγέταις ἡγουμένη ἀκολουθοῦσι.

10. 7. *συνέχονται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψιλοῖς αἱ ῥᾶχοι*.

The verb seems unmeaning, but no good substitute has been found. *Ἀνέρχονται* would be suitable enough, if legitimate: but I cannot find it used of plants except in *Od.* 6. 163 and 167. Cf. Tac. *A.* 2. 14. 3 *inter truncos arborum et enata humo virgulta*.

Ibid. ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐκάστης. For ὑπὲρ read *περί*.

10. 11. *ἐπαναίς ἔχη*. Only one example of *ἔχω* with a present participle (Eur. *Tro.* 317 *καταστένουσ' ἔχεις*) is cited by Kühner, and it is certainly very rare. Perhaps therefore we should read *ἐπαναίς*. The use of an

intransitive participle with *ἔχω* is noticeable.

10. 21. Reading *κινδυνεύουσιν, ὅταν ἐν κ.τ.λ.* with Schneider (MSS. *ὅταν δέ*, but cf. the impossible *δέ* after *εἰσβολαί* in § 19), we may add some such word as *λαβόντες* after *προβόλια*. Cf. §§ 11, 12.

12. 1. Read *περὶ μὲν <οὖν> αὐτῶν*. So in § 2 the MSS. gives *μὲν* only: *μὲν γάρ* is due to Stobaeus.

12. 6. *σπανίζοντες γὰρ καρπῶν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνόμισαν ὅμως τοὺς κυνηγέτας μὴ κωλύειν διὰ τὸ μηδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ φυομένων ἀγρεύειν* πρὸς δὲ τοῦτω μὴ νυκτερεύειν ἐντὸς πολλῶν σταδίων, ἵνα μὴ ἀφαιροῖντο τὰς θήρας αὐτῶν οἱ ἔχοντες ταύτην τὴν τέχνην.

Omitting *διὰ* or *διὰ τό*, editors and translators have given some very surprising interpretations of *μηδέν...ἀγρεύειν*. Lenz (quoted by Mr. Dakyns) suggested what seems to me plainly right, the omission of *τό* only: but he failed to give the passage its true meaning, which is that they did not prevent them from following the chase on account of anything (*διὰ μηδέν*) growing upon the ground. In other words huntsmen might go anywhere in spite of the ground being cultivated, or planted. Plato *Laws* 824 B gives exactly similar liberty: *μηδεὶς τοὺς ἱεροὺς ὄντως θηρευτὰς κωλύτω, ὅπου καὶ ὅπη περ ἂν ἐθέλωσι κυνηγετεῖν*: and compare the advice given above (5. 34) *ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις κυνηγετοῦντα ἀπέχεσθαι ὧν ὦρα φέρονσι*. It is quite impossible that τῶν φυομένων should refer to animals: it can only mean vegetation, and ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ is used instead of ἐκ τῆς γῆς because it is the surface of the earth and the use made of the surface that are here present to the mind. The erroneous insertion of *τό* is probably due to the frequency of *διὰ τό* and an infinitive, a construction which occurs six times in this chapter. No instance is cited of *ἀγρεύειν* used absolutely or intransitively, but there can be no objection to it. *Θηρᾶν* and *θηρεύειν* have not always an object, nor has our *hunt*.

The subject of *νυκτερεύειν* is indefinite; in reality οἱ ἔχοντες ταύτην τὴν τέχνην are meant. There was to be no night-hunting, that the (professional?) night-hunters might not spoil sport for the gentlemen who hunted by day. In the *Laws* u.s. night-hunting with nets is wholly forbidden, but apparently because it is ἀργῶν ἀνδρῶν.

12. 7. The pastime of hunting *σώφρονας* ποιεῖ καὶ δικαίους διὰ τὸ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ παιδεύεσθαι.

Dindorf compares Thuc. 1. 84. 7. *ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις παιδεύεσθαι*, and this is no doubt the general meaning, but how can it be got out of *ἀληθείᾳ*? I suspect *εὐτελείᾳ*

was the original word. The confusion of *a* and *eu* is a familiar one, and ἀτελεία may have been corrected to ἀληθεία. Συναθεία (12. 4) or εὐηθεία (cf. 13. 16) has also occurred to me, but εὐτελεία seems just the right expression and much more likely than either of them. Cf. Thucydides' μετ' εὐτελείας.

12. 15. οἱ μὲν οὖν παρασχόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ αἰετὶ μοχθεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκεσθαι αὐτοῖς μὲν μαθήσεις καὶ μελέτας ἐπιπόνους ἔχουσι, σωτηρίαν δὲ ταῖς αὐτῶν πόλεσιν.

Παρέχειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ μοχθεῖν seems an odd expression and the datives with ἔχουσι are clearly impossible. The MSS. are divided between παρασχόντες and πάσχοντες: I should conjecture that the real word, the source of the two false readings, was παρασκευάζοντες. Παρασκευάζειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τι is an unexceptionable expression and we actually have a little before in § 11 παρασκευάζουσιν αὐτοὺς τῇ πατρίδι χρησίμους εἶναι. Cf. §§ 1 and 7, where the word also occurs. Having thus got rid of παρέχειν from the first clause, we are free to put it into the second; αὐτοῖς μὲν μαθήσεις καὶ μελέτας ἐπιπόνους <παρ>έχουσι. This phrase is slightly odd, but caused and excused, I think, by the antithesis with σωτηρίαν δὲ ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πόλεσιν. If it were not for that, the writer would hardly have said παρέχειν αὐτοῖς μαθήσεις.

12. 18. ἣς ὅτι μὲν ἐρῶσι πάντες εὐδολοῦν ὅτι δὲ διὰ πόνων ἐστὶ τυχεῖν αὐτῆς, οἱ πολλοὶ ἀφίστανται.

He does not mean that it can be got by hard work, but that it can only be got by hard work. Read therefore διὰ πόνων <μόνον>, in which words a reason for the loss of μόνον is obvious, or <ἀνάγκη> ἐστίν, or something similar.

12. 21. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐκ οἴομενοι ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἐναντίον ποιοῦσιν, ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐκείνοι οὐχ ὀρώσιν.

He argues in a somewhat puerile manner that, if Virtue had a material body, men would pay more heed to her, εἰδότες ὅτι ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνη ἐμφανὴς ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνης ὀρώσιν. Then follow the words above quoted. It is quite clear that ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐκείνοι οὐχ ὀρώσιν is not right, because ἐκείνοι could not be used of persons who are also the subject of the main verb ποιοῦσιν. The two pronouns have exchanged terminations and we should read ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐκείνην οὐχ ὀρώσιν, αὐτοὶ and ἐκείνη being used as in the other words above quoted. Ἐναν-

τίον seems used somewhat oddly in the sense of 'publicly.'

After a few words we find in 22 εἰ οὖν εἰδεῖν τοῦτο ὅτι θεᾶται αὐτοὺς, ἔντο ἂν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόνους...καὶ κατεργάζονται αὐτήν. The other optatives require ἔντο to be changed to an optative too, unless they themselves should be made indicatives, as in 19. The aorist optative of ἔμαι is not found elsewhere except in compounds, e.g. πρόοντο in 11 of this chapter, and the right form of it seems rather doubtful. It is obvious how easily εἶντο might pass into ἔντο.

13. 4. παρὰ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ φύσεως.

So Joannes Damascenus. But our MSS. have παρὰ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως. Was the original παρ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως? This would perhaps suit better with the personifying παρὰ.

13. 5. ὦν δὲ δέονται εἰς ἀρετὴν οἱ καλῶς πεπαιδευμένοι ὁρθῶς ἐγνωσμένα ζητῶ λέγειν.

The perfect πεπαιδευμένοι certainly seems strange (Hartman). We should look for παιδευθησόμενοι. Ought we to read οἱ καλῶς γε παιδευσόμενοι (*Crilo* 54 A παιδεύονται) or παιδευόμενοι? A simpler change would be καλῶς or <μῇ> καλῶς πεπαιδευμένοι, but it would hardly give a satisfactory sense. X. is not correcting or supplementing a faulty education, but indicating what the right system is to be from the first.

13. 6. ψέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τοὺς νῦν σοφιστὰς καὶ οὐ τοὺς φιλοσόφους, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς δνόμασι σοφίζονται καὶ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς νοήμασιν.

It may be right to bracket these words, but a strong enough case is hardly made out against them. I should incline to make the minor change of omitting one τοὺς, so as to get τοὺς νῦν σοφιστὰς καὶ οὐ φιλοσόφους. There is no point in saying that people blame the sophists, not the philosophers. What follows, οὐ λανθάνει δὲ κ.τ.λ., seems too corrupt or too imperfect for restoration.

13. 10. γιγνώσκονται μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω, εἰπιπονοὶ τ' εἰσίν.

Obviously δέ should be read for τε. Their life is honourable but laborious and unpleasant. Ἐπιπονοὶ is not the same as φιλόπονοι.

13. 13. οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιεν ἄγρας.

Rather <τὰς> ἄγρας, as in 12. 3.

13. 18. Brennecke seems right in saying that the proper place for these words is in chapter I, probably after § 17.

In one more article I hope to conclude for the present my notes on Xenophon.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

NOTE ON DION. HAL. *DE DINARCHO IUDICIUM*. C. 11.

A PASSAGE from Dionysius' catalogue of the public speeches falsely ascribed to Dinarchus is printed by Sauppe (*Or. Att.* ii. p. 323) as follows:

Κατὰ Μοσχίωνος, ἀπογραφαμένου αὐτὸν Νικοδίκου· υἱὸν ἀποψηφισάμενον, ὃ ἄνδρες, τουτουὶ Μοσχίωνος συμβαλὼν. καὶ οὗτος ὁ λόγος κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τῷ προτέρῳ εἴρηται. δηλοῦται δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξῆς.

Here τουτουὶ is due to Sylburg: the MSS. have τουὶ. For υἱὸν ἀποψηφισάμενον Sauppe suggests τῶν ἀποψηφισαμένων.

The preceding speech to which reference is made, and which according to Dionysius bore the title Κατὰ Κηρύκων (see *Lipsius, Att. Proc.*² p. 760 n. 38 a.) was spoken either in 345-4 B.C. or in 344-3 B.C., when Dinarchus was not twenty, and was about a man expelled from his deme at the general revision of the rolls (*διαψήφισις*), which was decreed by the Athenian Assembly in 346-5 B.C. on the motion of Demophilus (see *Schaefer, Demosthenes u. s. Zeit.* ii. p. 308 sqq.). The speech against Moschion, Dionysius says, belonged to the same period, and dealt with a similar case, and this is confirmed by Harpocration, who *s.v.* Ἐρκειος Ζεὺς quotes from it this clause: εἰ φράτορες αὐτῷ καὶ βωμοὶ Διὸς ἔρκειος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῶν εἰσίν. Moschion then, like Euxitheus, the speaker of *Dem. or.* 57, having been condemned by the votes of the assembly of his deme, had availed himself of the right of appeal to the public courts, and the speech against him was that delivered by the person appointed to defend the decision of the deme. So far, everything is simple and intelligible. But what is the bearing of Dionysius' phrase, ἀπογραφαμένου αὐτὸν Νικοδίκου, 'Nicodicius having got him registered'? Blass (*Att. Ber.*² iii. 2, p. 300) has no comment, and the only explanation I have seen is adumbrated in Haussoulhier's interesting essay, *La Vie Municipale en Attique*, p. 49 n. 3: 'Contre Moschion que Nikodikos avait fait excludre du dème'. *Le discours fut-il prononcé par Dinarque ou Nikodikos, nous l'ignorons: il fut prononcé contre Moschion, qui avait fait appel aux héliastes de la sentence rendue contre lui par le dème.* The idea that Dinarchus, an alien and probably at this date a minor, had any *locus standi* in such a trial, is plainly untenable, but the rôle assigned to Nicodicius deserves consideration. Haussoulhier apparently conceives Nicodicius as de-

nouncing Moschion in the assembly of the deme, when his name came up in the course of the voting (*Dem.* 57. 11, *Aesch.* 1. 114, 2. 182), and afterwards acting as representative of the deme, when the appeal was tried by the 'dicasts.' Now, taken by themselves, the words, ἀπογραφαμένου αὐτὸν Νικοδίκου, might mean 'Nicodicius having got Moschion's name entered' by some magistrate with a view to a trial. The use is exceedingly rare, the more natural construction being shown in [*Dem.*] 47. 28 (οὐδὲ ἀπεγράφατο διαδικασίαν πρὸς οὐδένα) and in *Plut. Cic.* 28 (δίκην ἀσεβείας ἀπεγράφατο τῷ Κλωδίῳ), but it flows easily from the notion of 'registering,' which underlies all applications of ἀπογράφω, and is proved for Attic by *Antiph.* 6. 37, (πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἀπογράφεσθαι με), where the charge is homicide (φόνος), and the king, exercising his discretion as presiding magistrate, refuses to enter the name. But such an interpretation runs counter to all we know of the procedure that was followed in 346-5 B.C., whenever the assembly of a deme had by a vote decided to strike a name off their register. The ejected member had the choice of losing his citizenship or of appealing; it was for him to take action. The deme at the trial seems, it is true, to have been prosecutor rather than defendant, since its spokesman had the first word (*Dem.* 57. 1), but it had no occasion to institute further proceedings against persons whom it had already punished by a terrible sentence. Nicodicius, if he was Moschion's successful assailant, did not go to a magistrate to get his enemy's case re-heard. But, what if Nicodicius' part was precisely the opposite? If Reiske and Sauppe are right in putting the colon before υἱὸν, the words may mean 'Nicodicius having got Moschion registered,' i.e. [on the book of the deme. Of course the Attic term in such a connection is ἐγγράφειν, and nothing but ἐγγράφειν, but listen to Cobet: '*Dionysius, qui in Atticis Oratoribus, Historicis, Philosophis legendis et diiudicandis aetatem contriuerat, qui Thucydidem, Demosthenem, Platonem tenebat memoriter, qui et ceteris et sibi egregie ἀττικίζεν uidebatur, nihilo minus in multis spreta Attici sermonis ratione et usu uitiosam aequalium loquendi consuetudinem (τὴν συνήθειαν) securus sequitur (Observ. ad. Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. p. 5).* It is certain that Plutarch would not have been shocked by such a use of ἀπογραφαμένου, for

he writes in *Per.* c. 37, συνεχώρησαν ἀπογράψασθαι τὸν νόθον εἰς τοὺς φράτερας, ὄνομα θέμενον τὸ αὐτοῦ. Athenians said εἰσάγειν εἰς τοὺς φράτερας.

If, then, nothing else followed, we might acquiesce in the view that Nicodiscus was in collusion with Moschion and had managed the fraudulent insertion of his name on the register of the deme. But Dionysius adds the opening words of the speech, and, with the traditional punctuation, the emphasis thrown on *υἱὸν* is so astonishing, and the meaning so obscure, that Sauppe has proposed to substitute *τῶν*. I venture to offer a different remedy and to arrange the passage as follows: Κατὰ Μοσχίωνος, ἐπιγραφάμενον αὐτὸν Νικοδίκου υἱὸν ἀποψηφισαμένων, ὧ ἄνδρες, τουτοῦ Μοσχίωνος ὑπομβάλων. Moschion pretended to be an Athenian citizen, and styled himself ('inscribed himself') Μοσχίων Νικοδίκου; the name of the deme may lurk in *συμβάλων*, which I think corrupt, but, before considering this point, it will be better to state the evidence for and against the correction ἐπιγραφάμενον. The emendation is supported by the following passages: *Lys.* 13. 73, οὐκ ὦν Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ἐδίκαζε καὶ ἐξεκλησίαζε καὶ γραφὰς τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγράφετο, ἐπιγραφόμενος Ἀναγυράσιος εἶναι (Agoratus was a δημοποίητος and probably could not append the name of his father, an alien), *ib.* 76, ἐσυκοφάντει πολλοὺς ὡς Ἀθηναῖος τοῦνομα ἐπιγραφόμενος, *Dem.* 57. 51, οὗ γὰρ ἂν ξένην καὶ ξένον τοὺς ἑμαυτοῦ γονέας ἐπιγραφάμενος μετέχειν ἡξίουν τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ', εἴ τι τοιούτων συνήδειν, ἐξήτησ' ἂν ὦν φήσω γονέων εἶναι, *Isae.* 4. 2, Θρασυμάχου ἐπεγράψαντο τὸν Νικόστρατον, *ib.* 4, πῶς οἷόν τε τῷ ἀνδρὶ δύο πάτερας ἐπιγράφασθαι, *Plut. De Gen. Socr.* c. 13, πατὴρ τῶν σὸν υἱὸν ἐπιγραφείς, *Dio. Cass.* 39. 57. 1, Σέλευκον δέ τινα (ἢ Βερενίκη) μεταπέμψασα ἄνδρα τε ἐπεγράψατο καὶ κοινωὸν τῆς τε βασιλείας καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἐποιήσατο, *ib.* 37. 7. 3, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς διατητὰς ἐπιγραφάμενοι πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγκλήματα διελύσαντο. Moreover, compounds of γράφω seem peculiarly exposed to corruption in MSS. As examples of generally accepted corrections note [*Dem.*] 44. 42, ἐπιγράφεται (*Lipsius*) for ἀπογράφεται, *Andoc.* 1. 13, ἀπέγραψαν (*Stephanus*) for ἐπέγραψαν, *Artemidorus*, 5. 58, ἀπεγράψατο (*Hercher*) for ἐπεγράψατο, *Isae.* 3. 30, ἐπεγράψατο (*Dobree*) for ἐγράψατο, *Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 2. 76, ἀπεγράφοντο (*Cobet*) for ὑπεγράφοντο, *Andoc.* 1. 77, ἐγγεγραμμένων (*Emper*) for ἐπιγεγραμμένων, and ἐνεγράφη (*Droysen*) for ἐξεγράφη, *Aesch.* 2. 148, ἐγράφης (*Sauppe*) for ἐνεγράφης, [*Dem.*] 52. 8, γεγραμμένον (*Reiske*) for ἐπιγεγραμμένον. In [*Dem.*] 58. 48, where Blass has γεγραμ-

μένοι, the MSS. show γεγραμμένοι, ἐγγεγραμμένοι and ἐπιγεγραμμένοι. In view of these facts and the stereotyped legal phrase τίμημα ἐπιγράφεσθαι it does not appear rash to alter Plato, *Laws*, 845 E (δικαζέσθω πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνόμους τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς βλάβης ἀπογραφόμενος) so as to square with *Laws* 915 A (ἀλοὺς τὴν διπλασίαν τοῦ ἐπιγραφέντος βλάβους τῷ ἀφαιρεθέντι τινέτω).

But it will be said, and with justice, that there is a barbarous air about ἐπιγράφομαι ἑμαυτὸν Νικοδίκου υἱόν. That it is Attic, I do not pretend. An Athenian would have said ἐπιγράφομαι Νικοδίκου υἱὸς (πατρός?) εἶναι or ἐπιγράφω ἑμαυτὸν Νικοδίκου υἱόν (see *Isae.* 6. 36, ἐπιγράφαντας σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρόπους, and compare *Epictetus*, 2. 16. 34, τί σαντὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπέγραφες ἐξὸν τὰ ὄντα ἐπιγράφειν; and would not have added the reflexive pronoun to the verb in the middle, unless two objects were contrasted. Compare [*Dem.*] 44. 55, οὐχ αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ τοῦτον ἐπεγράψατο τῇ διαμαρτυρίᾳ with [*Dem.*] 59. 43, γραφομένων μισθοῦ καὶ φαινόντων καὶ ἐπιγραφομένων ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις γνώμαις. Before, however, rejecting ἐπιγράφομαι ἑμαυτὸν as intolerable, we ought to look at the history of ἀπογράφομαι. 'I register myself' is expressed by ἀπογράφομαι unqualified not only in Attic inscriptions (*C.I.A.* ii. 334, 18 πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀπογράψα[σθαι] but in Ptolemaic papyri (*Revenue Papyrus* c. 14. 3 ἀπογράφε[σθαι] πρὸς τὸν πωλοῦντα; note that the active is used of the officials c. 33, 9 οἱ δὲ βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς ἀπογραφάτωσαν) and in census returns of the imperial age (*New Classical Fragments, Grenfell and Hunt*, xlix. 7. 141 A.D. ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ Δίδυμος ἀπεγγραφάμην); not only in *Lysias* (25. 9), *Xenophon*, (*Hell.* 2. 4. 8), *Aristotle* (*Pol.* vi. (iv.), 13. 1297 a 24), but in *Polybius* (10. 17. 10), *Diodorus Siculus* (8. 149), *Plutarch* (*Cat. ut.* 60) *Dio Cassius* (55. 13). In spite of this well-established practice the vulgarism ἀπογράφομαι ἑμαυτὸν forced its way into the language. Its appearance in census returns (*An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and Other Greek Papyri, Grenfell*, xlv. 6. 19 B.C. ἀπογράφομαι ἑμαυτὸν (sic) εἰς τὸ ἰαλ. Καισ., *Berl. Urk.* i. 26. 4. 173/4 A.D. ἀπογράφομαι ἑμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐμούς) was to be expected, and in time it invaded literature. Who will dare to apply the knife to *Plut. Nic.* c. 14, σινίδας εἰς ἃς ἀπεγράφοντο κατὰ φυλὰς αὐτοὺς οἱ Συρακοῖσιοι, or *Anton.* c. 71, ἀπεγράφοντο οἱ φίλοι συναποθανουμένους ἑαυτούς? The use was convenient, and occasions arose when the severest Atticist would have found his principles embarrassing. Think of the

difficulty of converting into Attic Zonaras' phrase (7. 19. 8, τῶν μὴ ἀπογραφάμενων τὰς οὐσίας ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς καὶ ἑαυτοῦς) if the addition of the pronoun were absolutely proscribed. Similarly, if an index maker desired to attach to a name in the genitive a clause to this effect 'having styled himself son of Nicodocus,' I do not think he would have feared to write ἐπιγραφάμενου αὐτὸν Νικοδόκου υἱόν. The phrase is unambiguous and terse, and is justified by its convenience.

The first words of the speech are perhaps beyond discovery. The plural ἀποψηφισαμένων is an appropriate opening for an advocate whose office is to defend the votes of the majority in the deme. Compare *Aesch.* 1. 78: ἐπειδὴν γὰρ εἶπη ὁ κατήγορος· ἄνδρες δικασταί, τουτοῦ κατεψηφίσαντο (ἀπε-

ψηφίσαντο: Hamaker) οἱ δημόται, ὁμόσαντες, οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων οὔτε κατηγορήσαντος οὔτε καταμαρτυρήσαντος, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ συνειδότες, εὐθὺς θορυβεῖτε ὑμεῖς ὡς οὐ μετὸν τῷ κρινομένῳ τῆς πόλεως. But if the change be accepted, as it was by Sauppe, it is hard to imagine what place is left in the sentence for συμβαλόν. What is wanted is a genitive plural to go with the participle. No 'demoticum' furnishes an entirely convincing restoration. The two forms nearest to συμβαλόν are Σφενδαλέων and Συναληγτίων, it being remembered that in the first century B.C. the latter was sometimes written Συβαληγτίων (*C.I.A.* ii. 470). But proper names, especially if they happen to be rare, are outside all rules of palaeographical probability.

W. W.

NOTE ON EUR. *ALC.* 501.¹

HERACLES, newly arrived at Pherae, converses with the Coryphaeus and is more nearly informed of the nature of his quest in Thrace. When told at length that the master of the man-eating horses is a son of Ares he says:

καὶ τόνδε τοῦμοῦ δαίμονος πόνον λέγεις·
σκληρὸς (f. στερρὸς: cf. *Androm.* 98 et schol.
ad loc.) γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ πρὸς αἵπος ἔρχεται· 500
εἰ χρὴ με παῖσιν οὖς Ἄρης ἐγένετο
μάχην ξυνάψαι πρῶτα μὲν Λυκάονι,
αὐθις δὲ Κύνκωι, τόνδε δ' ἔρχομαι τρίτον
ἀγῶνα πύλοισι δεσποτῇ τε συμβαλόν·
ἀλλ' οὕτως ἔστιν ὅς τὸν Ἀλκμήνης γόνον 505
τρέσαντα χεῖρα πολεμίαν ποτ' ὕψεται.

I have been at some pains to punctuate this passage accurately. It is a single sentence. V. 499 is parenthetic and might, therefore, be set off by dashes as well as by the point above the line. The gist of the sentence may be given briefly thus: 'Just my luck—always hard—to fight with another son of Ares after fighting with two! But I'll never turn my back on a foe.' I emphasise the fact that Heracles's speech is a single sentence, because I conceive that it is the vicious modern tendency to curtail the comprehensive ancient sentence and to fail to grasp it as a whole that has led here, as too often in the Classics, to a serious

¹ Read before the American Philological Association at Hartford, Conn., 6 July, 1898.

misconception of the author's meaning. To this misconception we owe it that the word παῖσιν in v. 501 has been called in question. Gilbert Wakefield in his *Tragoediarum Delectus* (London 1794) was, so far as I know, the first of the would-be correctors of this word. He printed in his text πασιν, annotating thus: 'Erectiorem feci sententiam et loquentis menti accomodatiorem, restituendo ex divinatione proprâ (sic) πασιν pro inerti atque inutili dictione παῖσιν: et quisnam adversabitur?' G. A. Wagner in his edition of the *Alcestis* (Leipsic 1800) objected to Wakefield's 'restitution,' but without giving an adequate reason for his objection and—apparently—without fully understanding the passage. Monk merely notes 'παῖσιν pro παῖσιν edidit Wakefield.' In our time, in which peace has not been given to this passage, at least two editors of the *Alcestis* have hit upon the same conjecture as Wakefield. In Dr. Wecklein's edition of Wolff, Bauer's *Alkestis* (Munich 1888) παῖσιν is printed and credited apparently to himself by Dr. Wecklein. Again Mr. W. S. Hadley in his edition of the *Alcestis* (Cambridge 1896) prints παῖσιν with the explanatory note: 'παῖσιν, a natural exaggeration,' and the critical note: 'For the MSS. παῖσιν I have read παῖσιν; cf. n. in commentary; the enumeration of first, second and third makes the exaggeration natural: παῖσιν seems pointless.' (Cf. also *Class. Rev.* xii. pp. 118–119.) By the rough rendering

I have given above of this passage, as well as by my preliminary remarks upon it, I have already sought to indicate the arguments against this persistent conjecture. Heracles complains not of fighting with all Ares's sons, but of fighting with another, a third son of Ares. In a clearer and more prosaic form the sense of vv. 501-504 might be reproduced thus: *εἰ χρὴ με τῷδε τρίτῳ παιδὶ Ἄρεος μάχην ξινάψαι δις ἤδη παισὶν Ἄρεος μάχην ξινάψαντα πρῶτα—Κύνῳι*. The reading *παισὶν* brings *δεσπότην* in v. 504 among the 'sons that Ares begat'; the conjecture *πᾶσιν* puts Lycaon and Cycnus among them 'that Ares begat,' but places the 'master of the foals' in another category. If we try to reduce the proposed text to a more prosaic form we shall get something like this: *εἰ χρὴ με πᾶσιν οὓς (ὄσους) Ἄρης ἐγένετο μάχην ξινάψαντα, πρῶτα—Κύνῳι, τόνδ' ἔρχεσθαι κτέ.* This reduction to prose is certainly a *reductio ad absurdum*. I do not, however, venture to hope that I shall have been able to banish this pestilent critical heresy for ever.

I may add that this passage gives me another occasion to note what I have noted by implication elsewhere (*Class. Rev.* ix. 202), that a translator may succeed when the commentators fail. Mr. Way does tolerable justice to the passage just discussed thus:

'Thou say'st: such toil my fate imposeth still,
Harsh evermore, uphillward straining aye,
If I must still in battle close with sons
Gotten of Arès; with Lycaon first,
And Kyknus then: and lo, I come to grapple—
The third strife this—with yon steeds and their lord.
But never man shall see Alkmênê's child
Quailing before the hand of any foe.'

It may be added to what has been already said about this passage—and perhaps the addition will put the case in even clearer light—that if Euripides had chosen to write *παίδων*, instead of *παισὶν*, there would have been no possible ground for emendation. The regimen of *ξινάψαι* before his mind and the consciousness that he was expressing himself somewhat indirectly caused him, I conceive, to prefer the dative. If we translate as though *παίδων* were written—and in v. 504 *πῶλων δεσπότην*—, we shall gain a clear understanding from another point of view of the difficulties of this passage and the reasons why editors have blundered.

It may be noted in conclusion that M. Henri Weil in his edition of the *Alcestis* says nothing of the conjecture *πᾶσιν*.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

LUCIAN: *HERMOTIM.* 81.

WITH reference to Mr. Headlam's note on p. 350, I should like to point out that Lucian is referring not to the *Λόγια Ἰησοῦ*, but to certain pantheistic utterances of the Stoics. The whole context in the *Hermotimus* is redolent of Stoicism, and the matter is put beyond dispute by a comparison with Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 5, § 66 *οὐδὲ μὴ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς παρελεύσομαι διὰ πάσης ὕλης καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀτιμωτάτης τὸ θεῖον διήκειν λέγοντας*

and Themist. de Anim. 72b *τάχα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος σύμφωνος ἡ δόξα διὰ πάσης οὐσίας πεφοιτηκέναι τὸν θεὸν τιθεμένοις*. The coincidence of thought with the passage in the *Λόγια* is no doubt striking, but not more so than, e.g. the similarity of Arr. *Epict.* ii. 8, 12, 13 with 1 Cor. vi. 18-20.

A. C. PEARSON.

NOTES ON BACCHYLIDES.

ix. 22 *sqq.* Mr. Kenyon punctuates *κλεινο[ι βρ]οτῶν, | οὐ τριέτει κτέ.* Either the comma should be omitted (cf. the punctuation of v. 50) or it should be placed between *κλεινοὶ* and *βροτῶν*. The meaning is not 'glorious among mortals are they that,' etc.,

but 'glorious are those among mortals that,' etc. It may be added here that the comma after *Χάει* in v. 27 should be removed. It is immaterial whether or not a comma be placed after *ἔθειραν* in v. 29.

xi. 8 *sq.* [*βαθυ*] *πλοκάμων* seems certainly

right. Professor Blass's Στυγός in v. 9 gets rid of the difficulty about the appropriateness of the epithet. Professor Jebb's βαθυπλόκαμ' ω spoils the rhyme with ὀρθοδίκου, which may well be intentional (cf. vv. 22 sq., where ἀέλιος is answered by ἄματι πρὸς). Besides Bacchylides's manner of arranging words favours an adjective before κούρα, agreeing with the substantive after it. Cf. xi. 28 sq. παγξένωι χαίταν ἐλαίαι γλαύκαι, v. 19 sq. εὐρνάνακτος ἄγγελος Ζηνὸς ἐρισφαράγου, v. 98 sq. καλυκοστεφάνου σεμνῆς χόλον Ἀρτέμιδος λευκωλένου. In the last example two adjectives come first.

xi. 43-58. Perhaps Euripides did not have these verses in mind in writing *Bacch.* 23-38, but there are points of quite marked resemblance between the two passages. τὰς ἐξ ἐρατῶν ἐφόβησε | παγκρατῆς Ἥρα μελάρων | Προίτου, παραπλήγι φρένας | καρτερᾷ ζεύξασ' ἀνάγκαι in Bacchylides might very well have served as model for τοιγάρ νιν αὐτὰς ἐκ δόμων ὤστρησ' ἐγὼ | μανίαις ὄρος δ' οἰκοῦσι παράκοποι φρενῶν in Euripides. Cf. the last verse and *Bacch.* 38 with Bacchyl. xi. 55. So too the daughters of Proetus were punished for something they said (φάσκον Bacchyl. xi. 50), the women of Thebes for something they denied (οὐκ ἔφασκον Eur. *Bacch.* 27). Add to all this the fondness of Euripides for describing madness and the consequent likelihood that the passage in Bacchylides would have stuck in his memory, and the resemblance between his verses and those of the older poet may well be thought more than superficial.

xvi. 35. I fail to see that there is any objection to the expression δαιμόνιον τέρας

here. It would mean a 'portentous thing.' It is used for a 'portentous event' (or 'sight') by Sophocles in *Ant.* 375 (ἐς δαιμόνιον τέρας ἀμφοῖν). This poem seems to have been familiar to Sophocles.

xvii. 20. Such a form as εἶρεν was not strange to the grammarians, to judge from the scholia on Hom. A 513 (καὶ εἶρετο δεύτερον αὐτῆς). Here the Venetian scholia give Δημήτριος ὁ Ἰζίων προπερισπᾷ, παραλαμβάνων τὸ τό ἄρθρον and the Townleyan ὁ Ἰζίων 'καὶ εἶρε τὸ δεύτερον,' κακῶς. I forbear to discuss the merits of εἶρε τὸ as opposed to εἶρετο beyond remarking that Thetis does not properly 'ask' (in the sense of 'enquire') anything. But would the reading εἶρε τὸ have been suggested or regarded at all had the form εἶρε been strange in itself?

xvii. 82 sqq. ἀλλ' εὐ- | πάκτων ἐπ' ἱκρίων | σταθεῖς ὄρουσε. Here I venture to think we should substitute ἀπ' for ἐπ'. In Euripides, *Phoen.* 1223 sq., we find Ἐτεοκλῆς δ' ὑπὲρ' ἀπ' ὀρθίου σταθεῖς | πύργου κεύσας σίγα κηρύξαι στρατῶι, 'nach der Vorstellung,' as Dr. Wecklein says, 'dass seine Worte von dorthier gehört wurden.' Cf. *Phoen.* 1009 στὰς ἐξ ἐπάλλεων ἄκρων and the other passages cited in Professor Jebb's valuable note on Soph. *Ant.* 411. Perhaps in *Phoen.* 1091 we should correct πύργων ἐπ' ἄκρων στὰς to π. ἀπ' ἄκρων σ. In Soph. *Ant.* 132 Mr. Blaydes not unjustly queries whether we should not read ἀπ' ἄκρων for ἐπ' ἄκρων, and ἀπ' is found in V⁴ according to Professor Campbell.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

ON THE SEQUENCE AFTER NE PROHIBITIVE.

II.

In the previous article we presented the results of an exhaustive examination of the Latin Vulgate regarding this sequence, and found a considerable preponderance in favour of the Present as against the Perfect Subjunctive. Nor did we discover any sufficient ground for limiting the former usage, as Madvig wished to do, to a general prohibition addressed to a τὶς or 'ficta persona.' Such an example as 'ne respondeatis iis' = 'answer them not', in the Vulgate of Isaiah 36, 21 at the crisis of Jewish

history is sufficient to raise doubts as to the soundness of the canon. Neither of the two usages however can be claimed as excluding the other; and both modes have their respective spheres, existing side by side, each having its function more or less clearly defined.

For the sake of complete assurance, the fragments of the old Italic version in Sabatier's recension (which version was superseded by the Vulgate), have also been examined, and the results come out nearly the

same with no important modification, except that the balance inclines to increase the number of instances with the Perf. Subj.

Thus, in the Old Testament, even in the Pentateuch, where the Vulgate shows no example, the *Antiqua Italica* presents Perf. Subj. viz. Genesis 48, 9 *ne steteris* and Exodus 3, 5 *ne accesseris*. On the other hand this is largely neutralised by the fact that the *Antiqua* has elsewhere the reverse feature, the Present Subj. occurring where Vulgate has Perfect, viz. Hosea 4, 15 (two instances).

In the New Testament, the *Antiqua* shows the Perf. Subj. somewhat more largely than does the Vulgate. The enumeration shows eight examples of Perf. in *Antiqua* for Present in Vulg., viz. Matth. 5, 42; 6, 13; 7, 6; Mark 9, 24; Luke 9, 3; 12, 11 and 22; Philip. 4, 6; also three examples of Perf. in *Antiqua* where Noli appears in Vulg. viz. Matth. 1, 20; Luke 12, 29; Apoc. 10, 4.

Per contra, the *Antiqua* presents three examples of Pres. Subj. for Perf. of Vulgate viz. Coloss. 2, 21 (bis) (*ne tangas neque gustes*); 1 Peter 3, 14; also four examples of Present Subj. where Vulgate has *noli*; viz. Luke 6, 29; 12, 29; Eph. 4, 25; Hebr. 12, 5. Balance therefore remains nearly as before.

This feature of the partial increase of the Perf. Subj. in the *Antiqua* is in keeping with the evidence otherwise from the early Latin Father Tertullian, whose quotations were drawn from the earliest Latin version and frequently present the Perfect where the Vulgate has now another form. Thus in 1st Cor. 7, 27 (i. p. 679, 753 etc. ed. Oehler), he repeatedly quotes it as '*ne quaesieris solutionem*,' where the Vulgate has '*noli quaerere*,' as the equivalent of $\mu\eta\ \zeta\eta\tau\epsilon\iota$. On the other hand he himself uses the Pres. Subj. as on p. 425 of vol. i. (*ibid.*) '*expostula nec respicias*,' and on p. 562 of same, interprets '*ne nos inducas*' of the Lord's Prayer by the words '*id est, ne patiaris*' etc. At the same time this early Latin Father, partly from his impulsive and energetic temperament, partly perhaps from his proximity to the silver age where the Perf. Subj. form had a certain currency and even ascendancy, exhibits side by side with the Present Subj. a goodly number of instances of what may be called the energetic form.

The above evidence may by some be ruled out as unclassical, but to others it will commend itself as showing the unbiassed genius of the Latin tongue. We turn now to

evidence that cannot with fairness be set aside as unclassical; that namely from the early Latin period; and the following series of enumerations presents the chief links in the chain.

At the very *incunabula* of the Latin tongue, we meet with what seems an instructive instance of the Ne Prohibitive.

I. *Song of the Arval Brothers.*

In this venerable relic which we assume as substantially genuine after all allowance made for the *rifacimenti* of time, we find the line occurring:—

Neve luerve [*or lue rue*], Marmar, sins
incurrere in pleores,

usually interpreted to mean:—

'Nor suffer, O Marmar [Mars], a plague [*or* plague and destruction] to invade the people.'

This is repeated as a liturgic formula, a second time, in the same form; also it recurs, a third time, but with the substitution of *sers* in place of *sins* of the first two occurrences. Assuming *sers* to be the true reading and not a mistake for *sins*, it must be a clerical error for *sirs*, i.e. *siris* or *siveris*. So Godfrey Hermann in his *Elem. Doctr. Metricae* interpreted it in the early part of the century, long before Madvig formulated his canon in favour of such formulae as *ne siveris*.

But the question arises as to *sins* in the two not doubtful occurrences in the text. It is evidently a part of the verb '*sino*' in the sense of allow or suffer, but two views have been entertained as to the form latent therein.

One view, timidly put forth by John Wordsworth in his *Fragments and Specimens* (p. 393) is that *sins* is 'probably' for *sines*. It is difficult, however, to explain how *neve*, coming after a true imperative (*juvate*), could find itself linked to a future indic.¹

There remains only another view, that it is for *sinas*, and if so, we have here a specific individual deprecation or prohibition, expressed by the Present Subj.²

¹ Ne...comprimes in Ritschl's reading of *Miles Glor.* [571] ii. 7, 88, is in *Weise nac*, and the meaning is not deprecatory but minatory.

² In support of this view may be quoted the parallel prayer in Cato, *de Re Rust.* 141 (142) addressed to Mars, where *uti sinas* occurs in the petition, according to the Gesner text.

This interpretation is given by four scholars whose conjoint agreement must carry convincing weight. Meyer (*Anthol. Latin.* i. 8 note); Ramshorn (*Lat. Gram.* p. 1100); John W. Donaldson (*Varronianus*, p. 140); Mommsen, *Rom. Hist.* i. ch. 15 (p. 231 of English edition). (Mommsen's interpretation is endorsed by Sellar (*Poets of Republic*, p. 34).

It is true that this early occurrence of *ne sinas* in a special prohibitive is found in what may be called a non-descript ditty, which may be taken as either prose or verse. In the early stages of the language it may be difficult to assign it to either species of literature, but the phrase must be conceded to be a notable phenomenon traversing the Madvigian canon, which confines *ne* with Pres. Subj. to a vague general recommendation to no specific individual.

As for the doubtful 'sers,' assuming it to be genuine for *sirs* or *siris*, that may possibly be explained as a more forceful and impatient deprecation than the humbler '*ne sinas*,' and hence perhaps its position as coming last, as the energetic stroke, in the supplication.

II. Inscription on Tomb of Young Scipio.

(Wordsworth, *Fragments*, etc. p. 161).

The elogium on his sarcophagus states that he died at the age of twenty, and implies that for all his virtue he was an heir of unfulfilled renown. The last line runs:—

Ne quairatis honore[m], quæi minus sit mandatus.

This last line is interpreted by Mommsen:—

Ne quaeratis honorem, qui minus sit mandatus.

i.e. quem non acceperit: 'honour, which failed to be accorded.'

As a sequel to the statement, 'He passed away at the age of twenty,' it is quite appropriate to interpret the closing line as an address to the bystanders¹ surveying the tomb, viz.:—

'Look ye not therefore for a record of honour, which fell not to the lot of the deceased.'

¹ The famous epitaph on Pacuvius is in form of a request uttered by 'hoc saxum' (Sellar's *Poets of Republic*, p. 142).

This is preferable to Wordsworth's flaccid interpretation, 'Lest ye should look for,' which is less lively and involves the clumsy insertion of 'This is stated, lest' etc. in order to obtain a proper transition.

On the whole, though more doubtful, this may be quoted as a second example favouring the use of *Ne* with Pres. Subj. in a prohibition to specific individuals or a specific group of individuals.

Among these relics of ancient speech, we may call attention, in passing, to the phraseology of an ancient oracle and an ancient decree, as throwing a certain light on the formulæ of prohibition. 'Cave sinas' in the oracle in Livy 5, 16 is the equivalent of *ne sinas*, and though not equal to an example, is auxiliary in evidence as showing that the Present Subjunctive could be the vehicle of a special prohibition. Though much later in date the famous casual oracle 'Caunias' (C. Div. ii. 40) taken as 'cauneas' or 'cave ne eas' points in the same direction. The same remark applies to the enacting clause in the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*, 'uti in conventionē edicatis *ne minus trinum nundinum*.' In the opposing scale for Perf. Subj. may be placed 'neve pellexeris' of the Twelve Tables (Tab. VIII. p. 163 of Donaldson's *Varronianus*), but Wordsworth (p. 260) places the fragment as a gloss of Festus, and not as part of the oldest Text.

III. Legend dating from time of Second Punic War.

(Wordsworth, p. 346).

This (the Dream of Hannibal), is narrated by Cicero, *de Div.* i. 24, 49, and the same basis of outline is found in Livy 21, 22. In both it is given in oblique narration, and according to the story, there were two divine prohibitions given to Hannibal in his dream, one not to look behind, and another not to trouble himself as to what was going on in his rear. These two directions are contained in the words '*ne respiceret*,' '*ne laboraret*.'² If converted back into the original direct, this ought naturally to run, 'O Hannibal, *ne respicias*, *ne labores*,' and the inference is that this is an early example of *Ne* with a Present Subjunctive, and therefore a special prohibition directed to an individual. The transition from '*ne respicias*' to '*ne*

² Of course there is the possibility of *ne respice* having been the form in the original story, but that is equally irrelevant for the Madvig contention.

respiceret' is easy and natural: the retrogression from 'ne respexeris' to 'ne respiceret' is neither easy nor natural. Hence 'ne respiceret' in the story may be claimed as a latent or inferential example of the *Present Subjunctive* usage.

IV.—(*Tragici Latini*).

Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Ennius, and the other *Tragici Latini*.

Ribbeck, Wordsworth, etc.

Present Subj.

Nemo hanc vestram ruminetur¹ mulieri.—Livius Andr., Rib. 1. 8.
 Obsecro te, Anchiale, matri ne quid tuæ advorsus fuas.—*Id.* Rib. 21.
 Cave sis tuam contendas iram contra cum ira Liberi.—Naevius, Rib. 41, and Wordsworth, p. 297.
 Neque tuum unquam in gremium extollas³ liberorum ex te genus.—Ennius, Rib. 363.
 Ne quid expectes amicos, quod tu te agere possies.—Ennius, Wordsworth, p. 313 (Aulus Gellius, 2, 29).
 Ne qui attollat.—Pacuvius, Rib. 42.
 Nunc ne illum expectes.—*Id.* Rib. 131.
 Ne istum numero amittas.—Attius, Rib. 144.
 (Ne here *may* be = lest.)
 Cave ne in turbam te implices.—*Id.* Rib. 191.
 Ne cum tyranno quisquam...accumbat mensam.—*Id.* Rib. 217.
 Cave vestem attigas.⁴—*Id.* Rib. 304.
 Reicias abs te religionem neve scrupulam imponas tibi.—*Id.* Rib. 431.
 Artem ne pudeat proloqui, quam factites.—Incert. Rib. 34.

The result in this head (No. IV.) sums up—

Pres. Subj.	Perf. Subj.
8 with 2nd person, omitting two as doubtful.	4
4 equivalent, with 3rd person indefinite.	
—	
12	
1 adding 'nive plectas' from Pacuvius, Rib. 122, as belonging to this column.	
—	
13	
Deduct 3 with 'cave.'	
—	
10	

The preponderance of the *Pres. Subj.* with *ne* and kindred negatives in prohibitions is thus, after all due deductions, early and clearly marked. Even '*noli*,' which comes to predominate later, was noted only once; Ennius, *Rib.* 303 '*Nolite, hospites, ad me adire*,' and the blunt Imperative after *ne*, which was freely allowed to epic and bucolic

* * Tragic, as well as Comic poets, as representing dialogue or conversation upon the stage, are an important source of evidence as to forms of speech, and although we are debarred from adducing lyric and epic poetry because of the poetic licences allowed in them, the same objection does not hold in the case of speech upon the stage, never very remote from the recognised style of the contemporary time.

Perf. Subj.

Hoc abs te oro, ni² me inexorabilem ni turpassis . . ., faxis.
 nive plectas . . .—Pacuvius, Rib. 122.
 Surge
 neu reliquias quaeso meas sieri divexarier.
 Pacuvius, Rib. 200, Wordsw. p. 315.
 Puer, ne attenderis, &c.—Attius, Rib. 279.

poets and is supposed to be illegitimate in prose, occurs in one example. Attius, Rib. 95, '*ne retice, obsecro*.'

V.—(*Comici Latini*).

The following is the evidence from the *Comici Latini* (Fragmenta, Ribbeck).

¹ Although with 3rd person, this is equivalent to and justifies *Ne vos ruminemini*, as containing *vos* not general but *particular*. A similar remark applies to the other examples of 3rd person in this list, viz. those in Pacuv. Rib. 42 and Attius, Rib. 217 and Incert. Rib. 34 certainly specific, and on p. 138 and 204 probably and most naturally specific also.

² Ni here = *ne*; as in Plaut. *Menaech.* i. 2, 1.

³ This example is probably imprecative, a wish, rather than a prohibition.

⁴ Schleicher, however, regards *attigas* as a trace of a Latin *aorist conj.* rather than, as regarded by others, a *Present Subj.* The presence of *cave* requires it in this instance to be dropped from the *final* enumeration.

Pres. Subj.

Naevius, 82—

Cave ne cadas, amabo.

Caecilius Statius, 22—

Quamquam . . . , ne tibi me esse
ob eam rem obnoxium reare.

Id. 78—

Quaeso, ne temere hanc rem agas.

Id. 116—

Decolles cave.

Id. 125—

Quaeso ne ad malum hoc addas malum.

Sextus Turpilius, 106—

Ne me attigas,¹
atque aufer manum.

L. Afranius, 79—

Ne tu summam rationem putes.

Id. 194—

Illud memento, nequid inprimis blateres.

Id. 280—

Cave ne pendeas,
si fuas in quaestione.

Pres. Subj. 9
Deduct instances with 'cave,' 'postulo,' 'quaeso' 5

—

1

The examples of ne with Pres. Subj. in Naevius 8 and Afranius 48 are probably not prohibitive and hence are not included in the above.

Noli presents, among the Comici, four occurrences.

85—Cave amicum credas, &c.

86—Cave quicquam incipias, &c.

325—Nil proprium ducas quod mutari possiet.

578—De inimico ne loquaris male.

660—Nil turpe ducas pro salutis remedio.

Pres. Subj. 5
Deduct 'cave' 2

—

3

In Publilius Syrus one instance of noli, 664, and one, 726, of Ne with Imperative. Here may be added, to complete the evidence from the earliest time, the examples from the Epic fragments of Ennius. These acknowledge both forms.

cetera quae peperisti

Ne cures (l. 48).

Balancing

nec mi pretium dederitis (l. 198,

Wordsw. p. 302).

Perf. Subj.

Naevius, 46—

Cave verbum faxis.

accilius Statius, 140—

Hoc a te postulo, ne cum meo gnato posthac li-
massis caput.

Perf. Subj. 2

Deduct instances with 'cave,' 'postulo' 2

—

0

VI.—*Mimi and Miscellanea.*

The evidence from Publilius Syrus, also in Ribbeck, is nearly equally balanced both in the fragments accepted as genuine and in those of more doubtful origin.

281—Malum alienum ne feceris tuum gaudium.

536—Ipsae noris neminem.

674—Nullum putaveris esse locum sine teste.

786—Neminem cito accusaveris,
neminem cito laudaveris.

Perf. Subj. 5

The general conclusion hitherto may be thus summed up. Except in the fragments of Syrus and the Epic fragments of Ennius, where the evidence is equal, there is a considerable preponderance in favour of the usage with the *Pres. Subj.* in the remnants of Latin literature in the older time. The next article will deal with the evidence from the greater Dramatic Authors—Plautus and Terence.

W. D. GEDDES.

¹ On this form see note 4 on previous page.

COLLATION OF THE MADRID MS. (BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL, M 31) OF
STATIUS' *SILVAE*.

THE manuscript is a small folio, bound in flexible vellum, with two pairs of strings, which it is necessary to tie that the volume be properly closed. The inside of the first cover bears the name 'Del Sr Conde de Miranda.' The material is good, thick paper. The volume contains Manilius (leaves 1-54); leaves 55-63 are blank; the Statius' *Silvae* occupies the remainder of the book (leaves 64-114). The following title heads leaf 1: 'Manilii Astronomicon. / Statii Papinii Sylvae / Asconius Pedianus in Ciceronem (*linea expunctum*) / Valerii (*linea expunctum*) | Flacci nonnulla.' A collation of the Manilius was made by Professor Robinson Ellis and published in the *Classical Review*, vols. vii. and viii. (1893 and 1894). The second half of the volume, containing the works, whose titles are erased, has been at some time separated from the first part, and is now x. 81 in the same library. The present collation of the Statius was made by me at Madrid during August of the present year. It is a pleasure to record the great assistance afforded me by the officials of the manuscript department.

The script is of the early fifteenth century, and is comparatively easily read. There are forty lines to the page. The writing is clear and good, but deteriorates towards the end, as if the scribe had become weary in well-doing. The marginalia are few, and, in the main, unimportant. The second hand is distinguished by the blackness of the ink, as compared with the yellowish tint of the first. I have endeavoured to separate the two hands throughout, both in text and margin, using the abbreviations *1. m.* for *prima manus*, and *2. m.* for *secunda manus*. There does not seem to be a third hand. The initial letter of each line is the only capital in the line. Some idle person has drawn a red line through all these initial letters from the top to the bottom of the pages. The titles of the poems, and the colophons of the books are also in red ink. The following letters are difficult to distinguish:—*c* and *t*; *y* and *r*; *y* and *i*; *H* and *N*; *cl* and *d*; *n* and *u*; and combinations of the last two, as also with *m* and *i*.

The importance of this MS. was seen by the lamented Gustav Löwe, the father of glossology, who discovered and collated it a considerable time ago. Professor G. Goetz acquired possession of the collation at his

death, and handed it to Moriz Krohn, of Zittau, who is preparing a new text of the *Silvae* for the 'Bibliotheca Teubneriana.' Readings of M have been published in A. Herzog's edition of i. 2 (Leipzig, 1881), and A. Klotz's edition of ii. 2 (Leipzig, 1896), for those poems only. Krohn, who, besides possessing Löwe's collation, has made one for himself, lent the collations to Vollmer, who has naturally printed only *select* readings in his recent edition (noticed in the *Classical Review* for July). Full readings are expected in Krohn's edition. I have thought that those interested in Latin poetry of the empire have already waited quite long enough for the readings of this manuscript, which is generally believed to be the best copy of the *Silvae* in existence. By the liberality of the Managers of the Craven Fund in Cambridge, I have been enabled to make the following minute collation, which I trust will prove of service. The text with which it is made is that of Baehrens.

LIBER I.

STATIUS STELLAE SUO SALUTEM.

6 eminentissime pēste et uoluisti; 7 calāre;
8 pro (*lacuna*); 9 (*lacuna post enim*); 10
quo; 11 ſeliquerit; 12 hātrachomachiam;
13 inlustrium; nōu; 14 ſemissiōse; 15 ceſte;
16 ſutt; 20 quā mī (*marg. quamuis*) meone;
22 cettū; 23 ecum; 25 iussum. att e uidisse
(*marg. ante*); 26 sespondebis; 27 dūbio
(*marg. biduo*); 28 tantum tamen examet
(*linea expunctum*) exametros; 29 et foſtasse.
Manlius ceſte; 31 pene; 32 meoglōriar (*linea
expunctum*) meo gloriari xillā tibustinā
(v a 2. m.); 33 gallico est ualetti (*marg.
ualenti*); 35 claudie ci (*marg. etrusci*); (*post
testimonium*) domoimū; 36 intrā; 37 ſutt
Kaī dēc; 38 eſodit̄ (*esa puto*). felissimam;
39 (*lacuna post inexpertam*).

I. (*nulli sunt numeri carminibus adfixi in hoc codice*).

ECVS (2. m. equs).

1 super inposito sedes (d *linea expunctum*)
moles; 2 celone; 5 palladie; 6 effigere
(*marg.* "effinxere"); 7 domus uidit (b et d
2. m.); 10 Dindimon. iden; 11 nunc (*sic* 1. m., hunc 2. m.); 15 nunc (*sic* 1. m., hunc 2. m.). equos (*marg.* honos); 18 exhaustis; 23 adsertae; 25 discit et; 28 iret (-et a 2. m. sub quo latet aliquid 1. m. prorsus incertum). castris; 32 septus; 33 super fulges; 34 contemptis; 38 sequitur 36, tunc uenit 37; 37 pugnes lauium (*marg.* latium). uulgo; 38 grauat (gra- 2. m. tegit aliquid 1. m.). praetendit; 40 si; 42 et qui. themes edidit hasta; 43 et. chlamys. (clamys *Baehrensii* fortasse error typographi-
cus); 46 equestris; 48 regidis (*corr.* 2. m.); 51 aenea. tegit; 53 ledeus; 54 mutauit; 56 iuss (*linea expunctum*) insessaque (in- 2. m.). toto; 57 suptr. humus * aeterna crepido nec; 59 super ingesti; 64 continuus (-ous 2. m.). montis; 65 fingit; 71 at; 81 quod si nostra (*signum et si et e* (in te) sunt 2. m.); 82 profundo; 83 lacus et; 84 templax- diones (d 2. m.); 85 traderis; 86 Pelleo; 92 Tergemimum; 94 hoc; 100 pelleae; 107 iura.

II.

EPITHALAMION · IN · STELLÂ · ET · VIOLENTILLÂ.

2 umeroque; 4 elicone; 5 solemnem; 9 futura (fac- 2. m.); 11 genetrix (i 2. m.). duxit; 12 Lumine; 13 coetuque (que hic, ut semper, est contractum); 18 menalia; 23 dominis; 32 Noctis. optas de premissaque. dextra; 35 nusquam ge (*linea expunctum*) ianitor; 41 pisea; 43 Nec (1. m., Hec 2. m.); 45 prensa ueheret; 46 uatis; 47 At tulit; 48 lumina; 60 lecto; 62 frustrata; 64 faretrati; 74 quondam. faretra; 82 attonito; 83 Urgentem; 86 Hippomenen; 94 merere; 95 Indulget; 98 Sic; 100 aut externa; 103 Finis erat tenera;

105 uultum; 107 cupit; 111 pugm (*linea expunctum*) pingui; 113 honores; 117 ceruleis; 118 conca; 119 potuisset; 122 queritur; 123 Augustum. deesse; 124 inlacrymare; 126 cristalla; 127 Hinc; 128 hinc iuda; 129 Protheaque; 131 dafnes in; 135 pennas; 136 iuppiter; 142 Amycleos;

148 frigiisque; 154 deuissa; 156 syrius; 162 Quo nam; 164 numquamne (*secundum* n 2. m.); 169 clara; 170 dispexisse (*finis folii 67, sed despexisse initium folii 68: ambo eadem manus*); 174 bisseos; 176 mouit; 180 et; 183 iugali; 189 frygio; 190 thibris (b 2. m.); 191 septem geminae; 192 si; 194 honorem; 196 lumina; 199 hilas.

asperit; 202 coeptique laboris; 203 nitiadae; 204 Annus; 209 in; 211 conubia; 212 aq̄nuit (*signum* 2. m.); 213 amyceis; 214 ideas; 215 palea (*corr.* 2. m.); 216 thean

hemoniis; 220 (celer *marg.*) Lethous (*corr.* 2. m.); 221 ortigia. alterum mouet abest. nisa; 222 huic (u 2. m.). tymbrae; 223 parnasis honos. Pangea; 225 canoro (*alterum* o 2. m.); 227 tyrsos. entxa; 229 uix dum. presto; 231 fronde (fronte *Baehrensii* est error typographicus). et fulgent; 234 phebeio territur; 235 iuuenum questus hasta (*linea expunctum*) stola; 237 iam dudum. reclinis (1. m. uis 2. m.); 240 insigni. taeda; 242 nosce; 244 strinxit; 248 entea; 250 praecipui; 252 choo. philetes; 255 thomis; 261 duscisque; 262 uindum; 264 sulphureis; 266 Heia; 267 legant; 268 decimum; 272 Formarit.

III.

Idem titulus ac Baehr.

2 insertos; 5 Syrius; 9 Ipsa manu tenera tecum scripsisse; 10 Tunc; 11 comis. reliquit (n *linea expunctum*; *corr.* 2. m.). honorem; 12 discedere; 16 artemque; 19 umbra. undas; 20 Ipsa autem; 23 habentes; 26 fluuiorum optare; 28 uictos; ephoebo; 31 calchida; 32 fluuii; 34 requiescam; 35 auratasne (n 2. m.). postes; 37 nymphas; 41 tota; 42 Mox. nigros mutantia murmura; 44 ripis; 48 uiua "labor 'modis; 52 omina; 53 nec opinus; 57 ingentia; 62 et; ignaro; 63

ubi. amadyias; 68 An; 69 aetneos; 70 anienem (*prius n 2. m.*); 71 arcano (*c 2. m.*). amictôs; 74 recubat tiburnus; 75 sulphureos; 76 egeriae. adiungere pheben; 78 lyceis; 79 tryintia; 86 Duluchiis; 87 frygio; 89 Auia; 90 meditantur; 91 prae-mitur; 92 genitor; 93 Diliciae. digressus; 94 gargeticus; 95 hyemes plyadumque; 97 si; 102 chelin tollis; 103 turbes; 108 spendente (*l 2. m.*); 109 detectus.

IV.

SOTERIA * RVTVLI * GALLICI.

1 cloto; 2 astrea; 3 Conciliata redit (*prima manus habuerat cadit*); 4 et. diues; 6 tua (*l. m.*) tuû (*2. m.*); 9 chohortes; 11 leges. rogatae; 13 Certant. nosteque; 14 Confremat; 15 manent; 18 Haut (*l. m. : corr. eadem manus Aaut*); 19 phebum; 23 Quis. docto; 25 entea; 26 piplea; 27 Pyrene. potius. hastus; 29 quô (*o 2. m. ; marg. dextr. quom, marg. sinistr. cön*), seu quâ. artê; 31 lyeo; 34 quando; 37 riuû; 40 ignare; 49 fidit amori; 53 bisseis uix dum; 59 apollineos stô; 60 præcidem (*marg. 2. m. pretium*); 61 Progressusque. hunc. epidaurea; 62 alti; 63 ad orti; 64 Tendatis. ne; 65 laudauit iuppiter; 67 animam adeo breuiter atque; 68 permissaque; 71 quoque; 72 exercita (*prima manus est in fine uerbi mutata*); 73 Occiduas primasque domos; 74 Permetuit; 75 retingi; 77 Me. perq; (*q 2. m.*). pamphilia fugaci (*linea expunctum*) messes; 83 libici; 86 thrasymennus; 88 posebat; 90 ueldae; 92 lectus; 94 rapiemus; 95 inclytus; 97 sonuisti (*s 2. m.*); 101 idea; 103 iungam (*u 2. m.*). benigne; 105 amfrisiaco. carpsit; 108 Paenio (*o 2. m.*); 110 rupperunt; 112 aste; 113 Telefus hemonia nequae; 115 coetus; 116 Sic; 117 tymbree. omnis; 118 haeret; 120 Auguror. cönexa; 121 cumba (*l. m. ; 2. m. mutat cymba*); 129 prestant. clytumna.

V.

(*Idem titulus.*)

1 élicona. chelis entea; 3 dimittimus! euhân; 4 fere. tegees honore; 10 cyatos atque et enumerare; 13 mitis; 14 uerecundo// clyo (*l. m. ; 2. m. clío*); 15 auertite; 16 redemite (*l. m. ; 2. m. mutat redimite*). corimbis; 17 nih tectae (*linea expunctum*) nihil tectae; 18 amantes; 21 Salmagis. crebre cuidos; 22 caedat; 29 urâ. nulli; 34 charistos; 35 oficis; 37 frigiae; 38 lucentibus; 39 Quoque tiri niueas; 41 distructum; 43 animoque. bæatas; 47 nussquam teumessa; 52 in fundum summo patet omnis ab imo. ; 54 mollet; 55 per spicuum; 56 echate; 58 pilas (*l. m.*) pylas (*2. m.*). ubi; 59 ipocausta (*l. m.*), ypocausta (*2. m.*); 61 dispiciet; 64 Ingenio; 65 iam melius.

VI.

(*Idem titulus.*)

3 Iam; 7 beatum; 8 parten; 9 mouebat (*m 2. m. ; l. m. obtegitur*); 10 uellaria; 11 Hunc. profudi. marg. teous; 12 Quitquid; 13 *Idymes (*v 2. m.*); 15 quo. aebosia cannos; 16 cadet; 17 gaioli luguntulique; 18 perustus; 20 pregnates caria des; 24 concudit serenam; 25 iuppiter; 29 in signis species decora; 34 Ideos; 35 melior (*m et superior pars litterae e sunt a 2. m.*); 36 insemel; 38 nescit; 41 uina (*n 2. m.*); 42 annum; 43 nescitur (*uel nascitur*); 44 Parui; 46 uocare; 48 in isti; 52 effugit; 53 Stat; 54 improbus; 55 ferrumque fasim; 59 globvm (*v 2. m.*); 60 uulnera conferunt (*l. m. ; f obtegitur littera s secundae manus*); 61 quam; 67 Hic; 70 timentes; 71 Illic symbala (*l. m. ; c— 2. m.*); 74 sulphur; 77 fasis; 84 licere (*marg. licere*); 85 Vix dum; 89 Conlucet; 95 lycei; 96 tuaque; 100 tibris.

P * PAPINI * STATII * SILVARVM * LIBER *

PRIMVS * EXPL * INCIP * LIB * II *

STATIVS * MELIORI * SUO * SALVTVM *

2 hec; 4 altae; 5 epistola expectet; 6 gratissima infantia; 8 non tibi; 9 sumy;

11 iudico (ⁿ 2. m.) nequis ne quis; 13 super uacua; 14 honore; 21 docissimum; 24 accepto. Excludit; 25 rarissima (? 1. m.; c est 2. m.); 26 consuleremus; 28 seius. exametros.

I.

(Idem titulus.)

6 consero. plantus. mamis; 8 ab actis; 11 ut; 16 Iamque præces (a *linea expunctum*); 17 Iam ne; 19 et enim. solemnia; 21 damnat; 27 uersa. tecum; 28 diu; 30 iam; 34 tu; 36 Iam dudum; 38 in ui' lumine (marg. 'potius limine'); 39 Hic (ⁿ 2. m.); 40 probitas; 45 ubi nam; 47 mixte; 48 Hybleis. mixta; 49 nouetæ (c 2. m.); 50 ad fingo; 51 et Baehrensii abest; 58 ferat. timentem (marg. 'timendum potius'); 59 abui (-ui *linea expunctum*) ira; 61 pm (*linea expunctum*) rapina; 63 artis; 64 atque; 66 umeros; 67 fateor; 68 mesta; 69 tante (o 2. m.). plus alter; 70 Ennere (u 2. m.); 73 uariis (*linea expunctum*) phariis; 75 Quae sisti; 78 quæ-rere ('quererere 2. m. in marg.). sed; 83 Tuque . . que ora (o 2. m.). prima; 84 animus; 87 connexis; 89 hemonium; 90 senior; 91 claro; 94 caesaret (s 2. m.); 99 patris; 104 innetas; 110 Sine (u 2. m.). pelestris; 111 amyclea; 112 mutare (mu et t 2. m.); 113 Alcidet (s 2. m.). gratus amittu; 116 Fregisset. talia; 117 Meonium sine; 119 stipuere; 120 in fausta; 123 et. infigero; 125 ad. surgens sed. mxta (mi 2. m.); 128 Cum; 129 herus. (h *linea expunctum*) leuis; 130 augusta telas. lacerna; 131 sinus; 132 leges; 136 deerat; 138 angues; 140 procne; 143 ad hoc (vnc 2. m.) in sanos; 145 et (e 2. m.) frigiis; 147 luno; 148 po (*linea expunctum*) tamen; 151 Reliquias; 152 Ex audit; 158 mesto; 159 rogus; 161 palam est uidique

(1. m. quam mutat 2. m. iactique); 162 comans (1. m.; quam mutat 2. m. comam); 164 exous; 168 tu re; 169 barbaris (1. m.; quam mutat 2. m. -vs); 170 Dum modo; 172 lambis; 174 mesta (2. m. inseruit o, ut moesta fieret.); 175 fleſ; 176 moluius; 178 ac uoce; 179 isthamacos prolatus; 180 imposita. palemon (e 2. m. contegit id quod 1. m. erat.); 182 ofelten; 183 desistere (. . 2. m.); 185 adsurgentibus hidris; 186 cūmbae; 187 ad usta; 188 accendisse (s 2. m.); 189 uirgo (a 2. m.); 190 est ne; 191 effigies. blessi; 194 lethei; 196 adgnouit; 197 tanto (1. m.; 2. m. mutat tacito); 201 blessi; 204 Helysii. multasque; 205 Porsit. optunso; 212 populus; 216 implacido; 219 eacus umbris; 221 cecae; 222 fatis; 223 meruitue; 229 nam Baehrensii abest.

II.

(Idem titulus.)

2 tirrhenae; 5 uritur (1. m. quae errorem suum priorem obleuit); prelis; 12 longarum (longarqm Baehrensii est error typographicus); 15 unum; 19 Nympha; 21 unde; 23 solo; 34 ephires; 35 lyceo; 36 elicon (v 2. m.); 38 sedet; 39 Femonoe. meos (1. m.; corr. 2. m. mevs); 40 polius; 44 lociue; 47 uegat (1. m.; corr. 2. m. n-); 60 me tymnei. una; 62 sequuntur; 63 s (*linea expunctum*) referam. ieraeque (1. m.; mutat 2. m. c-); 64 appellei; 66 Phydicae; 67 policliteo (1. m.; corr. 2. m. poly-); 78 nesis; 79 euboea; 81 et; 82 liman; 83 Una. dietis; 85 delecta; 86 quot; 87 quot mesta frygiae; 90 amyclei. lygurgi; 93 spectare charystos; 94 calchidicas; 95 grata. grata; 100 lyco; 105 midamque (1. m.; mutat 2. m. nudamque); 108 mutes (m. est 2. m.); 109 tyrintia; 110 Aula. isti; 111 therapnei placent; 113 gargeticus; 118 rapidi; 120 delfines; 122 eufrate. diademate; 124 terent; 125 tuto; 126 refelles; 127 dubio; 138 Ac; 139 iactantur; 142 dimittere; 143 Discite; 147 longae praecordia curae (uno uersu); 148 uestere; 151 audique; 153 deo (1. m.; sed prior lectio deleta est). coherent; 154 docuit.

III.

(Idem titulus.)

1 opacet; 3 curuata; 9 et; 10 foloen. ãt (marg. 1. m. hæc); 14 celica tecta; 19 cõnubia (^ est 2. m.); iam iam; 22 auentineque; 23 Penituit; 25 pe^ctus; 27 fharetra; 29 leuamque; 31 diem; 38 bromium; 39 Primeuam; 43 memorabile; 45 decliuis; *Bæhrensii* et abest.; 47 dura; 49 benigne; 50 tutabor (prius t 2. m.); 53 animata; 68 Incorruptae; 69 secrete; 74 helisia; 77 reuiresset. blessi.

IV.

(Idem titulus.)

2 solers. psittat^e; 4 Externa (r 2. m.). in isti; 6 Errantemque (-rr- 2. m.); 7 ad fatus; 9 phaetontia; 10 cygni (cauda litterae y haud ita distincta est); 12 Cõnexusque; 14 quaerulae iam sponte; 15 augusti; 17 phoebeius (u 2. m.); 21 quaeritur; 27 fasidis; 28 ũmenti (v 2. m.); 31 Hunc; 32 dilectae; 37 Scandet. foenix.

V.

(Idem titulus.)

1 monstrata; 5 praedae (secundum e linea expunctum); 6 Incertaeque; 10 ceco; 12 clausas. portas; 13 placidi timuere; 16 Ac; 23 requirit; 24 solacia; 25 mesti; 26 caderet (1. m.; -eres 2. m.); 28 librasque in; 30 Unius (iu 2. m.). leoonis.

VI.

CONSOLACIO · AD · FLAVIUM · VR SVM
DE · AMISSIONE · PVERI · DELICATI.

1 minus (marg. nimis); 3 pignera. accedere; 5 mesta; 6 ad te. at; 8 quia; 10 genus vrse (vr 2. m.); 11 stõmate iuncto; 12 Libertas; 13 diesque; 14 hominem genus heu mihi; 15 vrse (vr 2. m.); 16 sibi que; 17 quis nam; 19 molosi; 20 marone; 21 habitusque; 29 adsueta; 31 thethis; 33 hemoniae; 39 qualis; post; 40 toruaque; 42 bellis iam casside uisu; 43 Parthenopeus. herrore; 45 ledeo; 47 adprobat; 48 undæ notae menti; 50 potasse queam. uolentem; 54 hemonium. et *Bæhrensii* abest; 55

cecopriamque; 57 eumelus (prius e 2. m.); 58 causas; 62 Ructassent. uestuina; 64 ager. thibridis; 67 Cretaque fere (fere linea expunctum) cyreneque; 70 carmen; 71 temptabat; 73 ramnusia (h 2. m.); 74 nitorem (n 2. m.); 75 sublimus (i 2. m.); 77 et. mortemque; 78 carpsitque (inferior pars litterae p est 2. m.). adunca (n est 2. m.); 79 quinta. fossoros (1 m.; 2 m. fosf-). hora; 81 Fylete. durumque; 82 saeuus; 83 tibi; 90 quo tibi sestia; 93 iūuat quid (marg. 'hic melius quin'); 99 Helisiam clarosque; 100 illic; 101 uernales; 103 pileton; 104 habiture; 105 amori.

VII.

GENETHLIACON · LVCANI · AD · OPIAM.

2 isthimae; 3 concitauit; 8 paan. euhantiae; 9 nouate (o 2. m.); 14 pater (2. m. mutat patet) aut; 18 dirte (2 m. dirce). citheron; 29 betica; 31 plusquam; 34 betis; 35 Betim; 48 frygum; 49 tardi; 53 exeris; 55 Laudas; 58 In gratus; 60 fulminibus; 62 Huc; 63 Iucunda. allocutione; 66 farsalica; 67 Quo; 72 sepulchrum; 79 Quidⁿ (n 2. m.). loquor; 81 nitorem (secunda pars litterae n 2. m.); 82 tēdis genitalibus; 86 sequitur 83; tunc ueniunt 84, 85; 85 decore; 87 hymeneon; 90 festa; 93 Signatum; 95 Augusto. sepulchro; 96 praementis (a linea expunctum); 101 laethen; 103 solacia. sepulchris; 105 decedentes (c 2.

m.); 108 leuatum; 110 dispicis. sepulchra; 112 helisii; 113 farsalica; 116 Tu; 117 Nescis; 120 Ad sis; 121 silicentum; 128 solacia uana; 131 mortes; 132 genitalis; 134 lassimae (cry uidetur esse a 2. m., puncta 1 m.); 135 Quitquid.

P · PAPINI · STATII · LIB · II · EXPLIC. SILVARV
INCIPIT · LIBER · III
STATIUS · POLLIO · SVO · SALVTEM.

5 hæc; 7 temerantē (marg. temeritatem); 10 penetrali; 16 splēdissimū (di uidetur esse a 2. m.); 17 iucundissimū (io- 2. m.). mecium; 19 claudi; 21 ligū (linea expunc-

tum) lugeret. quod amarissimum; 22 Ierinus; 24 quoscumque (*marg.* quos cū). pixide; 26 sedere (*linea expunctum*) secedere.

I.

(*Idem titulus.*)

1 tyrinthie; 6 tedis; 7 oetea; 8 tu ne; 9 Luminis; 13 Ad sparsum. dimiss; 15 quae nam; 16 ditasit (*marg.* dītauit). tirione; 17 lira; 18 augusti (*1. m. : 2. m. ang.*) bisseño; 19 Longeuum. attulit artes; 20 atque *praetermissum supra linea adscriptum est*; 24 eurstia; 27 frige; 30 uenices (*secundum e linea expunctum*) (*sic 2. m.; 1. m. habet uenices*); 31 Tracia; 34 artus. faretrae; 36 Lustratumque umeris; 37 achanto; 41 thiasis; 43 Thespius; 44 cestibus; 48 dolores; 49 quae nam; 60 ethateidas; 66 Assiduae; 67 floresi; 69 Augustasque. adsuetaque. grauatis; 72 at; 73 Immaduit; 75 nimphae; 78 supernae; 86 coitusque; 91 menta; 94 imtantia; 100 oras; 101 nimphas; 108 aetherius; 110 ambo (*1. m. corr. 2. m. vmbo*); 111 umquam. ex^seu^Λs; 117 cum scripta formatur imagine tela; 118 cedere; 120 umida; 121 Proctectura (*primum e linea expunctum*); 125 tirinthius; 126 bipenni (*-nn- 2. m.*); 128 capre; 132 egida celat; 136 tirinthius; 138 dignus; 140 piseus; 141 cirrhæ; 143 nemees; 144 puniceis (*uel pumceis*); 145 -que *abest*; umentibus; 146 palestras; 149 limo numenique; 150 frigioque. graias; 151 Addisces; 155 digna^{re}; 156 zephiros; 157 libicas. palestras; 158 super sunt; 162 hic; 163 bacchathus; 164 ipse. *ordo MS est 171, 174, 172, 173 (marg. corr. positis c ante 174, a ante 172, b ante 173)*; 178 umeris; 180 templi- (*secundum i linea expunctum*); 182 argus. 186 stiga. aetherii.

II.

PROPEMPTICON * MECIO * CELERI.

4 leuis; 10 Obalii; 11 longae; 15 sedera (*1. m.; 2. m. corr. i*); 17 foeta; 19 qua; 24 uiua; 25 giro; 28 zephiris; 30 explorent primos. arte molorchos; 35 protheus; 37 Glaucas. adlabitur; 39 palemon; 40 Anne;

43 mundi; 44 at; 46 zephiro; 47 super natet; 49 Laeta paraetoniis adsignet; 55 augustum; 56 Saeuus e puppi; 59 At tamen. 60 nisi iam carina (*secundum a uerbi carina 2. m.; currente Baehrensii abest*); 61 et abscisum; 63 hiantes; 68 augustos; 75 Audebant; 81 Quaque. nostris (*secundum s linea expunctum*); 83 Quos ue; 84 faciliis; 85 caribdis; 95 Et si; 96 foenix; 97 thymbreaque; 98 aridae (*linea expunctum*) atridae; 100 Numquam; 101 foroneis; 105 palestinasque; 109 coercent; 111 therapnei; 112 letheus; 114 foenix; 115 uili; 117 adhemathios; 118 hybleo; 119 Agniferamque. blando qua qua mersa ueueno; 121 assirias c (*linea expunctum*) sedes; 123 armis; 124 numine; 125 giro; 128 discedere; 129 Ac; 132 lira; 133 umeris. *ordo MS 135, 134. (marg. habet b ante 135, et a ante 134)*; 134 Incumbens. nonus; 136 eufraten; 137 babilonis. zeuma; 138 qua. idymes; 139 Qua praetiosa tiros. qua. suco; 140 uadis. primum; 142 pelagis.

III.

CONSOLACIO * AD * CLAUDIVM * ETRVSCVM.

7 Cerue; 16 eacon; 18 Leuiter implicitor; 21 nigrasque; 22 lethea; 23 Helysiae; 25 et; 27 Ter geminus; 33 larguis (*i linea expunctum*); 40 gemm (*fortasse gemini*); et *Baehrensii abest.* ignem; 47 famulantur; 49 geruntur; 52 dulcibus; 56 Et; 57 tirintius; 61 Fonte. lilius; 64 gradu; 65 Caesarium; 66 herere. thybereia; 67 uix dum; 68 uictijs; 72 adfatu. tyrannum; 73 Immanemque suis ut que; 76 merito surrexit in artus; 77 demissus; 78 transmittit; 82 adneptunia; 89 helberia; 93 lacedemonii; 96 nubibus; 98 uigilite animae. que; 99 Exitus; 103 laquaearibus; 104 multus; 105 igue monete; 111 etrusce; 112 quaquā. nisu; 114 sibimet similis n. g. m; 118 triumpho; 119 quitquid; 124 a; 130 tibi; 132 maternosque; 134 faretrae; 136 etrusca; 138 temperet; 140 idymeis; 141 et; 143 populos deduxit; 145 celso. honore; 146 ottonis; 147 sme; 149 adsuetus; 155 rependunt; 157 Errabit; 159 leuique; 164 longa; 167 haud; 168 uictus; 172 in exorabile; 173 mesti; 174

moderantur; 176 Thereos; 179 Sum mouet. periuria; 180 egea; 182 Adfatur. cui; 189 miceneae. reuentia; 191 lichi; 193 stiga; 194 Tracius; 201 caerae; 202 fuulum; 204 Ad fatusque. morituraque; 210 mestique sitiss. sepulchri; 212 assirios; 214 tumultum; 215 sancit; 216 sepulchro.

IV.

CAPILLI · FLAVI · IERINI.

5 conca; 9 fratres. Iyei; 18 Iuppiter; 21 ericis; 22 sy (*linea expunctum*) eignos; 26 egregie; 30 exumeris; 32 tu ne; 34 procul procul absit; 39 iam; 40 cedet. lanius; 43 adpressa; 45 lenes; 47 uet-tresque; 48 Euandi. orbis; 52 indigitis; 53 tedas; 55 tirios; 57 gregres; 58 cristallaque; 61 contingere 68 illi; 70 Leuiter haud; corpeus; 72 cithera; 75 solos; 77 ma (*linea expunctum*) famulae; 80 dd; 84 cedet. faucia nisu (*secunda pars secundi u linea expuncta*); 87 umerosque; 88 Adecurret; 91 cadentes; 92 citherea; 95 patris; 96 potentius; 97 hue; 99 Ae; 103 ore. annus; 104 piliosque.

(To be continued.)

V.

VIA · DOMITIANA (*sic!*).

1 Quis. mesta; 5 in festo. ramnusia; 9 interfectas; 15 rapidi mulcem; 16 damosi; 20 thiles; 21 septem gemini caput ut penetrabile; 22 Hortarere. et enim; 24 insenium; 25 Intantum; 28 premo ter. ferentem; 29 comes; 32 lirae. doleres; 34 totasque in murmure; 37 stigias; 38 letheos; 44 perusus; 45 graias heroidas; 46 iliacos; 48 egiale. melibia; 49 seui. menada; 50 uic-tamque; 55 "recedit corde; 56 penetrabilibus; 57 intracia; 58 Alcione neruos. philomelia; 59 Circuuut; 60 teuet; 61 pulchre; 63 animaeque; 64 chelin. petit; 68 Non ne. citherea; 70 toro. tedas; 72 uesuinus; 74 hic; 75 mundi; 80 dioneae. columbae; 81 trace; 82 libre; 84 imbelle; 86 peracti; 90 Templaque innumeris; 93 litus; 94 grata; 97 Entea. sibillae; 100 Theleboumque; 101 farus; 102 lieo; 104 Deuarumque. stauiasque; 105 amores; 107 adstrinxit; 110 ueniscarissima.

P · PAPINI · STATII · SILVARVM · LIBER ·

III · EXPLIC · INCIP · LIBER · IIII ·

STATIVS · MARCELLO · SVO · SALVTEM.

A. SOUTER.

NOTES ON PROPERTIUS III., IV.

Corpora disponens mentem non diuidit in arte :†
recta animi primum debuit esse uia.—iii. 5, 9.

That *uidit in arte* is corrupt many editors have seen. We have hardly any accounts of the creation of man by Prometheus to help us to a restoration, and Hor. *Od.* i. 16, 13, really sheds no light on the passage. Following the lead given by *disponens* in line 9, and *primum* in line 10, I suggest *corpora disponens mentem non diuidit ante*. (It is of course also possible to retain the last word of the line as given in the MSS. reading *diuidit arte*.)

sunt Agamemnonias testantia litora curas
qua †notat Argynni poena minantis† aquae.
hoc inuene amisso classem non soluit Atrides
pro qua mactata est Iphigenia mora.

iii. 7, 21.

Here again we have to interpret an obscure legend mainly by the help of the context. The relevant points of the legend in *Athenaeus* xiii. 603 D (quoted by Rothstein) are that Argynnus was drowned, that Agamemnon honoured him with a tomb and shrine; and we gather from the words of Propertius that Agamemnon was so anxious to find the body and perform the rites duly that he delayed the Greek fleet for the purpose. Argynnus thus forms a strong contrast to the shipwrecked and unburied Paetus. I should fasten on *poena* in line 22 as the source of the corruption, and read there *Argynnus, praeda*. After *praeda* had gone into *poena*, *Argynnus* was pretty sure to go into *Argynni*. (Some MSS., Postgate's Δ, read *Argyrium poena*, a reading probably due to the feeling that punishment of *Argynnus* is not to the point.) Next, the

Florentine MS. (F) has *notat* corrected into *natat*. There seems to be reason for thinking that the corrections in F have some independent authority. This may be quoted then as some ground for reading *natat* here; and it may be remarked that in iii. 12, 32 only the MS. N has preserved the true reading *natusse* against *notasse*. There now only remains the correction (probable, though not perhaps absolutely necessary) of *minantis* into *morantis*; and the line becomes

qua natat Argynnus, praeda morantis aquae.

*quam multa ante meis cedent sermonibus
horae,
dulcia quam nobis concitet arma Venus!*
iii. 20, 19.

I suggest *meris* for *meis*, which seems pointless.

As regards iv. 1, it may save trouble in the future if it is recognized that it really consists of *three* poems, or fragments of poems, which should be separated: (A) vv. 1-56, (B) vv. 57-70, (C) vv. 71-150. (Lines 87 and 88 seem to me not to belong to the poem at all; but I cannot form any theory of their origin.)

(A) is an early portion of the poem on the Origines of Rome, for which poems 2, 4, 9, and 10 of this book were written.

(B) is a sketch of a prelude to this work. But it was left unfinished, and possibly the

lines were left unarranged by Propertius himself. The order in which they seem naturally to come is:

69. *Sacra diesque canam et cognomine prisca
locorum:
has meus ad metas sudet oportet equus.*
67. *Roma, faue, tibi surgit opus, date candida
ciues
omina, et inceptis dextera cantet avis.*
57-66. *munere namque pio conor disponere
uersus, etc.*

(C) is practically an apology for abandoning the work, for which he felt himself unsuited, put into the mouth of the astrologer Horops. It seems to have been written before the death of Cynthia, but after he had broken off relations with her.

*nam mihi quo Poenis †te† purpura fulgeat
ostro,
crystallusque meas ornet aquosa manus?*
iv. 3, 51.

So N. Other MSS. give *tibi* for *te*, and *tuas* for *meas* in the pentameter. Postgate reads with Housman *nunc* for *te* (or *tibi*). We may also get a good sense by reading *tua*. A wife, writing to an absent husband, might well speak of '*tua purpura*,' '*tua crystallus*' in writing of things that he had given her.

E. S. THOMPSON.

CATULLUS 31, 14.

In the October number of this *Review* (p. 360), Prof. Sonnenschein revives Prof. Tyrrell's (on Mil. 194) interpretation of *domi* 'of one's own': in which I cannot follow him. Excepting in Plautus, it seems doubtful whether *domi* means anything but 'at home.' Certainly both in Cic. *ad. Att.* x. 14, 2 and Juv. xiii. 57 this, the natural meaning of the word, gives good sense. And in this line of Catullus I think the word means 'at my home.' Further Prof. Sonnenschein writes: 'I wish it were possible to retain the *quoque* of the MSS. . . . Could not some epithet beginning with a vowel be suggested to follow *quoque*?' This is a little discouraging, as the very word required, *Italiae*, has been suggested and printed by me

in the text of my edition (Lawrence and Bullen, 1893). *Italiae*, I am convinced, is right, especially as it gives additional point to *domi*. I wrote in my note: 'Return to his home [*domi* cp. l. 9 *labore fessi venimus larem ad nostrum*], to the Italy that he loves, is the keynote of the poem; thus the epithet *Italiae* is quite appropriate.' Read

*gaudete uos quoque Italiae lacus undae,
ridete, quidquid est domi cachinnorum.*

'Rejoice too, ye Italian waters of the lake. Laugh with all the smiles my home can yield.'

S. G. OWEN.

TWO EDITIONS OF SOPHOCLES.

1. *Sophocles. The Text of the Seven Plays.* Edited with an introduction by R. C. JEBB. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1897. 5s.
2. *Sophoclis Tragoediae.* Edited by R. Y. TYRRELL. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1897 (The Parnassus Library of Greek and Latin Texts). 5s.

THIS 'Textausgabe' of Sophocles is not the least of Prof. Jebb's contributions to the author he has made his own. It might be thought that after that classic commentary, that translation, and those introductions and excursus, well known to all of us, and to the younger of us by heart, a one-volume text with a brief apparatus criticus hardly claimed notice. But Sophocles has been singularly slow in reaching that definitive form—a modern text with readings beneath, and no explanations—which marks the end of one critical effort upon an author and stimulates the next. To the working student who desires to be 'alone with his author,' Prof. Jebb has given a long-needed benefit, and to such a reader this single volume is in some senses more useful than the eight of which it is the concentrated fruit.

The book is admirably arranged and produced. The text is essentially the same as that of the larger edition. The apparatus gives the readings of the MSS. with some fulness; conjectures are admitted with a more jealous hand. If we compare the book with the first volume of Wecklein's Aeschylus, and no more serious compliment can be paid it, one notices that in several points the German book is the superior critical instrument. Wecklein gives the scholia beneath the text, Prof. Jebb omits them. The scholia are a most essential part of the Sophoclean apparatus; Prof. Jebb's reader must therefore provide himself with Pappageorgius. But the arguments and the anonymous prefatory matter are not here either, and these Pappageorgius also omits. The reader, therefore, to start fair and with all the evidence in hand, must lay in some older and bulkier edition. The dramatic personae also wear a suspicious look; they possess variants, and should have them stated. I suspect the Cambridge Press of being responsible for these omissions; the British publisher, like the British cook, is ever eager to sacrifice the essential elements

of a book or a *plat* to please the eye of the general reader or the uneducated guest. The space that scholia and arguments would have taken is ill occupied by 45 pages of preface, attractive indeed and written with full mastery, but accommodated to a juvenile audience, and minced small even for them. Surely the biographies of scholars, the information about the meaning and history of the phrase 'Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana,' the real name of Aldus, and most of the palaeography, have a very loose connection with such a scientific and finely-edged tool as this volume. If in a second edition, which cannot fail to be soon called for, some of these defects were remedied, the book already so excellent would make a fair bid for perfection.

Prof. Tyrrell's text is smaller and more pocketable than Prof. Jebb's, but the publishers have penalised it with a soft paper which does not take ink, their own peculiar black type, unaesthetic and unhistorical, and two very inadequate representations of mythological characters upon the cover. There is no apparatus, and one need not look for scholia, though the arguments indeed are given. The text is preceded by 25 pages of vivacious girding at 'Germans,' and a string of critical suggestions. The editor's well-known genius has found surprising scope in his well-worked author. I give a selection of his conjectures, many of which are as convincing as simple, while all deserve consideration.

Ο.Τ. 539 κοῦκ retained with the MSS. 877. ἀπότομον <ἀμ'>, which is certainly better than Schnelle's ἀποτμοτάταν. Ο.С. 278 μοίρας...μηδαμῆς for the MS. μοίραις μηδαμῶς. 547 for the too celebrated καὶ γὰρ ἄλλους ἐφόνευσα καὶ ἀπώλεσα Prof. Tyrrell reads καμ' ἐφόνευσ' ἀλαδὸς καὶ ἀπώλεσα; a bold and interesting attempt, and at least as likely as the curiously mechanical and unattractive καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗς ἐφόνευσ' ἐμ' ἀπώλεσαν of Mekler. 590 ἀλλ' εἰ θελόντων γ' for ἀλλ' εἰ θέλοντ' ἂν γ', again bold and ingenious. 702 οὐ νεαρός οὐδὲ γηράς | σημαίνων, for γήραι, thus dispensing with the conjecture συνναίων for the excellent word σημαίων. This appears to me almost palmary, since for γηρας = γηραι plenty of palaeographical evidence can be found. 1036 ἐνθάδ' ὦν for ἐνθάδ' ὦν very probably. 1164 σοὶ φησὶν αὐτὸς ἐς λόγους αἰτεῖν μολόν | ἐλθεῖν for σοὶ φασὶν αὐτὸν ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν μολόντ' | αἰτεῖν.

The change to the singular and nominative and the transposition of the infinitives is slighter than it looks, while Vauvillier's *μόνον*, the alternative, is unmotived. 1220 *θέλοντος* is kept (as masc.) against the certainly very bad *δέοντος* of Reiske. 1452 *χρόνος ἐπὶ μὲν ἕτερα* MSS. Hartung's *στρέφων* lacks any graphical justification, and should never have been accepted; Prof. Tyrrell's *ἐπιών*, if not absolutely certain as to sense, is infinitely better. 1584 *τὸν ἦει βίοντον* for *τὸν αἰεί*, very attractive and ingenious. 1756 Prof. Tyrrell reading *τύμβον θέλομεν προσιδεῖν αὐταὶ* | *πατρός. ἀλλ' οὐ κείσε μολεῖν θεμιτόν*, drops indeed *ἡμετέρου* but keeps the much more valuable words *κείσε μολεῖν* which the ordinary arrangements sacrifice. Antig. 452 *οὐ τοῖσδ'* for the MS. *οἱ τοῖσδ'*, a great improvement on the ordinary *τοιούσδ'*. 613 sq. the words *οὐδὲν ἔρπει θανάτῳ βίῳτῳ ἐκτὸς ἄτας* are taken to be the νόμος itself, *πάμπολος* (for *πάμπολις*) being parenthetical. The imagination implied in this view of a hackneyed passage is equal to the invention of *ἦει* above. 966 sq. *παρὰ δὲ κυναεαῖν πελάθων διδύμας ἀλὸς* | *ἀκταῖς βοσπορίασιν ὁ Ὀρηκῶν ἄξενος* for *κυναέων πελάγεων πετρῶν* | *διδύμας ἀλὸς ἀκταῖ*

βοσπορία. Trach. 660 *πανάμερος* (= *πανήμερος* 'calm') with the MSS. For *πανήμερος* the vulg. there seems no justification. Philoct. 782 *ἀλλὰ δέδ'ε* very neatly for *ἀλλὰ δέδοικ'* which is unmetrical. 1092 *αἱ θῆραι δ' ἄνω* again very neatly for *εἴθ' αἰθέρος ἄνω*. 1131 sq. *τὸν ἡρακλείῳ* | *αθλῷ τῷδε σοὶ* | *οὐκέτι χρησόμενον* for *τὸν ἡράκλειον* | *ἄθλιον ὧδε σοὶ* | *οὐποτε χρησόμενον*; the dative is less violent than Erfurd's *ἄρθμιον*. 1149 *φύγδα* for *φυγᾶ* (unmetrical), thus avoiding Jebb's rearrangement. Ajax. 406 *φίλοις δὲ τοῖσδ'* *ὁμοῦ γέλως* for *φίλοι τοῖσδ'* *ὁμοῦ πέλας*. 869 *συμπαθεῖν* for *συμμαθεῖν*. 885 *ποταμῶν θεὰ* (or *νύμφα*) *ἐνδρος* for *ποταμῶν ἴδρις*; again a word (*ἴδρις*) commonly left out is saved.

Prof. Tyrrell professes a general agreement with Prof. Jebb, but he has accepted with some liberality the creations of other scholars. I must protest against Beller-mann's *ὀπλίζεται* (for *ἔξεται*) Antig. 351. Prof. Housman contributes some conjectures; the more important are O.T. 1494 *τοῖσιν οἷς γόνισιν* for *τοῖς ἐμοῖς γονεῦσιν*, 1505 *μή σφε δὴ παρῆς* for *μή σφε παρίδης*. O.C. 133 *πρίοντες* for *ιέντες*.

T. W. ALLEN.

HUDE'S EDITION OF THUCYDIDES' HISTORIES.

Thucydidis Historiæ, ad optimos codices denuo ab ipso collatos, recensuit Dr. CAROLUS HUDÉ. Tomus prior: libri i.-iv. Teubner. 1898. 10 Mk.

Most English Hellenists already know Dr. Hude's work—the learning, the accuracy, the remarkable linguistic skill which he has brought to bear on the text of Aristotle, Thucydides and other authors. Not so many perhaps could answer the question, Who is Dr. Hude? It may be of interest, then, to state that Karl Hude is a school-master at Copenhagen and editor of the *Athenæum* of Denmark. He is still young, one from whom much more may be expected. Some years ago he received from the Danish government the equivalent of a travelling fellowship; and this stipend combined as it was with the right to provide a substitute, has enabled him to visit the libraries that contain all the chief manuscripts of Thucydides. These MSS. he has collated with great care and exactness; and the result is that he has laid all future editors of Thucydides

under a heavy obligation. I have no doubt that Dr. Hude's collations are final. He has in addition collected a vast number of *Testimonia*, and he has ransacked many tons of conjectures. How many felicitous conjectures he has made himself, it is scarcely possible to imagine; but I hope I shall not betray a secret when I say that the printer of the 'tidskrift' looks to its editor to fill up the little vacant spaces of that periodical with 'little conjectures' of his own. Not all the 'little conjectures' are convincing: but then they are never superfluous, and always exhibit the unusual linguistic ability of their author.

It is here, however, that we come upon the only fault that seems to vitiate the new text. The editor has, I think, admitted too many conjectures into the text itself. I venture to give an instance of his excessive partiality to guess-work, as it happens to affect myself. In ii. 58, 2 all MSS. show *ἐπιγενομένη γὰρ ἡ νόσος ἐνταῦθα διὴ πάντ' ἐπίεσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους*. Dr. Hude has printed for *ἐπιγενομένη* my conjecture *ἐπινεμομένη*;

and this circumstance emboldens me to say, in spite of Herwerden's objections, that my suggestion is very probably right. But if I were editing a Teubner text, I should not place *ἐπιγεμομένη* above the critical apparatus. But, after all, with so complete an apparatus, a tendency to excessive subjectivity matters little: and in view of the immense advance that this edition marks, this, its one blemish, is of trifling moment.

To the text of the *Histories*, Hude has prefixed a revised text of the *Lives*. The MSS. of these biographical notices are very poor, and Hude has made many good conjectures. Perhaps the most startling and not the least convincing is the brilliant *μνήσιν ποιείται* for the meaningless *νήσους ποιεί* or *οικεί* of § 49 (*ἐνθα τὰ τῆς σωφροσύνης αὐτοῦ νήσους οἰκεί, τὰ δ' ἄλλα οὐκ ἀκριβοῖ*). The preceding section stands thus: *οὐ γὰρ ἐπετίθενσε (ὁ Θ.) τοῖς ἄλλοις ταυτὸν συγγραφεῖσιν οὐδὲ ἱστορικοῖς . . ἄλλ' ἐκέينو μὲν οὕτως, τῷ συγγραφεῖ δ' οὐκ ἐμέλησε πρὸς τέρψιν τῶν ἀκούοντων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀκριβείαν τῶν μανθάνοντων γράφειν. καὶ γὰρ ὠνόμασεν ἀγώνισμα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συγγραφὴν. πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀπέφυγε*. In this passage I have no doubt that the sentence *καὶ γὰρ . . συγγραφὴν* should be read as a parenthesis; and *ἑαυτοῦ* should, I think, be corrected into <ἐφ> *ἑαυτοῦ*. Moreover for *τῷ συγγραφεῖ* it is likely that <τούτω> *τῷ συγγραφεῖ* should be read: for though Thuc. is, of course, often called *ὁ συγγραφεύς*, it is not correct to speak thus of him when he is compared *τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγραφεῖσιν*.

A little further on we have *ὁ δὲ συγγραφεύς οὗτος . . διὰ μὲν τὴν ἀνάγκην λέγει, διηγέεται δὲ μόνον εἰς γνῶσιν τῶν ἀκούοντων ἀφικνούμενος*. For the last word H. conjectures *ἀπιδύμενος*. I should prefer *ἀκριβολογούμενος*. In § 50 *περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς μύθους τοιούτους, δεινὸς δὲ ἡθογραφῆσαι, καὶ ἐν μὲν τοῖς μέρεσι σαφής, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν σύνταξιν ἐνίοτε . . ἄδηλος εἶναι δοκῶν*. It is obvious that *δοκῶν* ought to be *δοκεῖ*. In § 51 *πολυειδὴς δὲ ἐν τοῖς σχήμασι, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν Γοργίου μιμούμενος* I would bracket the *καί*. The next sentence is printed *ὅψει γοῦν παρ' αὐτῷ φρόνημα Περικλέους καὶ Κλέωνος οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἂν εἴποι τις, Ἀλκιβιάδου νεότητα, Θεμιστοκλέους ἴπντητα*. For *πάντα* we should probably read *ἀπάτας*.

Id. § 53 *μέλει δὲ αὐτῷ . . καὶ . . βραχύτητος συντάξεως*: τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ λέξει δέκνυνται. The Latin version for the latter sentence is *Nam saepe multae res vel unica voce declarantur*. Either the Latin is quite wrong, or for *καὶ λέξει* we should read *καὶ <μῶ> λέξει*. But I have no confidence in the correction.

In the 'Anonymous Life' § 2 *καὶ σὺν*

αὐτῷ διεφθάρησαν . . ὦν καὶ κατεοκάφησαν καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι, καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ μὲν διεφθάρη, τὸ δὲ ἄτιμον ἐγένετο, I propose [*καὶ*] *αἱ οἰκίαι*. In § 3 of the same, *Βρασίδας μὲν ἐνίκησεν αὐτόν, Κλέων δὲ ἀπέθανεν . . βληθείς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας τῆς νίκης αἰσθόμενος ἀπέθανε, καὶ Ἀμφίπολις Ἀθηναίων ἀπέστη*, it seems clear that *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ . . ἀπέθανε* forms a parenthesis. In § 4 *οὐ γὰρ καιρὸς αὐτῷ κατεπεῖν Ἀθηναίων ἐγένετο . . πολλὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἐρρῦν . . τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς ἠὔξησε τὰς Ἀττικάς, ὅπου καὶ τὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ*, I would suggest *τὰς Ἀττικάς ὅπου <καιρὸς>, καὶ τὰς ἐν Σ.*

Book i., c. 16 § 2 *κατὰ γῆν δὲ πόλεμος, ὅθεν τις καὶ δύναμις περιεγένετο* (Tournier for *παρεγένετο*), *οὐδὲς ξυνέστη*. H. gives *κἂν* for *καὶ* with Siesbye. But *ὅθεν . . περιεγένετο* stands as an epithet to *πόλεμος* and really *καὶ* is as good as *κἂν*.

c. 49 § 2 *ἦν τε ἡ ναυμαχία καρτερά, τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ οὐχ ὁμοίως, πεζομαχίᾳ δὲ τὸ πλεόν προσφερὴς οὖσα*. On this passage Herwerden remarks 'Non video quid faciat ars aut imperitia ad maiorem minoremve pugnae vehementiam. Expectabam fere τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ οὐχ ὁμοία ταῖς ὑστερον κτέ.'; and Mr. Forbes says 'A battle could hardly be said to be *καρτερὰ τέχνη*.' But perhaps this *τέχνη* is *causal* and co-ordinate with *οὖσα*, so that the rendering should be: 'The naval battle was obstinate, in a less degree *because* the combatants were skilled in tactics, but rather *because* the engagement resembled a land battle.' In every contest the connexion between *καρτερία* and *τέχνη* is acknowledged. There is probably, then, no necessity to alter *οὐχ ὁμοίως*—for example—into *οὐκ ἔχουσ' ὁμοίως* (*sc. ναυμαχίᾳ*). Steup is right in saying that *οὐχ ὁμοίως* is practically a simple negative; but it is meant to correspond with the *τὸ πλεόν* that follows.

c. 91, 1 *τῶν δὲ τᾶλλον ἀφικνουμένων καὶ σαφῶς κατηγοροῦντων ὅτι τευχίζεται κτέ*. Shilleto conjectured *αὐτοπτῶν* δὲ ἄλλον, van der Mey τῶν δὲ ἀεὶ ἀφ. It seems to me that a simpler conjecture is *ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν* for *ἄλλον*. There is no doubt that the sense is 'Persons who came from Athens to Sparta.'

c. 91 § 4 *εἰ δέ τι βούλονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἢ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, πρεσβεύεσθαι παρὰ σφᾶς ὡς πρὸς διαγιγνώσκοντας τὸ λοιπὸν ἵεναι τὰ τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ κοινά*. By *σφίσιν αὐτοῖς* the Athenians are meant; by *τὰ κοινά* the interests of Greece at large. As to the construction, the ordinary plan is to connect *πρεσβεύεσθαι* with *βούλονται*; but the order of the words from *ὡς* onwards then lacks justification, and the phrase *εἴ τι βούλονται* is more naturally taken as independent.

What we seem to require is *ὡς πρὸς διαγινώσκοντας τὸ λοιπὸν ἵσ' εἶναι τὰ τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ κοινά*, 'to men who discerned that for the future their interests and the interests of Greece in general were similar.' Whatever increased the power of Athens—it is argued—was of value to all the members of the alliance; consequently the completion of the Athenian fortifications *καὶ ἰδία τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους ὠφελιμώτερον ἔσσεσθαι*. The two sentences are well illustrated by c. 120, 1 *χρὴ γάρ τοις ἡγεμόνας τὰ ἴδια* (i.e. the interests of the leaders) *ἐξ ἴσου νέμοντας τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν*, where *ἐξ ἴσου νέμειν* is not 'to give a just share of attention,' but 'to give attention to them as being in agreement with (and not of greater importance than) the interests of the allies.' This use of *ἴσος* is seen in Soph. *Trach.* 1164 *φανὼ δ' ἐγὼ τούτοις συμβαίνοντ' ἴσα μαντεῖα καινά, τοῖς πάλαι ξυνήγορα*. For the *ἰέναι* of our passage H. reads *εἶναι*.

c. 95, 5 perhaps *κατηγορεῖτο δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἥκιστα μηδισμὸς καὶ <ΤΟΔ> ΕΔόκει σαφέστατον εἶναι*. The parallel passages referred to by Classen c. 127, 2 (see Steup there) and iii. 39, 3 are both doubtful.

c. 118, 2 *οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἡσύχαζον τὸ πλεόν τοῦ χρόνου, ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους*. The *μή* here is desperate, and Arnold conjectured *οὐ* for it. Surely the simplest correction is *χρόνου, <νομίζ>οντες κτέ.*, *νομίζω* being equal to *εἶωθα*. For this sentence we are to compare c. 132, 5 *χρώμενοι τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧπερ εἰώθασιν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι . . . βουλεύσαι τι*.

c. 141 § 2 *τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐκατέρους ὑπαρχόντων ὡς οὐκ ἀσθενέστερα ἔξομεν γνῶτε καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκούοντες*. Mr. Forbes indicates the current view of this when he directs us to render 'as to the prospects of the war, and as to our respective resources generally.' But this version involves, as Herwerden points out, *τὰ τῶν ἐκατέρους ὑπαρχόντων οὐκ ἀσθενέστερα ἔξομεν*, and ἐκατέρους cannot properly be referred to *ἔξομεν*. This difficulty the editors avoid by saying that *τὰ . . . ὑπαρχόντων* is adverbial: but they overlook the fact that *ἀσθενέστερα* ought then to be an adverb; i.e. it ought to be *ἀσθενέστερον* or *-ως* (*διαφερόντως καὶ τότε* [τῷδε Hude] *ἔχομεν* ii. 40). It cannot surely be maintained that the sentence as it stands differs from iii. 82 *ἀμείνους τὰς γνώμας ἔχουσι*, and iv. 92 *ἐπικινδυνότεραν ἐτέρων τὴν παροίκισιν ἔχομεν*, and vii. 77 *τὰ ἐπιτήδεια βραχέα ἔχομεν*, and c. 77 of this very book *ἀμεικτα τὰ . . . νόμιμα ἔχετε*, and so on. I therefore am led to believe that *καὶ* means 'also' here, and that *τῶν ἐκατέρους ὑπαρχόντων* belongs to *καθ'*

ἕκαστον ἀκούοντες. The construe is: 'when you hear also in detail the resources that belong to either side, know that the means of making war will not be weaker on our side.' The *καὶ* is in point, because hitherto the speaker has contrasted only the *conduct*, or demands, of the two sides. The order of the words is not surprising when we take into account the emphasis that falls on the various parts of the sentence.

Book II. c. 16 § 1 *τῇ δ' οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτονόμῳ οἰκήσει [μετείχον] οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κτέ.* Since publishing, Hude has proposed *κατεχόμενοι* for *μετείχον*, comparing, for the confusion of *μετ* and *κατ* viii. 72, 2. This fits in well with what follows. I had thought of *οικήσει, μετ' ἐκείνον οἱ Ἀ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξυνωκίσθησαν κτέ.*, *ἐκείνος* being, of course, Theseus.

c. 41, 4 *Πανταχοῦ δὲ μνημεῖα κακῶν τε κἀγαθῶν αἰδία ξυγκατοικίσαντες*. It is strange that Hude did not think Herwerden's *καλῶν* for *κακῶν* worthy of record. Is it really probable that Pericles would here play the Witch to the Manfred of the Athenian Demos?—

"I know thee, and the powers which gave thee power;
I know thee for a man of many thoughts,
And deeds of good and ill, extreme in both"—

or, again, that the sentiment of the line *quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris* is really identical with the boast of the text?

c. 52, 2 *ἐν καλίβαις πνιγνῆρας ὥρα ἔτους διαιτωμένων ὁ φθόρος ἐγίγνετο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκροὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνήσκοντες ἕκιντο καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐκαλινδοῦντο καὶ περὶ τὰς κρήνας ἀπάσας ἡμιθνήτες τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπορία*. I do not know why Gertz's proposal to bracket *νεκροὶ* is thought by H. worth recording while my suggestion that *ἀποθνήσκοντες* is a gloss on *ἡμιθνήτες* and Stein's *<τε>* before *ταῖς* are to be passed over. However, Poppo says we must understand *ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνήσκοντες ἕκιντο-νεκροὶ*. But the order of *νεκροὶ* is intolerable and the inceptive *ἀποθνήσκοντες* would have to be changed into *ἀποθανόντες*.¹ If then *ἀποθνήσκοντες* is not to be moved with Oncken (cf. Croiset and Steup), it must be altered—and, possibly, into *ἀποσεσηπότες*.

c. 90, 1 *ἐπλεον . . . παρὰ* (with CG for *ἐπὶ*) *ἔσω [ἐπὶ] τοῦ κόλπου*. So H., regarding *ἐπὶ*

¹ Stahl, to be sure, refers to the first fragment of Callinus, but with all respect, that is a wholly different use of *θνήσκοντος*.

as spurious with Krüger. But compare Herod. 8, 18 *δρησµὸν ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα*.

There are many passages in the book which like the above still require and will doubtless excite discussion. But, whatever be the verdict on isolated passages in Hude's text, there can be but one opinion of the work as a whole. The book is essential to

every student of Thucydides; and though the text may not become the standard followed in this country, there is no doubt that the *apparatus criticus* must in future be the criterion for all readers and editors of whatever nationality.

E. C. MARCHANT.

BLASS'S EDITION OF BACCHYLIDES.

Bacchylidis Carmina cum fragmentis, edidit FRIDERICUS BLASS. Lipsiae. Teubner. 1898. Mk. 2. 40.

We know what to expect from Dr. Blass—always sincerity and candour, often brilliancy rising sometimes to genius, occasionally views difficult to accept, which however he may be confidently expected genially to withdraw and recant, if they can be shown to be untenable or inferior to other suggestions. We take an example of the latter first, because the passage illustrating it occurs very early in the poems. In iii. 22 the MS. gives

ΘΕΟΝΘ . . ΤΙΣ
ΑΓΛΑΪΖΕΘΓΑΡΑΡΙΣΤΟΣΟΛΒΩΝ.

With a very slight correction, E for I and II for Γ, the commonest of errors, we have

θεὸν θέλοντες
ἀγλαΐζεθ' ᾧ πᾶρ' ἄριστος ὄλβων.

The use of *θέλοντες* 'gladly' is defended by *ἐθέλων* in v. 169, and the sentiment is perfectly natural. Dr. Blass reads

θεὸν θεόν τις
ἀγλαΐζέτω, ὁ γὰρ ἄριστος ὄλβων.

The repetition of *θεόν* is Palmer's suggestion; but surely *ἀγλαΐζεθ'* points to a plural participle, and *τις* can be maintained only by changing *θ* of the MS. in *ἀγλαΐζεθ'* to *τ*—a more violent alteration than ours. But the fatal objection to Dr. Blass's reading is the striking metrical anomaly involved in making *-τω* ὁ equivalent to a long syllable. Unless fortified by an undoubted example we are unable to accept such a metrical phenomenon as the evanescence of a short vowel *ο* in a preceding long vowel *-τω*. The converse would be more possible, namely that the long vowel should lose its length and make with the short vowel following a short

syllable. Let us hasten to set against this some instances of Dr. Blass's shrewdness and good judgment. In v. 193 he fills up the *lacuna* (an almost identical suggestion was made by Housman) by the words

ὃν ἂν ἀθάνατοι τι[μῶσι, κείνῳ
καὶ βροτῶν φήμαν ἔπ]εσθαι.

The sentiment is ascribed to Hesiod by Bacchylides, but there is no trace of it in Hesiod. The ingenious suggestion of Dr. Blass is that the poet by a lapse of memory attributed to Hesiod a gnome which really belongs to Theognis 169,

ὃν δὲ θεοὶ τιμῶσ', ὃν καὶ μωμέμενος αἰνεῖ.

Perhaps, however, we should read *τιμῶσιν ὁ καὶ μωμέμενος αἰνεῖ*. Even the captious critic praises him whom the gods delight to honour.

In i. 6 (Kenyon) the MS. gives

ΟΠΟΤΕ
ΑΧΡΕΙ [] ΟΛΟΙΜΑΧΑΣ.

Dr. Blass's remedy is drastic, introducing a quite new word, but of new words there are at least a hundred in Bacchylides. He would read

ὅποτε
χρεῖόν τι κερβόλλοι μάχας.

Undoubtedly there was a word *κερβολεῖν* = *κερτομεῖν*. But Bacchylides would not have written the contracted form *κερβολοῖ*, and Dr. Blass fairly infers a form *κερβόλλειν* from *σκερβόλλειν* found in Aristoph. *Eg.* 821. The winner is well compared in spirit to some lion when a call to combat taunts him to the fray. The form *κερβόλλοι* would certainly be strange enough (though quite defensible) to puzzle the copyist, who may have deliberately omitted the earlier part of

the word, which he could not decipher or restore.

In iii. 5 Dr. Blass's γένοντο is not only closer to the MS. but more poetical than σείοντο of the *Ed. princeps*; and the same may be said of his restoration of 25-27 of the same ode (defended in brief but decisive footnotes)

εὔτε τὰν πεπ[ρωμέναι
Ζηγὸς τελείου νεύμα]σιν
Ξάρδιες Περσᾶ[ν ὑπ' ἐκπύμπαν στρ]ατῶ.

But we cannot accept his μόλ' ὦν for μολὼν *ibid.* 30. The Herodotean ὦν for οἶν has no place in the dialect of Bacchylides; οἶν is found in xviii. 29, 37, as with characteristic candour Dr. Blass himself points out. He seems to accept μινύθει *ibid.* 90. Here and elsewhere we crave a text with full explanatory notes, such as we hope soon to have from Prof. Jebb. For instance, in v. 186 does πέταλον mean 'a crown,' which seems impossible in the singular, or 'a vote' as in Pind. *Isthm.* viii. (vii.) 46? Again in xi. 65 the meaning plainly required is 'from their very infancy.' But could this be conveyed by the words βληχρᾶς...ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς? Could a lyric poet call a child's infancy its βληχρὰ ἀρχά, 'its weak beginning'? Would not the words necessarily mean 'from a trivial origin' *tenui ab initio*? Unless the impugned sense of these words can be defended, we would certainly resort to conjecture and read βληχᾶς...ἀπ' ἄκρας *a primo vagitu*, 'from their earliest infant cry.' Pindar, *Pyth.* v. 8 has αἰῶνος ἀκρᾶν ἀπὸ βαθμίδων from 'the first step of life,' and ἄκρα σὺν ἐσπέρᾳ *ibid.* xi. 10 further fortifies the use of ἄκρος for 'earliest, first.' The copyist who has given us κατὰ καρδίαν for κατ' Ἀρκαδίαν *ibid.* 94, and ὄμμα for νόημα *ibid.* 54, may well in the same ode have erroneously written βληχρᾶς...ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς for βληχᾶς...ἀπ' ἄκρας, the more as the adjective βληχρός, though rare, is found again in xiii. 194.

As to the vexed question of the *syllaba anceps*, Dr. Blass does not deny it with Platt and Housman, nor does he allow it as readily as the editor of the *editio princeps* and the scholars who have assisted him. On p. xxviii. of the *Praefatio* he thus sums up his view: *Itaque etsi est aliquid periodus, intermedium illud quidem inter stropham et membrum: tamen non sunt ubique tales periodi, sed συνάφεια illa, quae intra periodum est et cum deficit eius terminum designat, et per longius spatium interdum obtinet, et contraria ratione aliis locis ita saepe interrumpitur, ut ex colis*

non periodis eae strophae vel totae vel magnum partem constent. Hence he does not find it necessary in xi. 119 to introduce a long syllable at the end of the verse to match the other epodes, and does not even mention the suggested changes of πρόγο|νοι into πρό-γου|νοῖ' or προᾶγ|ον. On the other hand in i. 32 he reads νόσων for νούσων with Housman and others. It is remarkable that of the odes containing more than one metrical system there is only one, the second, a very short ode presenting only one strophe of five lines with its antistrophe, which does not afford a case (or sometimes more than one case) of the *syllaba anceps* in the end of the verse—only one in which, in the language of Dr. Blass, the strophes seem to consist of *periodi not cola*, if we accept the testimony of the MS.

In iv. 6 instead of

ὠκυνπόδ[ων ἀρετᾶ] σὺν ἵππων

we should prefer στεφάνοις το ἀρετᾶ, comparing Pind. Fr. 221 (Bgk.)

ἀλλοπόδων μὲν τιν' εὐφραίνουσιν ἵππων
ἄνθεα καὶ στέφανοι.

In the same ode Dr. Blass makes Ὀρτυγίας ἀλέκτωρ refer to Alpheus, quoting Soph. Fr. 767 (W.) for ἀλέκτωρ in the sense of πόσις—another new meaning to be added to our dictionaries, and (more questionably) *ibid.* 14 he makes Γαίας μυχοῖς = Πυθοῖ, comparing ὁ Παρνάσσιος μυχός Pind. P. x. 8. In the fifth ode he allows the hypermetric syllables to stand in the text. In ix. (viii.) 28 reading ἄστρον διακρινεῖ φάει he takes διακρ. from adj. διακρινής, and in the same ode 18 he prettily supplies

ἐλπὶς ἀνθρώπων ἐφαυρ[εῖται νόημα]

referring to xi. 54, where however νόημα is a conjecture, though a certain one, for ὄμμα of the MS. The middle verb is a great improvement. We regret that he does not accept the ingenious τὸ πὰρ χειρὸς of several English and foreign scholars in xiv. 10, affording as it does a pretty parallel idiom to the πὰρ ποδός of Pindar. In xvii. 97 he retains ἐναλνάεται of the MS., comparing ἐμπυριβήτης Hom. Ψ 702, ἐχειρίθετος Hdt. 5, 106; while *ibid.* 116 he gives against the MS., but apparently quite rightly, ῥόδοις εἰρμένον (with χολώθη κέαρ in the corresponding epode)—a great improvement on the ῥόδοις ἐρεμνόν of the *ed. princeps*. His text, *ibid.* 118, presents θέωσιν for Palmer's λῶσιν, which belongs to

low Doric, and, though quite right in Theocritean and Aristophanean Doric, is not found in Pindar. In xvii. 35 his *μόνον σὸν ὁπάουσιν* is very tempting, the meaning being 'having no one with him but his retinue,' that is, no friend or equal; cp. Eur. *Hec.* 1148 *μόνον σὸν τέκνοισι* adduced by Weil. The desperate *τί ἤν* of the MS. is retained in xix. 15 as a rhetorical question like *τίς πρῶτος* in xiv. 47.

The edition of Dr. Blass is the more readable in so far as it admits in several places conjectural restorations of the text where Kenyon marks a lacuna. The best

results of English and foreign criticism are embodied, and, in a word, the work is a great and important contribution to Bacchylidean literature. The fruitful labours of Jebb, Palmer, and Housman are acknowledged as amply as those of Wilamowitz, Gomperz, and Herwerden. But, as we have said above, Bacchylides will not fully assert his place among the classics until the questions are faced which an explanatory commentary must raise. For this task we await with confidence the edition of Prof. Jebb.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

PATON'S *ANTHOLOGIAE GRAECAE EROTICA*.

Anthologiae Graecae Erotica, W. R. PATON.
London. D. Nutt. 1898. pp. xii. 201.
3s. 6d.

THE writer of the *Inscriptions of Cos* has here made an excursion into more purely literary ground. He has 'done into English' a select number of the Erotic epigrams in Bk. v. of the *Greek Anthology*, and has given the text of the untranslated epigrams of the same book, with conjectures of other critics, and some few of his own.

The style of the translation is very free, and, speaking generally, somewhat diffuse: one might say that in this respect some of the earlier translators produce a more favourable impression by their mere simplicity. The fancifulness of many Greek epigrams will not bear minute scrutiny, and a paraphrase which aims at bringing out the meaning in full is apt to fail, even if it does not offend. As a fair specimen of Mr. Paton's less ambitious style, Ep. cexiii. may be quoted:—

Σφαιριστὰν τὸν Ἔρωτα τρέφω σοὶ δ' Ἡλιοδόρα
βάλλει τὰν ἐν ἐμοὶ παλλομένην κραδίαν
ἀλλ' ἄγε συμπαίκεταιν δέξαι πόθον· εἰ δ' ἀπὸ
σεῦ με
ρίψαις, οὐκ οἶσσι τὰν ἀπάλαιστρον ὕβριν.

'Tis I that taught young Love the art
To aim so well and true,
And straight to thee that quivering heart
Plucked from my breast he threw.

But quick his gage to Love return
And cast me not away.
No ruth has he for maids that spurn
The courtesies of play.

Great care has been taken with the *app. crit.* which is, of course, drawn from Stadtmüller. This part of the book should recommend it to scholars: Mr. Paton has given the MS. reading, just enough to stimulate curiosity, of his own conjectures enough to demonstrate his occasional *εἰστοχία* and to prove his competence as an editor.

R. ELIS.

PAULI'S *CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM ETRUSCARUM* AND RECENT ETRUSCAN STUDIES.

Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum. . . *administrate Augusto Danielsson edidit Carolus Pauli*. Leipzig (Barth), 1893
sqg. (each part, 10 M.).

THE interpretation of Etruscan has come to be regarded as a hopeless problem, as hopeless as the attempt to square the circle

or as the quest for the philosopher's stone. But if we look into the matter, we see that this evil reputation has been acquired from two causes: (1) the unscientific methods followed by most students of the language, (2) the unsatisfactory presentation of the material for study. As soon as these two defects are remedied, there is no reason for

despairing of a successful issue. Prof. Pauli's careful edition of all extant Etruscan inscriptions affords a thoroughly satisfactory remedy for the second defect. It is to be hoped that the appearance of a band of co-operators with him, using his methods and following in his footsteps, will soon remedy the first.

The hopes raised by the publication of Corsen's *Sprache der Etrusker* (Leipz. 1874) were quickly shattered by Deecke's destructive criticism, *Corsen und die Sprache der Etrusker* (Stuttg. 1875). Deecke exposed the utter insufficiency of Corsen's arguments and demonstrated once for all that an interpretation of the Etruscan records which starts with the assumption that Etruscan must be an Indo-European language, and which proceeds to interpret them by referring each word to some Latin word of similar appearance (e.g. *puia* 'young girl,' Lat. *puella*; *clan* 'major natu,' Lat. *grandis*) must prove a fiasco. And yet by some extraordinary infatuation Deecke himself, some years later, glided imperceptibly into this very position and issued treatise after treatise based on this unwarrantable assumption. Pauli, on the other hand, has throughout remained true to the principles which he laid down at the beginning of his studies, viz., that the Etruscan records must be interpreted by means of themselves, that the sense of an Etruscan word must be determined by a comparison of the various contexts in which it occurs, and not by a reference to a supposed Latin or Indo-European cognate. The absurdity of the method of Corsen and latterly of Deecke, he showed in an amusing skit in his *Altitalische Studien*, ii. 142, in which, pretending to regard Etruscan as a branch of the Baltic languages, he produced cognates from the Lithuanian for Etruscan words as readily as Deecke had produced them from the Latin.

Nearly everything in Etruscan that has been made out with some appearance of certainty we owe to Pauli. The student will indeed do well to read the monographs of Deecke as well as of Pauli, contained for the most part in three publications, viz. :—

Etruskische Forschungen, ed. Deecke 1875–80.

Etruskische Studien, ed. Pauli 1879–80.

Etruskische Forschungen und Studien, ed. Deecke and Pauli, 1881–4.

but he will utilize Deecke more for collections of instances of words, Pauli for inferences of their meaning.

And yet in spite of the fact that there

has been, I might almost say, only one scientific student of the language, a great deal has been achieved. The chief drawback hitherto has not really been the inability to translate the Etruscan records; for the greater part of the available records can be translated with a fair amount of certainty. It has been the inadequacy of the records themselves. Till recently they consisted, roughly speaking, of a huge number of epitaphs, with a few other inscriptions. These epitaphs are usually of brief compass, giving the name of the deceased, his age and the like. Though almost every word admits of certain or nearly certain translation, our knowledge of the language, of its accidence and syntax, of its ethnical affinities and linguistic type, has not been greatly furthered. And scientific investigation has been hindered hitherto by the unreliableness of the material. The Etruscan inscriptions had to be got from Fabretti's *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum* (1867–80), a bulky collection of all kinds of inscriptions, Latin, Italic (Oscan, Umbrian, &c.), Messapian, Venetan (long regarded as 'North Etruscan'), in which forged inscriptions stand side by side with genuine, and even the genuine are not always accurately transcribed. Small wonder that, under these circumstances, the Etruscan problem still remains unsolved. The wonder is rather that so much progress should have been made.

In the new *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, edited by Prof. Pauli, with the help of Prof. Danielsson, of Upsala, we have at last a trustworthy collection of the material.¹ Alien matter, such as the Venetan inscriptions, is, thanks to Prof. Pauli's investigations (*Altitalische Forschungen* iii. 'Die Veneter und ihre Sprachdenkmäler,' Leipz. 1891), now excluded. And the last few years have seen a great accession to our material. A linen cloth wrapped round an Egyptian mummy in the Agram Museum was found to be the relics of an Etruscan 'liber linteus,' and to contain a large portion of some Etruscan Book of Ritual. The text has been published by Prof.

¹ Seven parts, containing some 3,700 inscriptions, have already appeared. The full number of inscriptions to be included is given as 7,000. The costs of publication are defrayed by the Prussian Academy, Berlin, and the Saxon Society, Leipzig. I hope that the undertaking will meet with the favourable reception that it deserves, so that no financial difficulties may arise. Curators of museums or owners of private collections in which there is any Etruscan inscription should let Prof. Pauli (address: Lugano, Switzerland) know of it without delay.

Krall with characteristic accuracy: *Die Etruskischen Mumienbindungen des Agramer National-Museums*, Vienna 1892 (vol. xli. part iii. of the *Denkschriften* of the Vienna Academy). We find ourselves at last provided with long continuous passages of Etruscan, of much the same nature and extent as the Umbrian Tables of Iguvium. The same features as those which gave the clue to the decipherment of the Umbrian records, viz. the recurrence of phrases in slightly altered form, with a Nominative, let us say, in one occurrence, an Accusative in another, or a Singular Verb here, a Plural Verb there—precisely the same features seem to characterize the Etruscan documents. They cannot fail in time to supply us with the needful discriminations of Case, Gender, Number, Person, and the like; in fact with elements of Etruscan Grammar.

The present time is therefore a very favourable opportunity for taking up the study of Etruscan. We have now sufficient material for determining the nature of the language, and the material is in the new 'Corpus' presented in a trustworthy form. It may not be amiss to give a brief account of the stage that investigation has already reached.

The sources of our knowledge of Etruscan, previous to the discovery of the 'liber linteus' in the Agram Museum, were (1) Ancient Glosses, (2) Inscriptions. From ancient writers we get such glosses as *aesar* 'a god' (mentioned by Suetonius in his story of the statue of Augustus which was struck by lightning, so that the first letter of the word CAESAR was destroyed, leaving AESAR 'Etrusca lingua deus' Aug. 97), *arse verse* 'averte ignem' (Paul. Fest. 14. 11 Th.; cf. Afranius: inscribat aliquis 'arse verse' in ostio), *lucumo* 'rex' (Serv. ad Virg. A. 2. 278; 8. 475; cf. Propert. iv. 1. 75 'galeritus Lucmon'), as well as names like *Tanaquil*, *Tarquinius*, *Porsetna* (*Porsetna*), *Arruns*, *Lars*.

Many of these words appear on the inscriptions; e.g. on a sarcophagus from Vulci, now in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, U.S.A., the husband's name is *Larθ Tetrines*, the wife's *Θanxvil Tarnai*.

Of the Inscriptions the greater number are

(1) Epitaphs. Some of these are bilingual (collected by Deecke in *Etr. Forsch. u. Stud.* v.), e.g.

(a) *P. Volumnius A. f. Violens Cafatia natus*||*Pup. Velimna Au. Cahatial*, which gives us Etr. *Velimna* = Lat. *Volumnius*, Etr. *Cahatial* = Lat. *Cafatia natus*.

(b) *L. Scarpus Scarpiae l. Tucipa*||*Larnθ Scarpal lautni*,

which seems to equate Etr. *lautni* (of which the fem. form *lautniθa* is found on women's epitaphs) with Latin *libertus*, and marks the Etr. ending *l* as a genitive ending or the like.

Often, however, the Latin neighbouring epitaph seems to be not really a Latin version of the Etruscan inscription, but a separate epitaph of some one buried at another time in the same tomb. The Etruscan *Vel. Anne Cupsnal* seems hardly to refer to the same person as the Latin *C. Anninus L. f. Coelia natus*.

The Etruscan epitaphs frequently contain, besides the name of the person deceased and of his mother (cf. above *Cahatial*, Lat. *Cafatia natus*), his age (years, and occasionally also months) with now and then a mention of the magistracy which he had filled. They supply us with a multitude of Etruscan names, of which the Praenomina have been collected by Deecke in *Etr. Forsch.* iii., e.g. *Arnθ* 'Arruns' (cf. 'Arruntius,' 'Arrius'), *Larθ* 'Lars' or *Larnθ* 'Laurens,' *Larnθa* 'Laurentia,' *Hasti* 'Faustia,' *Vipina* 'Vibenna,' *Luvci* 'Lucius'; so that we can learn something of Etruscan phonetics and orthography by comparing the Etruscan and Latin forms of the same name. Thus Latin *ae* of 'Caecina,' 'Caesius' appears in Etruscan as *ei* in *Ceicna*, *Ceisi*; Lat. *qu* is written in Etruscan *cv* or *cu*, e.g. *Cvinte* 'Quintus'; Lat. *vol-* corresponds to Etrusc. *vel-* in *Velxatini* 'Volcatinia,' *Velsi* 'Volusius,' and so on (cf. also Etr. *Raufi*, *Rafi*, and *Rufi* for Lat. 'Rufius'; Etr. *Acsial*, *Ahsial*, and *Asial* for Lat. 'Axia natus' or 'Axiae'). They give us also words of relationship like *puia* 'wife,' *sec* or *sex* 'daughter,' *clan* 'son'; e.g. the epitaph of *Laris Pūmpu* is accompanied by that of his wife, *Θana Setuni*, *puia Larisal Pumpus*; a lady called 'Lartia Vibia' is described as *Larθi Vipi*, *puia Tites Satnas*, *Vatinial sec*. Also words for 'year' (*vil* and *avil*), month (*tivr*) etc. Conjunctions like *-c* 'and,' (e.g. *clan puia* 'son and wife,' *Vel. Seθre puia* 'Vol. Sertorius et uxor'), Verbs like *lupuce* 'died,' *amce* 'was,' Numerals, both units (e.g. *ci* 'two') and decades (e.g. *cealx-* or *cialx-* 'twenty'), the decades being formed by the suffix *-alx-*. They supply us too, with formulas which seem to correspond to our 'here lies' etc. (collected by Pauli in *Etr. Stud.* iii.), viz. *eca suθi* 'this is' (1) (e.g. *eca suθi Θanxvilus Musnial*), *mi suθi* 'this is' (2) (e.g. *mi suθi Larθial Muθikus*; cf. *mi Θanxvilus*; *mi Arnθial Usinies*). The

word *zilaθ* seems to designate some magistracy, e.g. *zilaθ Tarχnalθi amce* 'was *zilat* at Tarquinii' (?).

(2) Deductive Inscriptions (collected by Pauli in *Etr. Stud.* iii.). These offer such words as *turce* 'gave' (e.g. *mi turce* or *ecn turce* 'gave this' (?), *alpan turce* 'gave a gift or offering' (?)). And often the name of the object given is supplied: for example, on statues we find the word *fleres* so used that it can hardly be anything but the word for 'statue.'

(3) Titles of Paintings of Vases and Walls of Tombs, or scratched on Mirrors. The words written are mainly Proper Names, the names of the personages depicted, often Greek or Roman deities or heroes, such as *Menrva* 'Minerva,' *Xaru* 'Charon.' Some deities seem to bear native Etruscan names, e.g. *Fryluns*, the Etruscan Bacchus, *Uni*, Juno, *Tina*, Jupiter, *Usil*, the Sun, *Turan*, Venus.

On a wall-painting of the sacrifice of Trojans to the spirit of Patroclus we find the figure of Patroclus accompanied by the device *hinθial Patruclēs*. A mirror with representation of the soul of Teiresias giving answer to Ulysses has *hinθial Terasias*. A vase showing Charon ferrying a veiled female figure, designates the latter *hinθia Turmucas*. The word *hinθia* therefore has been with good reason explained as 'spirit,' 'soul,' 'ghost.' That the Etruscans shared in the wide-spread superstition that a person's image in a mirror is the person's soul is suggested by a mirror-engraving in which the Etruscan Venus (*Turan*) appears with an attendant female divinity, who holds a mirror before the goddess (?) *Malavisχ*, while over the mirror is written *hinθial*.

A few inscriptions, not yet interpreted, seem to belong to the class of

(4) Official decrees, notices of ownership, etc. The famous 'cippus' of Perugia has a lengthy inscription of this sort, which offers favourable material for study. Something too might be made of

(5) 'Defixiones' or leaden execration-tablets, two of which have been found in Etruscan tombs (*C.I.E.* 52 and *Rendiconti... Lincei* 1891, p. 431). They probably contain the usual formulas of Greek and Latin 'defixiones.'

To these we may add

(6) Dice. The names of the Etruscan units from 'one' to 'six' have for a long time been known from this source. But the order in which they were to be arranged

baffled all attempts of inquirers,¹ until Prof. Skutsch (*Indogerm. Forsch.* v. 256), taking as a clue the arrangement of the pips on those Etruscan dice which had pips instead of numeral-names, and confirming this with the help of epitaphs, demonstrated with a fair amount of certainty that the Etruscan numerals run in this order: *maχ* 'one,' *ci* 'two,' *θu* 'three,' *huθ* 'four,' *ša* 'five,' *zal* 'six.' These numeral-names offer serious difficulty to the association of Etruscan with the Indo-European family of languages.

(7) Coins (see Deecke *Etr. Forsch.* ii.). Some names of towns appear on these, e.g. *Velaθri* 'Volaterrae,' *Puϑluna* 'Populonia,' along with a few other phrases less easy to interpret.

(8) The bronze liver or 'templum' of Piacenza. In 1877 a curious bronze object was discovered near Piacenza, which has been shown by Deecke (*Etr. Forsch.* iv.) to be a figure of the liver, used by Etruscan 'haruspices' in their divinations. The various parts of the liver, corresponding to the various 'regiones' of the sky are marked off, each being designated by the name of the presiding deity or deities. The arrangement seems to correspond fairly with the Roman arrangement of the 'templum,' as described by Martianus Capella (i. 45-61). Thus in the second 'regio,' according to Mart. Capella, 'Juno domicilium possidebat,' and on the Piacenza 'templum' we find *Uni*, already known as the Etruscan equivalent of Juno; in the seventh the Etruscan *Fryluns* corresponds with Capella's 'Liber'; and as in the Roman 'templum' Jupiter appears in several 'regiones,' so the Etruscan name *Tin-* is found to recur more than once. The right under-side of the Piacenza liver is ascribed to *Usil*, the Sun, the left to *Tiv*, the Moon (whence *tivr*, 'a month'). Our knowledge of the Etruscan Pantheon is greatly increased by this discovery.

To this material has recently been added

(9) A Lemnos inscription (see Pauli's *Altitalische Forschungen*, vol. ii.) which shows great affinity with Etruscan (cf. *σιναλχις* with Etr. *cialχis* 'twenty,' *αφι* with Etr. *avil* 'year'). By its help we get some indications of the course taken by the language on other than Etrurian soil.

Although the Agram Mummy Inscription has not yet been fully utilized, the interpre-

¹ Deecke solved the problem in a characteristic manner. The word that looked most like a Latin numeral was *θu*, suggesting Latin *duo*. Deecke took this equation as the starting point of his investigations. Unfortunately *θu* turns out to be 'three' and not 'two.'

tation of the other records has now advanced so far that the discovery of a single bilingual inscription which contained something more than Proper Names would probably give us all that is wanted in the way of further help. Unfortunately the excavations in Etruria are carried on at places in which bilinguals are not likely to turn up. The likely quarter for these is the border-region of the Etruscan and Latin territories. Until money (some £200 would be required) is forthcoming for

excavations in this region, we must content ourselves with the more lengthy process of sifting and re-sifting the evidence of the inscriptions that have been already found.

May Prof. Pauli's edition of them inaugurate a new era of scientific treatment of the Etruscan problem, undisturbed by those random guessers who have done so much to bring Etruscan studies into disrepute.

W. M. LINDSAY.

REGNAUD'S *ÉLÉMENTS DE GRAMMAIRE COMPARÉE*.

REGNAUD. *Éléments de grammaire comparée du grec et du latin d'après la méthode historique inaugurée par l'auteur*. Seconde Partie, Morphologie, pp. viii. 372. Paris, Armand Colin et Cie., 1896. 8 frs.

AN idea of the author's method may be got from an extract from his discussion of the genitive singular.

'GÉNÉTIF.—Ce cas se présente sous deux formes bien distinctes, l'une simple, l'autre complex.

'I. FORME SIMPLE.—Primitivement *ōās, oēs, oīs, uīs*, etc.; cf. sc. *as* et *o(s)*; protogrec *ωs*.

'Thèmes masc. en *Λ*.—Att. 'Αντιφάτους [*Αντιφατε(σ)-ως] inscrip. de Rhodes Σαμιάδευς [*Σαμιαδε(σ)-υς, Πολίτευς [*Πολιτε(σ)-υς].—Avec perte de la consonne finale: Hérodote δεσπότη(σ)-ω, Θάλε(σ)-ω, Καμβύσε(σ)-ω; inscription ion. Πυθέ(σ)-ω et Πυθῶ; att. πολίτου pour *πολιτε(σ)-ω; homér. πολίτᾱο [*πολιτᾱ(σ)-ω], Ἀτρείδα(σ)-ο; arcad. τᾱς ζαμίαν, pour *ζαμια(σ)-ω, ce que suppose un nom. *ζαμίας; arcad. et eypr. Καλλία(σ)-ν.'

The rest of the work is of the same character.

J. STRACHAN.

IHERING'S *EVOLUTION OF THE ARYAN*.

The Evolution of the Aryan. By RUDOLPH VON IHERING. Translated from the German by A. Drucker, M.P. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 1897. Pp. 412. Price 10s. 6d.

THIS is a difficult book to read, and the same reason which makes it difficult to read also makes it almost impossible to say that the attempt is worth the labour. The principles and methods on which the book is written are so remote from those that are firmly established by the sciences of archaeology and linguistic palaeontology, the assumptions, peculiar to the author and certainly not demonstrated by him, are so numerous, that it is difficult to carry them all in one's head sufficiently well to be able to say whether they really cover the

conclusions which are set forth as being deduced from them; and one feels the less interest in that question, because one cannot put any faith in the author's premises. Vaniczek is not generally recognised now as a final and infallible authority on philology. To speak of Latin words as derived from Sanskrit roots (p. 16) indicates that the author was scarcely familiar enough with the general principles of comparative philology to make any solid additions to linguistic palaeontology. The whole history of the alphabet will have to be re-written if the primitive Aryans were acquainted with letters, and if 'marks of possession, painted on the skin of the cattle were the first written characters' and the marks on 'the hide of the live ox led to the use of the hide of the dead animal for the

purposes of writing' (p. 16). The psychology of primitive man is a field offering much latitude to conjecture, as Mr. Andrew Lang shows in 'The Making of Religion'; but it is hardly wide enough to contain the obiter dictum that 'in the driving of the cattle man first became conscious of the fact of motion' (p. 14). Few people, again, will agree that Sanskrit and the Vedas give us the earliest picture we can obtain of the original Aryans. Fewer still will be prepared to admit either that the Aryans in their primeval home had a registration system, with lists of the members of every household and the number of cattle in the possession of each (p. 270), or that 'statistics in their primitive state date back to the Aryan mother-nation' (p. 272). Some readers, while admitting the importance of tribal custom, will dispute the existence of law in the original Aryan home; others will consider it more likely that the names of the Hirpini and Picentes point to some form of animal worship than that the Hirpini 'were so called by their neighbours because of their rapacious tendencies' (p.

300) and that 'the Picts owed the name to their national characteristics expressed therein: it describes them as circumspect, cautious, cunning' (p. 304). Anthropologists, in view of the wide-spread occurrence of 'holy days,' are not likely to agree that 'the Sabbath was a purely social institution ...an institution of a social and political kind, like our present labour regulations' (p. 115); nor to accept the speculations about the *ver sacrum* which occupy a large part of the book and explain the institution as commemorative of the first emigration from the Aryan home—we must rather regard it as a taboo and as probably to be explained as one of the taboos, incidental to a state of consecration, which at first was the necessary consequence of engaging in the sacred function of war, and then became an optional engagement, in which the restrictions 'have to be expressed when the vow is taken' (Robertson-Smith: *Religion of the Semites*, p. 481). In conclusion it should be stated that the work is incomplete owing to the author's premature death.

F. B. JEVONS.

PAIS'S *STORIA DI ROMA*.

Storia di Roma, di ETTORE PAIS. Vol. I. Parte 1. Critica della tradizione sino alla caduta del Decemvirato. Torino. Carlo Clausen. 1898. 8vo. Pp. 634. Lire 16.

PROFESSOR ETTORE PAIS, of the University of Pisa, is known to English scholars by the elaborate *Storia della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia*, of which the first volume was published some four years ago, and reviewed at the time in these columns. That work still remains a fragment, the second and third volumes being as yet only 'in preparazione.' But partly perhaps owing to his transference from a Sicilian to a Tuscan University, the author has now taken in hand a task of wider compass, of which, however, the earlier book forms an integral part, and proposes to write the *Storia d'Italia dai tempi più antichi alle fine delle guerre Puniche*. The present volume is mainly critical. It narrates, with almost too much fulness, the traditional history, and submits it to a severe analysis. 'To justify to the reader the reconstruction of the history of Rome which has taken shape

in my own mind, it was necessary,' he says, 'to set forth in detail the value and the genesis of materials very often spurious, which formed, as it were, the basis of my building, and I saw that it was impossible for me to lay its foundations without having first cleared the site of its rubbish. Thus this volume has grown to be much larger than I had desired.' But even so he has found it necessary to throw a great deal of the discussion of details into a complementary volume, entitled *Fasti ed Annali, Culti e Leggende dell' antichissima Roma*, in which, or in a separate volume, the author promises to give his views as to the true history of the early years of Rome. It is unfortunate for the critic that this has not yet been issued, and that he has to report and to discuss theories without the author's final statement of the arguments on which they are based, and to consider merely or mainly the negative results of his researches, without knowing how much he thinks may be saved from the wreck of the traditional account.

Prof. Pais sets about his work with

thoroughness and on sound methods. He examines first the materials which the earliest Greek historians of Rome may be supposed to have had at their command. The existence of the songs sung at banquets, as described by Cato, he does not deny; but he denies that any definite trace of them can be detected, and points out that in any case their historical value would be worthless. The main sources for the early history of Rome were Greek writers of Sicily and especially of Syracuse; in their fragments we find some features of the traditional story already recognised. But the most fruitful period for the development of this story was the earlier part of the second century B.C., and it took its final shape in the hands of Pergamene or Alexandrian scholars. As for the *annales maximi*, he says, 'the little that we know of them reveals such a direct imitation of the Greek writers, such abundance of words, or, we might better say, such garrulity as was worthy indeed of that gossip of barbers, which Polybius censures in Sosilus and Chaerea, the historians of Hannibal, but which did not suit in any way the redaction of state-documents compiled at a tolerably early date.' Again, 'there has not come down to us a single fragment of the *annales maximi* which can be referred to a redaction earlier than the third century': Ennius indeed may well have had much influence in their compilation. In any case they were re-edited at a comparatively late date under the influence of family traditions, and the rhetoric of the Greeks. The very fact that Greek writers were beginning to collect or to invent various legends as to the early history of a power which was now taking a prominent place in the western world, led to the formation of an official and canonical tradition, which, however, was often based on authority no better than that of the conflicting stories which it tended to suppress, and which have often survived only by accident. Prof. Pais well discusses the part which the poets and the annalists took in moulding this tradition. Cato's *Origines* he finds to have been, though written in Latin, an imitation of the Greek writers, from whom he largely drew. 'To consider this work as a fruit of Roman erudition is a gross and vulgar error.' Cassius Hemina, Calpurnius Piso, Caelius Antipater, are all regarded as largely dependent on the Sicilian writers.

After treating of the various influences which led to falsification of the tradition, Prof. Pais goes on to discuss our chief

extant authorities. While recognising the justice with which modern critics have almost unanimously preferred Diodorus to either Dionysius or Livy, he points out that this superiority is only relative: 'non è che un mediocre compilatore, il quale, come qualunque Greco culto, era in grado di sapere quali fossero le opere più importanti che dovevano essere compendiate.' He is not without diffuseness at times, and his brevity is often arbitrary. There are some excellent remarks upon Livy, the 'rose-water republican,' and his style of writing history. After touching upon the later compilers, the author goes on to treat of the materials at the command of the historians, the falsified monumental records, the exaggerated family traditions, repeating the same incident again and again, the misleading etymologies of local and personal names, of festivals, and of ceremonies, the love of assimilating Roman with Greek history, and the perversion due to national pride, or to party feeling. 'Quella storiografia che nelle sue origini era stata l'espressione delle pretese genealogiche e delle varie alleanze di famiglie, che non mano si era svolta sino al punto di diventare organo delle opinioni politiche dei partiti ed infine di tutto quanto lo stato, finiva per piegarsi anche essa all' impero nascente, e diventava uno degli instrumenti con cui Roma ed il cesarismo giustificavano davanti al mondo civile le loro nobiltà e le loro vittorie.'

After the introduction (pp. 1-128) follow three long chapters dealing severally with the legends relating to the foundation of Lavinium, Alba, and Rome, the seven kings of Rome, and the period from the expulsion of the kings to the fall of the decemvirs. It is obviously impossible to do more than refer to a few of the more interesting points of the analysis. Prof. Pais brings out with great clearness the existence of discrepant and often contradictory legends as to the earliest history of Rome, and shows how the attempt of late historians was not to ascertain the real facts so far as possible, but simply to smooth over differences, to remove chronological impossibilities, and to weave the whole into a story fitted to glorify the state and the ruling family in particular. He finds three main currents of legend, which were blended into one in the official tradition as it took shape in the hands of Naevius and of Fabius Pictor. First, the stories of Hercules in the West, sung first by Stesichorus, and coming from the Dorians, Magna Graecia and Sicily, associated with the Arcadian

Evander, who is subsequently identified with the Italian Faunus. Second, the myth of Aeneas and the cultus of Aphrodite, brought to Lavinium from Sicily, and then transplanted to Rome. Third, the legends attached to the foundation of Rome. The personages of the legends divide themselves into easily distinguished groups. Some, like Faunus, Acca Laurentia, Tiberinus, are personifications of natural forces, and topical deities, belonging to the earliest religious patrimony of the Latin race: others like Ulysses, Diomedes, Aeneas, Ascanius were imported from the Greek traditions; others like Evander and many of the Alban kings were products of later crudition. The blending of these different elements is in itself a proof of the late formation of the official legend. In most cases their successive acceptance was a result of the adoption at Rome of the cults, as of Ceres, Hercules, and Venus, with which they were severally connected. Prof. Pais has collected with great learning, though of course in this part of his work he has been largely anticipated by earlier scholars, the parallels to the various legends, which present themselves so abundantly in Greece and elsewhere; and comes to the conclusion that it was towards the middle of the fourth century B.C. that those constituents of the tradition came to prevail which were finally recognised as 'canonical.'

In his discussion of the seven kings the most noteworthy points are the explanation which he gives of their original character, and of the genesis of the form which this legendary history ultimately took. Romulus is originally merely the eponymus of Roma; the institutions ascribed to him are the result of a long historical development; his life is only the daily course of the sun; his identification with Quirinus is certainly later than the time of Ennius. Numa is originally a river-god, closely connected with Aeneas, who perished in the stream Numicius, whose source was associated with Egeria, and belonged to Lavinium and Aricia. Tullus Hostilius, in his actions a duplication of Romulus, has himself divine character, as the god of war. Ancus Martius is in many ways a duplication of Numa; his military exploits are anticipations of events of a later date: his name points to the personification of the cultus of Mars. Tarquinius is only another form of Tarpeius, the tutelary deity and eponymus of the Tarpeian rock, and the old rites associated with the Capitol. The later Tarquinius is but a duplication of the earlier, and the actions of both but

proleptic of much later incidents. Tarquinius Superbus is the old god Tarpeius, transformed into a maleficent ruler just as Cacus, the beneficent deity, associated with Vulcan, was degraded into a vulgar robber, and as the wicked Tarpeia was differentiated from the good vestal Tarquinia or Taracia. The seven kings are, in short, no historical personages, but are personifications of the seven hills and the worships connected with them. Their history has been contaminated by anecdotes of diverse origin and old Greek legends, transferred to Italian soil and often transmuted there; but the apparently historical incidents are anticipations of events of a later date, when the horizon was quite different; and the whole was recast under the influence of historians of plebeian origin, who wished to find proofs that the constitution, under which their claims were recognized, could be traced back to the earliest days of the state.

The ingenuity of Prof. Pais's combinations, and the wide range of learning with which he supports them, are equally undeniable. But in the nature of the case many of his theories must lack the evidence which would justify us in regarding them as proved. The destructive analysis may often be considered as final, and the influences which he postulates are undoubtedly *verae causae*, anticipation, duplication, popular etymologising, imported legends, assimilation with Greek history or myth, family pride, the desire to account for customs, cults or political institutions, all have been at work. But whether it is possible to determine in each case which has been the efficient cause is a very different question: and when we remember the small proportion of instances in which we have preserved to us, often by the merest accident, and in isolated passing allusions, the variant traditions, which were for the most part suppressed by the 'canonical' account, it is impossible to feel much confidence in the reconstruction now offered us. On the other hand it would be unfair to reject Prof. Pais's conclusions without a careful consideration, such as is impossible within the present limits, of the converging evidence on which he bases them; and it is perhaps premature to express a judgment on his general view of the course of the early history until he has given that continuous account of it which he promises for the future.

The fourth chapter on the history of the early republic contains most that is original. Prof. Pais has followed the lines marked out by Mommsen in his *Forschungen*, but

has pushed his suggestions further than his master. For him almost every incident and character in the sixty years preceding the decemvirate is a proleptic duplication of something really belonging to the subsequent century and a half. The ante-dating, which Mommsen ascribes, for example, to the treaty between Rome and Carthage, is given as the explanation, not only of campaigns and sieges, but also of laws and institutions. Every student knows how much there is to suggest such an explanation, how a Valerius, a Horatius, an Appius Claudius, reappears generation after generation, to play the same kind of part. Historians have often explained the fact by talking of the traditional policy of a family; but the explanation goes but a little way to account for the repetition not only of a general tendency, but also of incidents. Prof. Pais deals unsparingly with the whole history of this period. The traditional narrative is no whit more trustworthy than that of the kings, and has no kind of solid foundation. The incidents are composed of repeated variations on one or two themes, generally borrowed from later history. Brutus and Collatinus are as apocryphal as Horatius Cocles, who is only another form of Vulcan. The myths of Claudia and of Mucius contain both topographical and religious elements, and Minucius, who denounces the conspiracy

of Maelius, is Hercules Μηνύτης. Even the secessions of the plebs are a duplication of a similar incident at Ardea: and the story of Verginia, which is only another form of that of Lucretia, probably also had its origin at Ardea. Of this we are promised fuller proofs than are as yet offered. On the whole it may be said of this portion of Prof. Pais's history, as of the work as a whole, that he has fully succeeded in his destructive analysis; but that in construction he has much more frequently arrived at the possible, than at the certain or even the probable. The work is certainly one which must not be neglected by students of Roman history; it is written in a pleasant easy style, though not without some needless discursiveness and repetition, and with a full command of the ancient sources, and of the best German literature:—English and French scholars are rarely if ever quoted, a neglect which will be more serious, if it is continued in the more constructive part of the work;—and a good table of contents somewhat, though not altogether, makes up for the lack of index. There is ingenuity and suggestiveness on every page, and even the boldest combinations are supported by arguments and parallels which claim for them careful consideration.

A. S. WILKINS.

MIDDLETON AND MILLS' *STUDENT'S COMPANION TO LATIN AUTHORS*.

The Student's Companion to Latin Authors.

By GEORGE MIDDLETON, M.A. and THOMAS R. MILLS, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited. 8vo. 1896. Pp. xii. 382. 6s.

THE authors of this little book have undertaken a useful piece of work, and have done it well. It is not a history of Latin literature, but a supplement to such a book as Mr. Mackail's. It furnishes the dry bones, which it is the province of the historian to clothe with life. There is no attempt to give an estimate of the literary merit of the various writers, but the facts which bear on each author's life and position are clearly stated; and (an excellent feature) quotations are given in full, as a rule, not mere references. Naturally Schwabe's edition of Teuffel has been largely utilized; but it would be unfair to speak of the book

as merely an abridgement of that standard work: there is abundant evidence of a wide and varied reading. A few slips are to be found; and one or two odd interpretations. Probably the authors are the first who ever suspected that Horace in his

Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro

was referring 'with proud humility' to the story that his father had once made money as a 'salsamentarius.' There is something too a little comical in the suggestion that the poet who wrote 'non ego sanius bacchabor Edonis' and a dozen like passages, was priggishly reproving 'the unrestrained bacchanalian spirit of Catullus' in *Od.* i. 27. It is always a question how much should be introduced in a handbook of this kind. Some will think perhaps that if the Plautine prosody is to be expounded, it would have

been worth while to say something about his metres, even if the metres of Catullus or Horace were to be neglected. Others may think that the notices of the obscurer writers might have been left to be sought in a fuller authority. On the other hand a little information about the best MSS. of important authors would have been useful; and the select list of editions would have been of more value, if there had been some attempt made (doubtless a difficult task) to discriminate them, if only by the use of the

familiar asterisk. The editors have been hardly careful enough to avoid being misled, by the pernicious habit of publishers to alter the date, but nothing else, in a reprint. Haase's *Seneca* dates from 1851, not from '93-95; Wagner's *Terence* from 1869, not from '92, and so in many other cases. But on the whole the book may be recommended as meeting a real need of students.

A. S. W.

SONNENSCHN'S BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PHILOLOGY AND ANCIENT LITERATURE.

A Bibliography of Philology and Ancient Literature. W. Swan Sonnenschein. Pp. 373 (793-1009 and 619-775) being the sections relating to these subjects in *The Best Books and The Reader's Guide*. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1897. 10s. 6d.

THE separate publication of these extracts from the two well-known and valued guides to learning will be welcomed by those who do not care to buy the works in their complete form. That there must be flaws in a volume which covers so much ground as the whole of classical literature and the philology of ancient and modern languages, savage and civilised, is obvious to any one who has had experience of such work. It

has amused the present writer to find from the section dealing with Latin that he has published with Messrs. Bell a 'recension of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, in crown 8vo., 1890,' and also an 'annotated text of Catullus with English notes and introduction, fcap. 8vo., 1889,' two phantoms which appear to have sprung from a small edition of Catullus with critical notes and brief *praefatio*. And the omissions are sometimes very strange, e.g. that of Vitruvius among Roman writers on architecture. So we hope that the support of the public will be sufficient to induce Messrs. Sonnenschein & Co. to issue continuations supplementing and correcting their useful compilation.

J. P. P.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ON SOME SIGNED GREEK VASES.

In the Dorchester Museum is a hitherto unpublished vase-fragment, which was brought from Italy many years ago. It is part of a late b.f. *kylix* signed round the rim with the provoking signature ...] > ΕΠΟΙ[... The design represents two large eyes and between them (in place of the conventional nose) a bearded man walking to r.; he is clad in a richly decorated and fringed *himation*, wears an ivy wreath round his head, and carries a *skyphos* in his l. hand, an *oinochoe* in his r. The drawing is good, if somewhat hasty, and from considerations of style the vase may be dated circ. 500 B.C.

The British Museum has recently acquired two r.f. vases of importance, which formed part of the collection of the late Count Michel Tyszkiewicz (Fröhner's *Catalogue* nos. 14, 19, plates i. ii.). One is a *stamnos* found at Sorrento in 1891. Its principal face shows a beardless youth, brandishing a club and wearing incongruously enough a bow-case and sword at his belt, in the act of seizing a centaur: behind the group stands a man leaning on his staff; in front of it flees a woman with a gesture of alarm. The reverse has three draped *epheboi* in different attitudes. It is signed by the vase-painter Polygnotos, a contemporary of Pheidias: ΠΟΛΥΓΝΟΤΟΣ ΕΑΡΑ ΕΝ. Klein *Meistersignaturen*² p. 199 records only

two vases by this master, a *stamnos* in our national collection (no. 755) now to be seen side by side with that described above, and a *stamnos* at Brussels which depicts two centaurs contending with the Lapith ΚΑΙΝΕΥΣ. But apart from its rarity the new vase possesses an interest of its own. What is the scene on its obverse? Fröhner says, Hercules attacking Nessus; behind, Dexamenus; in front, Deidameia (*sic*). But if so, it would be an unusually late example of the Herakles-Nessos adventure. It is tolerably clear that, where archaic art represented Herakles *v.* Nessos, 'die Blütenzeit' illustrated rather the Herakles *v.* Eurytion version (Roscher *Lex.* I. ii. 2195, 15-20, and 2229, 61-66). Consequently we should interpret the figures on the vase as the youthful Herakles grappling with the centaur Eurytion (elsewhere called Dexamenos, *ib.* I. i. 1000, 5 ff.) in the presence of Dexamenos = Oineus and his daughter Deianeira = Mnesimache (*ib.* I. i. 998, 33 ff.): see further Stephani *Compte-Rendu* 1865 p. 102 ff. The closest affinity exists between this *stamnos* of Polygnotos and the Naples vase figured in Millingen *Peint. de div. collect.*, pl. 33.

The other recent acquisition is a large campaniform *krater* sent from Athens in 1895. It represents a priestly figure with upturned face, white hair, and wreath, standing at a lighted altar. In front of this is a nude bearded man holding a torch and wearing a diadem inscribed ANTIOX (*is*). Behind him comes Nike bearing a fillet. To the l. a nude *ephebos* retires from the group: his diadem reads ΑΙΝΗ, presumably a carelessly written ΑΙΑ/// *i.e.* Αιγής, the last three strokes being a make-belief for letters. To the r. a standing *ephebos* makes a gesture of prayer: his diadem has, if I am not mistaken, the legend AC/// *i.e.* a similar make-belief for ΑΚ(αμαντίς). It may, however, be read as ΙΑC///, which would not suit any of the tribal names. The *krater* is signed round its base: ΝΙΚΙΑΞ Ε. . ΛΟΚΛΕΟΥΞ ΑΝΑΦΛΥΣΤΙΟΣ ΕΡΟΙΕΞΕΝ, *i.e.* Νικίας Ἐ[ρ]μοκλέους Ἀναφλύστιος ἐποίησεν. The interest of this vase is twofold. On the one hand it is the work of an artist not previously known to us: Nikias' name does not appear in Klein's list. On the other hand the design is almost, if not quite, unique. That it commemorates a victory of the tribe Antiochis in a Torch-race will not be

doubted: it was natural for an artist of the deme Anaphlystos, which belonged to the victorious tribe, to paint the scene. But what moment has he chosen to portray? Some will doubtless think that the scene is proleptic: the athlete kindles his torch at the altar of Prometheus in the Academy, which seems to have formed the starting point of at least three of the Athenian Torch-races (schol. Ar. *Ran.* 131 with Paus. i. 30. 2); his coming victory is indicated by the action of Nike and the attitude of his competitors. It is, however, possible and, I venture to hold, probable that we should refer the scene to the *end*, not to the *beginning* of the Torch-race. The goal of the race was also an altar, the fire on which was lit by the foremost runner (Bekker *anecd. Gr.* p. 228, *s.v.* γυμνασίαρχοι). Nikias may well have depicted the representative of his tribe at the moment when he had successfully completed his task and triumphed to the chagrin of his rivals. In favour of this is a vase-painting quoted by Mr. Frazer on Paus. *loc. cit.* (from *Jahrbuch d. k. d. archäol. Inst.* vii. 149 ff.); it shows 'a runner holding his torch over an altar, on the top of which two billets are laid across each other, waiting to be ignited. On the other side stands a winged Victory looking at the runner and pointing to the unlit altar with an imperious gesture.' Our *krater* gives the scene an instant later, when the altar has been kindled and Nike is in the act of awarding the fillet.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

A. MOMMSEN'S *FESTE DER STADT ATHEN*.

Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum, geordnet nach attischem Kalender, von AUGUST MOMMSEN. Umarbeitung der 1864 erschienenen Heortologie. Leipzig, Teubner. 1898. 16 m.

THE *Heortologie der Athener* by Herr August Mommsen has been for the last thirty-four years recognised as the standard work on the Athenian festivals. That work now disappears, and in its place we have the stately volume before us, in which the author has in a large measure recast what he had previously written, has corrected it in many details, and supplemented it by all the additional information which has been made available during the long interval since 1864. The greater facility with which the Attic Inscriptions can now be studied owing to the publication of the Corpus, and

the discovery of the *Constitution of Athens*, not to speak of the special studies of eminent scholars on matters of detail, have caused the alterations and improvements to be many. In more points than one the work is of exceptional merit. It is of course superfluous to praise the learning of the author: but it is not often that one meets with a work in which the single-minded desire for truth, the utter absence of personality is more signally displayed. 'My criticisms' says the author, 'are always connected with the subject matter; and I have always treated the author of the *Heortologie* like any other writer.'

The *Feste der Stadt* is the first volume of a series. It gives an account of the Athenian festivals arranged according to the Calendar. The author hopes to follow it by a second volume containing an account of the other cults of Attica, the ceremonies of the guilds, and those of the Ephebi: and after that by yet a third volume containing a historical account of the origin of the several Attic festivals. The latter is occasionally handled in the present volume: but for the full treatment of it we are to look to a future work.

Before the author discusses the separate festivals he devotes an important section to the cycles of celebrations in honour of Athena, Demeter and Bacchus, and to the very perplexing blending of the worship of Demeter and Bacchus which appears in the Greater Mysteries. The series of feasts in honour of Athena (Apaturia, Plynteria, Panathenaea) represent, according to the author, the various stages of the growth of corn. So, too, the destinies of Cora in the Demeter-stories are but the destinies of the sown corn. And the Bacchic cycle of festivals (Smaller and Greater Mysteries, Haloa, Country Dionysia, Lenaea, Anthesteria) celebrate the vintage. The explanation of the Greek legends connected with these divinities as agricultural processes is worked out in a most interesting manner, though we confess to a feeling of occasional uncertainty. For example, Semele is the vine; the cut grapes are the vine's offspring, but like the young Bacchus they are immature and still require careful treatment. The produce of the pressed grapes is stowed away in vats—even so Zeus sewed up Bacchus in his thigh until he was fully matured (21–23). Similarly every salient point in the stories is found to be the personified representation of some agricultural process. If they are such, we may possibly conjecture that the doctrines taught

in the Mysteries were the marvellous changes in Nature, growth and decay, birth and death, 'an infinite ocean.'

To come to some points of detail.—The difficulty that Proclus fixes the date of the Lesser Panathenaea to Thargelion is admirably solved (52n.). Proclus quotes authorities for the statement that the *Timaeus* of Plato was not considered as finished during the Bendideia but the interlocutors continued the dialogue into the Panathenaea—'if that is so' says Proclus 'it must be the Lesser Panathenaea'—a festival long in disuse in the time of Proclus, about which he does not speak positively; but from the sentence 'if they are right' he seems to think that his authorities are wrong. So Proclus cannot be quoted in support of the theory at all. The proverb ἐκ τῶν Παναθηναίων ὁ πλοῦς merely means 'after the feast we must to our work again' (57). The evidence of Himerius and the author of the *Ciris* to a Panathenaea in the spring in Roman times is explained not (as usually) by supposing that the Roman Quinquatria were called Panathenaea after the disappearance of the latter, but by supposing that the Athenians celebrated a ship-procession in spring in imitation of the *navigium Isidis* of March 5; for Athena was identified with Isis from the times of the Diadochi (pp. 60, 116). That the Musical Contest of the Panathenaea was held in an old Odeon rests apparently on the unsatisfactory evidence of Hesychius, and must be considered as unproved (63). Plutarch (*Pericl.* 13) is in error in implying that Pericles was the founder of the Musical Contest; he made it more important but did not establish it (62–64). The statement of Diog. Laert. that there were dramatic representations at the Panathenaea is rightly rejected (67). The ἵππος ἀδηφάγος of the inscriptions is a race-horse who eats but does not bring his master any return in the shape of work (86 n. 3). The relation of the Euandria and the Lampadedromia is interesting. The former was not a contest of individuals, but of tribes; each tribe that competed furnished a troop. The members of the victorious troop contended among one another in the evening in the Lamp-race, which consisted in carrying a lighted lamp from the altar of Prometheus in the Academy to some undefined point in the city (Paus. i. 30. 2), the first who reached the goal with his torch alight winning the race. The religious signification given by the author (104) to the Lamp-race, connecting it with the relations of Athena and Hephaestus, seems doubtful: much more satisfactory is

Wecklein's view, advocated by Mr. Frazer on Paus. *l.c.* Similarly questionable is the author's supposition that the litanies sung on the 28th (Eur. *Herac.* 782) were sung to Athena as the moon (106). The author satisfactorily shows that the πέπλος was only worked for the Greater Panathenaea during the flourishing period of Athens. We do not hear of a yearly πέπλος until the end of the fourth century; so that the second interpretation of the Schol. on Aristoph. *Eq.* 566 must not be taken as true for the poet's time (113). As to the Boat-race, the boats entered for it were those of separate tribes, and the tribe was considered the victor. The Boat-race was a late addition to the festival, probably made by Themistocles the founder of the Athenian naval power (148).

As regards the Mysteries, it is established by *C.I.A.* iii. 1, p. 5 n. 5 that the *ιερά* of Iacchus were not brought from Eleusis on the 19th of Boedromion, but on the 14th (212). Another important view put forward is that the Epidauria, a festival of Aesculapius on the 18th, was incorporated (apparently about 420 B.C.) in the Greater Mysteries. It was virtually a repetition, a sort of supplemental celebration, of the Lesser Mysteries at Agrae which were held seven months previously; and the object of its incorporation was to allow the strangers, who could not remain in Attica for such a long interval, a means of going through both stages of initiation at the same time (30, 214, 277). The difficult ἐπὶ θυσία δευτέρα in Philostratus *Apollon.* iv. 18 (p. 72 Kays.) is interpreted (p. 216) 'along with another sacrifice' which the author thinks may be some sacrifice to the dead (ἡρώα). The administration of the Epidauria was not given to the Kerykes, who had already such a prominent position in the celebration of the mysteries; and the author interprets the fragment in *C.I.A.* ii. 3, p. 99, n. 1649, frag. a, l. 14 Κήρυκες ἡμφεσβ[ητ...] as referring to formal objections on the part of that γένος to this infringement of their rights (247). That the higher priests of the mysteries held their offices for life is not disproved by δαδουχίας in *C.I.A.* ii. 3, p. 62, n. 1413. That means a dead, not an ex-daduchus (253).

An important view with respect to the Thesmophoria—which the author thinks (pp. 14, 15) was an insignificant festival—is the position of the much-vexed Scira. He holds that σκίρα are offerings of σκῆρος 'white earth' 'gypsum' (cp. Frazer on Paus. i. 36, 4); and supposes that the earth—which

was also used in agriculture to improve the fields—was thrown on the carcasses of the pigs (referred to in the celebrated scholion on Lucian) so that the putrified remains might become less foul and more fit to be handled by the ladies who took part in the Thesmophoria (315). The author fixes the date of the Thesmophorian Skira to Pyanepsion 4-7, three of the nine days of preparation for the Thesmophoria proper, owing to the statement of Athenaeus xi. 92, p. 495, where the Oschophoria (which certainly took place on the 7th) is said to take place Σκέιρρος (310, 319). The author does not appear to give any explanation of the word Στήνια. He also holds that unmarried women did not take part in the Thesmophoria (316). The scholion on Theocrit. iv. 25 and Lucian *Dial. Meretr.* ii. 1 (on which passage is the celebrated scholion) seem to be opposed to this view. The female attendants on Iacchus, who are called κουροτρόφος and δαιερῆτις (Pollux i. 35), are explained as representatives of the two mothers of Bacchus, Persephone (who is the Βριμῶ κουροτρόφον of Apoll. R. iii. 861) and Semele, who is called Daeira because she 'learned' to her cost what Zeus was in all his majesty (381). This is somewhat hypothetical. The author assigns the ceremony wherein the image of the Eleutherian Dionysus was brought each year on appointed days to a little chapel outside the city (Paus. i. 29, 2) to the Greater Dionysia, not to the Anthesteria, as he had done in his previous work. He considers Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1, 3 (p. 235 Kays.) ὅποτε δὲ ἦκοι Διονύσια καὶ κατὰ ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου ἕδος proof that the ceremony is to be referred to the City Dionysia (394, 436). But the most interesting view which the author entertains (402 f.) about the Anthesteria is (if I understand him rightly) that the Pithoigia, in its patriarchal customs, was originally a feast in honour of Kronos; that the other solemnities, the Chytroi and the Choes, with their references to Deucalion's Flood, were originally portions of a festival to Zeus; and that an extensive festival to Zeus in mid-Anthesterion was, when the worship of Bacchus was introduced, divided in such a way that part of the ceremonies were transferred to the Bacchic Anthesteria and part retained for a festival to Zeus, the Diasia, which was held at a later day in the month. (Incidentally the author notices that χύτραι are manufactured vessels, χύτροι naturally formed ones, cp. Herod. vii. 176). Another example of a great festival transferred to

Bacchus is the City Dionysia, which before 472 was a festival to Apollo (444). As regards the Thargelia, the author is rightly of opinion that the sacrifice of the *φάρμακοί* was not real (476).

The above are a few specimens of the views of the author. But every page will be found rich in interesting details for the specialist, as may be reasonably expected from the work of the acknowledged master of his subject.

L. C. PURSER.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Vetulonia.—Signor Falchi has issued a report of excavations in the ancient city and the cemeteries in 1895-7. An accurate ground-plan of the city can now be given. In one part were two adjoining walls of Cyclopean masonry, forming part of a subterranean construction, apparently for the conveyance of water, and therefore a reservoir. The find of small objects, both in the city and in the tombs, was very meagre. In the city, near the reservoir a bronze right arm of good style was found, and in a neighbouring house a fine bronze club from a colossal statue of Herakles. Among the tomb-finds of 1895-6 may be mentioned twelve small bronze quadrupeds, bored through from end to end, probably from a necklace, and a terracotta female head thrown backwards, with an expression of dignity and scorn; it is of a Greek type, and probably represents Niobe. In the 1897 excavations the only objects from the tombs worth mentioning are a bronze figure of a nude man thrown back on his hands, a ring being fixed to his belly; a boot in bucchero ware, decorated with stamped circles; a rude bronze warrior; and fibulae of early types.¹

Montepulciano, Etruria.—A series of tombs have come to light, of two periods, the earlier of the chamber type, the later with niches. In the latter were several cinerary urns of terracotta, eight of which were decorated with reliefs of Kadmos and the Giants (or perhaps Echelos at Marathon), and another with the combat of Eteokles and Polyneikes. In one tomb was a bronze candelabrum with the figure of a youth at the top, dancing with castanets; in style it resembles a Hermes Kriophoros from Civita Castellana in the Brit. Mus. (*Cat.* 555). The dates of the two series of tombs are the fifth and fourth centuries respectively.²

Montepagano, in the Abruzzi.—Among a recent find of bronze objects are a large lebes, containing a plain dome-shaped helmet, with fragments of a neck-piece, engraved with rude figures of animals and gilt over, and a bust of a beardless man of the time of Augustus, with an ornament of a flower and volutes on the top. The helmet appears to be of a barbaric type, such as occurs on the column of Trajan. On the top of the lebes were found a flask with long neck and conical mouth, and an elegant lamp with two wick-holders and a crescent-shaped handle with a bust of a bearded man in the middle, of the type of a fourth-century Asklepios.³

Bitonto, Apulia.—Among recent finds are a Corinthian helmet, well preserved, and remains of another, Graeco-Italian, with two plumes; a krater of local fabric with geometrical patterns in brown; a kyathos with flat eared handle and patterns in red and purple; and an oinochoe with geometrical patterns, as the krater. They were found partly within, partly outside, a tomb.³

Palestrina.—Two important new fragments of the calendar of Verrius Flaccus have come to light, containing an indication of the feasts proper to August 1st. The larger fragment runs as follows: AEGYPTVS IN POTESTATEM PO[PVLI] ROMANI REDACTA [EK] AVG[USTI] IN VICTORIAE VICTORIAE VIRGINI IN PALATIO SPEI IN FORO HOLITORIO FER[RE] EX S[ER]GII Q. E. D. IMP[ERATORIS] CAES[ARIS] REMPUBLICAM TRISTISSIMO PERICULO LIBERAVIT. The restorations are made from the calendars of Amiternum and Antium. The first line, taken in conjunction with the last four words, appears to refer to the death of Mark Antony and taking of Alexandria in B.C. 30. The sacrifices to be performed are (1) to Victory, whose temple on the Palatine is well-known; (2) to the Virgin Victory who had an *aedicula* adjoining the temple of Victory, erected by M. Porcius Cato (only mentioned by Livy, xxxv. 9); (3) to Spes in the Forum Olorium.

The smaller fragment runs: . . . SARI. . . SVF. L. ST. . . SVF. C. RV. . . TI. CAESAR. . . , and refers to the Consular fasti. In A.D. 18-19 the consules *suffecti* were L. Seius Tubero and T. Rustius Gallus; it may be that they are here mentioned, if C. RV can be regarded as a lapidary's error for T. RV.³

Frascati.—An interesting leaden tessera has been found in the Via Torlonia. On one side is Diana running, with a crescent on her forehead; in the field, four stars, and round the edge, two palm-branches. It is described SVBCVRA, by which we may understand SVBCVRATOR on the analogy of other tesserae on which CVRA occurs. These tesserae are characteristic of Tusculum, and were probably distributed at the feasts and annual merry-makings of the societies of *iuvenes Tusculani* by the *curatores iuvenum* at the Emperor's expense. They date from the first century of the Empire.³

Rome.—In a wall of the piazza of the Ara Celi an inscription has been discovered, which runs: TI. IVLLO BALBILLO S. SOL. ELAGABALI EYDEMONE LIB. PATRONO OPTIMO. It was first found in the fifteenth century, and copied, but since then has been lost except for a publication in the *C.I.L.* vi. 2269 with slight variants. The words S. SOL stand for *sacerdoti solis*. The same Balbillus is mentioned in *C.I.L.* vi. 703, 2129, 2130, 2270.³

Some new fragments of the *tabulae aruales* have recently been acquired by the National Museum. No. 1 refers to the cycles of the feast, and to the annual sacrifice at the altar of Pax Augusta in the Campus Martius (cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 2028b). No. 2 probably to the *natales divi Augusti*; it mentions L. Salvius Otho, flamen and *pro magistro* in A.D. 39. No. 3 is concerned with the annual *vota* for the health of Nero, and must be earlier than the year of Agrippina's death (A.D. 59). No. 4 mentions the consul *suffectus* of A.D. 78, and refers to the second and third days of the feast in honour of Dea Dia; No. 5 to the third day of the same feast; this last dates from the end of the second century of the Empire.¹

Pompeii.—Part of Insula xv. (Regio 6) has recently been excavated; it is chiefly composed of shops. On the walls of one shop were various *graffiti*: the word CONTIQ[UI]ERE (from Virg. *Aen.* 2, 1), a human foot, and two men's heads in profile.

¹ *Notizie degli Scavi*, March 1898; see also *Athenaeum*, 3 Sept.

² *Notizie degli Scavi*, Jan. 1898.

³ *Ibid.* Oct. 1897.

In a small house a *sacrarium domesticum* was found, well preserved, containing an altar covered with white stucco and painted with two serpents erect about to devour offerings on an altar between them. On one side of this was a painting of a *genius familiaris*; in a niche of the wall, one of a draped figure on a couch. An Oscan inscription has lately been brought to light on a tufa pilaster; it runs; *eksuk amvianud | cituns amat . . tribud | tuo amat mener*.⁴

Puteoli.—A find has been made of small rude clay human figures, on which names are incised in Greek letters, viz., 'Αγαθός, 'Αφροδείσια, Γέμελλος, Πιστός, Πρέπουσα, Φιλέτειρα, 'Ιέραξ, Τύκα. They are probably examples of *devotiones*, or images of people consecrated to the infernal deities; compare Virg. *Ecl.* viii. 80, and the common practice of making waxen images of personal enemies to stick pins into, known as Sympathetic Magic.⁵

Ostia.—Excavations on the line of one of the ancient streets have been resumed from 1889. The chief discovery was a public fountain, rectangular in shape, made of brick covered with stucco, the top of travertine with a covering of tiles; a bronze dolphin formed the water-spout. Several lamps were found, one with a Genius, others inscribed CRISPINI and C IVN BTTI; also a Roman foot-measure of bone, the existing piece being about 6½ in. in length, and divided into nine equidistant spaces by incised circles, with a pattern of the same to mark the half-foot. Several sculptures were found, including a bust of Greek marble, a statuette of Victory, an archaistic head of Bacchus, and part of a sarcophagus with Baealic reliefs.⁶

Civita Lavinia.—A votive tablet to Bellona has been discovered, dedicated by L. Sextius Eros and P. Accoleius Larisecolus. The Gens Accoleia is a very rare one; the member of it here mentioned is supposed to be the one who was *triumvir monetalis* in B.C. 43, whose denarius is almost unique.⁶

SARDINIA.

Seulo.—A new military diploma has turned up, in addition to the ninety-seven already published in the *C.I.L.* (vol. iii.), seven of which have been found in Sardinia. It is on a bronze tablet, but is not entire; the piece of bronze has been cut off from a larger tablet on which was an inscription; of this the words C AES TRIB MIL PRAEF C remain, at right angles to the present inscription. This latter is dated 13 May, A.D. 173 with the name of C. Tarcutius Hospitalis, and on the back, the names of seven supporters.²

SICILY.

Syracuse.—Dr. Orsi has issued a report of excavations in several smaller cemeteries, to supplement his more extensive operations; the objects found, although fairly numerous, are of no special archaeological importance. From the Fusco necropolis: a *kelebe* with geometrical decoration; an askos in the form of a crouching lion, in imitation of the Rhodian porcelain fabrics; a Greek scarab with imitation hieroglyphics; a Proto-Corinthian lekythos; three seated women in terracotta, and a fourth figure of a woman in labour; and two small vases of blue glass. From Tor di Conte: A fragment of a limestone

cornice painted with rosettes and egg-and-dart, perhaps a funeral *stèle*; a skeleton with six coins of Syracuse in its mouth, dating 345–317 B.C.; a Campanian lekythos with Eros (?) unwinged; and a *lekane* with three gryphons' heads projecting. From the Τεμενίτης ἄκρα: terracotta grotesque man and old woman; a late b. f. lekythos with ivy-leaf on white ground; and a hoard of coins of Hiero II. and the Mamertines, with Roman *asses*. From Scala Greca: a small lekythos with crow, and another with swan, imitating b. f. technique (cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Vases*, iv. F 516–520); an Apulian lekythos (imitation Attic) with courting-scene; a woman with basket of fruit (terracotta); and parts of a cippus inscribed AKE . . . | KAAA . . . | ΟΣΤΟΔ[E] | ΣΗΜ[A . . . | ΕΡΙΦΡ . . . | ΟΣΗΜ . . . | ΜΙ . . .⁴

Palazzo-Arcade, near Syracuse.—A treasure of silver coins, 460 in number, has come to light, mostly didrachms of Corinth with Pegasos. Among them are six tetradrachms, one of Agathokles, one=Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, pl. 8, fig. 4, and one Siculo-Carthaginian with female head and horse's bust. Later, an intaglio gem with eagle and a bodkin inscribed ΔΩΠΟΝ were found here.^{3, 5}

AFRICA.

El-Alia, Tunis (the ancient Achalla). A Roman country house of great size has been excavated, with an extensive system of baths; twenty rooms have been laid bare, with wall-paintings and mosaic pavements, one of the latter representing a landscape.⁷

Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xviii. Part 1. 1898.

1. Death and the Horse. A. W. Verrall.

A study of "Ἀδης κλυτόπωλος and similar expressions in Homer, showing that the Greeks did not associate horses with Death.

2. The double city of Megalopolis. J. B. Bury.

Shows that there were a federate city and a federal capital, divided by the river Helisson.

3. The Text of the Homeric Hymns. Part V. T. W. Allen.

4. The Greeks at Plataiai. W. J. Woodhouse. With plan.

5. Excavations of the British School at Melos; the Hall of the Mystae. R. C. Bosanquet. With three plates and eight cuts.

A description of the mosaic pavements in the Hall and various finds on the spot.

6. A Summer in Phrygia, ii. J. G. C. Anderson. Two plates.

Discusses the frontier of Phrygia and Lydia, the Eastern Highway, and Phrygia Paroreios, and publishes ninety-two inscriptions.

7. The Game of Morra. P. Perdrizet. Four cuts.

8. Note on some Attic Stelai. J. F. White.

Discusses gesture of laying hold of wrist.

9. Boreas and Oreithyia on a late Attic vase. P. Gardner. Plate and cut.

Publishes a Krater in Ashmolean Museum.

10. A Head in the possession of Philip Nelson, Esq., M.B. E. A. Gardner. With plate.

Attributes the head to a pupil of Polykleitos.

11. Pylos and Sphacteria. R. M. Burrows. Four plates.

Resumes controversy with Mr Grundy.

H. B. WALTERS.

⁴ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Nov. 1897.

⁵ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Dec. 1897.

⁶ *Ibid.* Feb. 1898.

⁷ *Athenaeum*, 3 Sept.

The Classical Review

DECEMBER 1898.

The Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW will be glad to receive short paragraphs (or materials for such paragraphs) upon classical topics of current interest. These should reach him as early as possible in the month preceding the publication of the REVIEW.

THE agitation to change the Honour Classical course at Oxford has begun to simmer. The Civil Service candidates and the Research students may share the responsibility between them. The Civil Service examination takes undergraduates from the University at the end of their third year of residence. Candidates for the new Research Degree feel the need of getting their ordinary Graduation course over in three years in order to devote the fourth to research. Hence the cry for a three years' course.

A tentative scheme has been put forward recently by Professors Bywater, Pelham and Stewart. They propose to abolish Honour Classical Moderations and to institute a single Final Examination, to be taken in three years and to comprise all the subjects now required for Moderations and for the Final School of Literae Humaniores. They claim that 'the fusion of the two examinations would be, in our

judgment, a distinct gain. At present the study of the languages and literature of ancient Greece and Rome is not only divorced from the study of ancient history and philosophy, but is also arbitrarily arrested at an early stage. In the scheme now put forward the existing artificial separation disappears, and the study of language and literature takes its proper place by the side of history and philosophy in a Final Honour Examination.'

Another proposal, which requires a much slighter change of the existing regulations, is to put Honour Classical Moderations at the end of the Summer Term, instead of in the middle of the Spring Term, as at present, and to allow the examination to be taken at the end of one year of residence by any candidate who wishes. If this new date were appointed for Moderations, it might be found desirable, in the interests of the Final Schools, to make a slight alteration in the books prescribed for the ex-

amination. Thucydides and Tacitus' *Annals* might be substituted for Demosthenes and Cicero's *Orations* in the list of works prescribed for translation without notes. This change would probably be acceptable to the Modern History tutors, whose pupils often take Honour Classical Moderations before beginning their historical studies.

The report of the Cambridge Board of Classics referred to in our last issue has been discussed in three debates, reported in full in the *Cambridge University Reporter* of Nov. 15 and 29. Its reception was hardly as favourable as its supporters would have desired. The report will be referred back to the Board, and its proposals, after reconsideration, will probably be voted upon next term.

An interesting proof of the vigour of classics in America (which was referred to in our October issue) is the *Praeco Latinus* of Philadelphia. As we learn from a pamphlet by its editor entitled *The International Latin Academy*, it is a journal devoted to the dissemination of Latin as a living tongue. The organisation which it represents is hardly an academic one; its patron is an M.E., 'one of the most clever business men of Philadelphia, a manufacturer of nails and rivets.' In spite of tall talk and that ignorant abuse of established methods which appears to be inseparable from propagandism, there is real stuff in the movement. It has already developed a series of teaching manuals, from which the pamphlet gives not unattractive specimens. Its principle, that the best way of learning a language is to speak it, is hard to gainsay; and those teachers of Greek and Latin who have to face the now acute question 'How shall these dry bones live?' will do well to regard the Philadelphian solution.

These *praeconia classica* have awakened an echo in Rome, and the *Vox Urbis* has spoken. It will be heard twice a month if its due sustenance be provided. The first number contains, *inter alia*, a blessing from Cardinal Parocchi, an editorial by P. Caesar de Angelis in which a tribute is paid to K. H. Ulrichs, the ill-fated editor of the *Alauda*, the first instalment of a Latin feuilleton, a charade, and two Latin poems, one addressed to His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., and the other to the Italian 'scorchers.' From the last, entitled *Birota Velocissima*, we may quote the second and last couplets: 'Insilio sellam: vix dura manubria movi: Sub pedibus tellus aufugit; ecce volo!—O magni et fortes salvete iterumque iterumque, Ac natibus vestris sit pia semper humus!' The Latin is easy and fluent, and there are two illustrations of Rome. If however the *Vox Urbis* is to become the *Vox Orbis*, it must spell Catholic with a small *c*. *Verb. sap.* The subscription outside of Italy is 12s. or \$3, which should be sent to 'Aristides Leonori, eques, Romae, Via Alessandrina 87.'

And if Neo-Latin is to revive, why should Mediaeval Latin be neglected? It was a living language beyond all question—an adaptation to the actual needs of life of a continuously spoken tongue. Even the rigid classical scholar, whose interest in the language expires with the last flicker of paganism, must recognize that for centuries his texts had to run the gauntlet of mediaevalism, and that if they are to be restored to their pristine purity, the knowledge of the medium in which they were corrupting is not without utility. Du Cange, it is well known, is imperfect and antiquated. A new dictionary of mediaeval Latin is urgently needed,—perhaps more so even than a new one of classical Latin. The work would undoubtedly be a great one; but are England and America between them

incapable of undertaking it? Its magnitude and its necessity are well shown by Mr. J. H. Hessels in No. 1 of his *Memoranda on Mediaeval Latin*, just published by the Philological Society, which includes two excellent specimens of word-lists from the *Lex Salica* at the beginning, and from Bracton at the end, of mediaeval Latinity.

Prof. Moritz Cantor, of Heidelberg, the great authority on mathematics in antiquity, attains next year his seventy-first birthday. His many pupils throughout the world intend to celebrate the occasion by presenting him with a literary *Festgabe*, a volume of original monographs on subjects con-

nected with his favourite studies. The editor in charge of the volume is Prof. M. Kurtze of Thorn. We are glad to learn that it will include English and American contributions.

The difficulties which classical education in France is at present contending with are strikingly shown in a recent book by M. Alfred Fouillée, member of the Institute, *Les Études classiques et la Démocratie*. This work, to which we hope again to refer, is not without instruction to all who have educational responsibilities on this side of the Channel.

HOMERICA. (III.)

Z 506.

ὥς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτῃ,
δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίῳ κροαίνων,
εἰωθὼς λούεσθαι ἐν ρεῖος ποταμοῖο,
κνιδίων· ὕψου δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
ὤμοις αἰσσονται· ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐῃ πεποιθὼς
ῥίμφα ἔ γούνα φέρει μετὰ τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν
ἵππων·

ὥς νῖος Πριάμοιο Πάρις κατὰ Περγάμου ἄκρης
τεύχεσι παμφαίνων ὥς τ' ἡλέκτωρ ἐβεβήκει
καρχαλῶν, ταχέες δὲ πόδες φέρον.

'As when a stalled horse, high-fed at the crib, breaks his tether and runs neighing o'er the plain—'twas his wont to bathe in the clear-flowing river—exulting joyously: he bears his head high, and his mane floats about his shoulders; confident in his beauty his legs carry him swiftly to his old haunts, the horses' pasture-ground.'

This splendid simile, so wonderfully applicable in more than one point to the handsome Trojan prince, clad in his shining armour and laughing aloud in the pride of his heart, as he hastens with swift steps to join his brother and his comrades in the battle-field, is yet in some respects not quite satisfactory. Poetically it is a masterpiece

worthy of the greatest of poets. No one even of those who feel most its deficiencies can fail to recognise in it at least the disjecta membra poetarum. Still the defects are none the less real, and the high poetical merit of the whole need not interfere with their recognition. They are faults of arrangement and construction, culminating in a violent disregard of grammar, which we vainly cover under the learned term, anacoluthon. For the sake of those who are tender of a great poet's fame let us say that the merits are Homer's, while the demerits are due to the interference of the permanent committee of poetasters, who having charge of his productions thought themselves competent to make small changes, improvements, as they supposed, in their great master's work. This verdict I will now proceed to attempt to justify so far as possible.

Let us consider the six lines of the simile as it stands. In the first clause we have ἵππος serving as a peg, whereon to hang no less than four participles (ἀκοστήσας, ἀπορρήξας, εἰωθὼς, κνιδίων). This is a liberal allowance even for a beast of burden, and rather too liberal to be genuine, if we may trust the general usage of Homer. The moment our suspicions are turned in this

direction they inevitably fall upon εἰωθὸς λούεσθαι ἐνρρείῳ ποταμῷο. The strangeness and abruptness of this line here is shown without, I am sure, any exaggeration in the version given above, in which it stands as a parenthetical clause. Moreover the bearing of it on the whole sentence is not altogether clear. It is made clear enough in Virgil's version, *Aen.* xi. 492 :—

Qualis ubi abruptis fugit praesepia vinclis
Tandem liber equus, campoque potitus
aperto,
Aut ille in pastus armentaque tendit
equarum,
Aut adsuetus aquae perfundi flumine noto
Emicat arrectisque fremit cervicibus alte
Luxurians, luduntque jubae per colla per
armos.

Homer therefore merely saying that the horse was accustomed to bathe in the river implies that the runaway was bent on doing so now. I submit that this method of informing by implication instead of direct statement, though it may be Virgilian, is entirely alien to the Greek epic, especially when the desired sense, always supposing this was the intended meaning, could have been expressed with the utmost facility by the use of another participle instead of εἰωθὸς thus :—

ἵεμνος λούεσθαι ἐνρρείῳ ποταμῷο.

Still even so it would be exceedingly strange to find Homer dealing with the motives of his runaway horse, which Virgil disposes in two consecutive lines, in two widely detached phrases—the third line of the simile and the concluding words of the sixth line, *μετά τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομόν ἵππων*. This objection alone is surely very damaging, if not fatal, to the credit of l. 508 as commonly understood. Furthermore it must not be forgotten that the two motives are necessarily, as Virgil has seen, incompatible with one another and therefore alternative. But how does this appear in Homer? There is not a trace of it. For these reasons then I think we may fairly conclude that this line, though I do not for a moment question its genuineness, is hardly entitled to retain a position in which it is neither Homeric nor logical.

Now let us turn to l. 511 with the extraordinary nominativus pendens in front of it :—

ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐηφι πεποιθὸς,
ρίμφα ἐ γούνα φέρει μετά τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομόν
ἵππων.

The instances that can be adduced of anacoluthon are wholly insufficient to justify this flagrant incongruity. I find B 353, E 135, a 275 are referred to, not a very convincing assortment, when they come to be examined. Briefly, B 353 is regarded by many as an interpolation, which is probable enough, E 135 is a question of punctuation, and in a 275 there is traditional authority for *μήτηρ*. It would be easy to collect from later writers a formidable list of these grammatical audacities. To go no further, they are rife in Thucydides and Aeschylus, e.g. *Thuc.* ii. 53, 5 ; iii. 36, 1 ; iv. 108, 4 ; *Aesch. Eum.* 95, 100, 477 ; *Choeph.* 520 ; *Supp.* 446. But enough of them. They are all beside the mark here ; for it will readily be granted that Homer is not one of the 'grammar-defiers,' who either accidentally, or deliberately for the sake of effect, indulge in, what Clough calls :—

'Forced constructions strange and plusquam-Thucydidean.'

Zenodotus ventured to read *ρίμφ' ἐὰ γούνα φέρει*, *sua genua fert*, thus making the horse carry the legs instead of the legs the horse. So unnatural and violent is the anacoluthon—and the only justification for an anacoluthon at all is its naturalness—that Bentley accepted even this rash expedient. But we cannot thus reverse an established usage, attested only three lines further on by *πόδες φέρον*, even though *pedem tetuli* (*Ter. Andr.* 808) is good enough Latin.

At two points then reasonable objection can be taken to the passage as it stands. The anacoluthon has long been a stumbling-block : the difficulty of l. 511 has not, I believe, previously been remarked. Both these defects may be remedied by a very simple method. I suggest that the original sequence of the lines was this :—

ὡς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ
φάτῃ,
δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίῳ κροαίῳ.
ρίμφα ἐ γούνα φέρει μετά τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομόν
ἵππων
κνιδίονθ' ὑψὸ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
ῥμοῖς ἀσσοῦνται· ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐηφι πέποιθεν
εἰωθὸς λούεσθαι ἐνρρείῳ ποταμῷο.

Now if this be the real arrangement of the clauses, how comes it that the sequence of

these lines was ever disturbed? Possibly and probably, as I will show, from the misunderstanding of ἀγλαΐῃφι πέποιθεν (πεποιθώς). The meaning was supposed to be, he trusts in his beauty for the attainment of some ulterior object, and the line specifying this object, ῥίμφα ἔ γούνα φέρει κτλ., of course had to be brought into immediate sequence. But ἀγλαΐῃφι πέποιθε does not necessarily mean more than 'he has full assurance of, he is certain of, his handsomeness,' in other words, 'he knows he has a shining coat.' Just as in B 588:—

ἐν δ' αὐτὸς κίε ἥσι προθυμίῃσι πεποιθώς,
δρῆντων πολερμώνδε.

the meaning is not 'trusting to his zeal for success' but 'with conscious zeal,' 'filled with zeal,' or simply 'zealous.' The emphasis is clearly upon the noun and not upon the verb. So it is also, although not perhaps to the same unqualified extent, in our passage. A rendering of the lines with the suggested changes would be to this effect, 'As when a stalled horse, high-fed at the crib, breaks his tether and runs neighing over the plain exultingly: he carries his head high, and his mane floats over his shoulders, for he is in the glory of his beauty (A horse dealer would say 'he is in the pink of condition') being wont to bathe in the clear flowing stream.'

It is perhaps worth noting that λούεσθαι is a late form, which has probably ousted λούσασθαι from a mistaken notion that the present tense is required after εἰωθώς. The main change in the reconstruction is that ll. 508 and 511 are transposed. Two minor changes necessarily accompany the trans-

position. The first of these κυδιώνθ' for κυδιών is very slight and is little likely to be objected to. The second πέποιθεν for πεποιθώς is more considerable, but can hardly be regarded as improbable. πεποιθώς appears in l. 505.

There is an obvious improvement in point of construction in the opening lines down indeed to ἀίσσονται, an improvement so obvious, that no more need be said about it: but the last clause presents εἰωθώς λούεσθαι κτλ. in a light so entirely different from that in which it is usually regarded that some defence is necessary. The meaning I take to be this: the horse is proudly conscious of his good condition, that his coat is sleek and glossy. Now εἰωθώς κτλ. gives the reason why the horse's coat has this healthy sheen. He has bathed regularly in the clear stream. The bathing may have taken place before he became στατός, stalled; but it does not seem to me in any wise improbable that the bathing would be continued afterwards. In either case the bathing accounts for the healthy condition, the ἀγλαΐη, of the horse, and does not allusively give the reason either for his breaking away or for the direction he takes when he is free. All that is amply accounted for by

ῥίμφα ἔ γούνα φέρει μετὰ τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵπ-
πων,

though I must strongly demur to the Virgilian idea that ἵππων is necessarily or even probably feminine. Both the runaway horse and the hurrying prince simply desire to rejoin their comrades in the field.

T. L. AGAR.

THE FRAGMENT OF MENANDER'S Γεωργός.

THE following remarks and suggestions were sent privately to Mr. Grenfell in April last. As many of them have since been made by foreign scholars (Weil in *Revue des Études Grecques*, van Leeuwen in *Mnemosyne*) I wish to record them very briefly.

14. Something like ἐξήλθον ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας οὐδὲν φράσας σιγῇ, λιπὼν δὲ τὸν γάμον τὴν φιλάτην οὐκ ἂν ποτ' (or <ὡς> οὐκ ἂν) ἀδικήσαιμ' ἂν οὐ γὰρ εὐσεβές. Cf. διαφυγεῖν με τὸν γάμον in 21. 24. ἐν τοῖσδ' ἐγὼ νῦν εἶμι. 29. Put a stop after ὦν. What follows is very obscure. In 31 should we read κατὰ

τύχην προσέρχεται? 34. καλὸν γ' ἂν εἴη νῇ Δί' is ironical and goes with what precedes. 35. No need for οἰδένας: ἀγρός is usually the land of one owner. 40. The first πάντα is perhaps a mistake: εἰσένευχ' ὁμῶς (! the word is poetical, chiefly epic, not found in comedy or prose) ὅσα φέρομεν <δὴ> ταῦτα πάντ' εἰς τοὺς γάμους? 59. ἂν (not ἀπ) ορθώσας: but I doubt the word. At any rate ἀνορθώσεν would be better, or οἶον ἂν... ἀνορθώσαι. Cf. ἀνέστησ' in 62. 63. οὔτοισί(?) cannot refer to the distant Cleaenetus. 65. σχολὴν τρίβων? 67. The question is out

of place and also unheeded. Read τὰ πράγματ' ἀνακρίνει τίνα, like μὴ λεύσσειν ὅπου, etc. In the next line τὰ μὲν will not do. τὰχ' ἂν? 69. διαλεγομένου? 71. ὦετ' ἐκ παντὸς λόγου δεῖν. 82. τὰ τοιαῦτ'? 87. If τίνος ἡ παῖς ἐστὶ is right, it must point to a coming ἀναγνώριστις. She is not Myrrhine's daughter in reality. Lines 5-6 and 12-13, as restored, can hardly be right. Davus is servant not to Cleaenetus but to the 'father' of 10.

I add now three fresh emendations. In 42 I think οσγεκαθεωρουν, in which Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt mark the σ and γ as doubtful, should be interpreted not as ὥς γε καθεώρων governing τί πράττεις, to which there are many objections, but as οὐ σε καθεώρων, 'I did not see you.' At 33 the women withdrew a little. The words probably belong to Davus. In 56-58 the editors give οἱ μὲν οἰκέται καὶ βάρβαροι 'ἔζησ' ἐκεῖνος' ἔστιν οἰμῶζειν μακράν' ἔλεγον ἅπαντες (the quotation marks are my own). With the exception of a letter or two missing in βάρβαροι, μακράν, and ἔλεγον this seems to be the clear reading of the papyrus, and the editors translate it 'It is all over with him. We can do nothing but raise a long lament.' Van Leeuwen rightly points out that οἰμῶζειν μακράν ἔλεγον (should it not be μακρά? the mistake occurs elsewhere in the comic fragments) must be taken in its usual sense of

telling him to go and be hanged; but for the earlier part of the line he has nothing better to suggest than a parenthetical ἅπαις (ἄγονος) ἐκεῖνος ἔστιν. For ἔζησ' I suggest ἐξῆς, to be taken with ἅπαντες in a way familiar in Demosthenes (e.g. *Mid.* 79 and ἐφεξῆς *ib.* 190 : cf. Blass-Rehdantz' *Indices s.v.*) and elsewhere. We may then read the lines with a slight further change thus :

οἱ μὲν οἰκέται καὶ βάρβαροι
ἐξῆς ἐκεῖνοι 'σοῦστίν οἰμῶζειν μακρά'
ἔλεγον ἅπαντες.

σοῦστίν is σοὶ ἔστιν as in *Ar. Ach.* 339.

The same change as that of ἔζησ' to ἐξῆς will probably put right the very difficult line 62. The editors give us :

60. ἤλειφεν ἐξέτριβεν ἀπένιζεν φαγεῖν
προσέφερε παρεμυθεῖθ' ὃ πάνν φαύλως ἔχει,
... ζῶντ' ἀνέστησ' αὐτόν ἐπιμελούμενος,

indicating that the ω in ζῶντ' is wholly conjectural and that before ζῶντα there is space for about three letters, of which the first is perhaps Δ. In 61 the papyrus has really παρεμυθεῖτ' ο. I suggest παρεμυθεῖτο, πάνν φαύλως ἔχειν δόξαντ' ἀνέστησ' αὐτόν, unless δοκοῦντ' should seem better.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

CORRECTIONS TO KENYON'S CATALOGUE OF BRIT. MUS. PAPYRI (II.).

THE following is a selection of improvements which have occurred to us during a first reading of Mr. Kenyon's new Catalogue of British Museum Papyri, vol. ii. The corrections in nearly all cases have been verified in the facsimiles.

Page 2. 219 (a). *verso* 7 and 10. Cf. our Greek Papyri II. No. 15 col. 1. 13, Πέρσης τῶν Πτολεμαίου καὶ τῶν νύων.

P. 3. 219 (b). 3. 1. εὐθύρ[ω for ερθ . [. .] 4. τετρημένος is correct, cf. *op. cit.* No. 15 col. 2. 1. ως = οὖς. 6. 1. μ[οῖ] μέρη for ε[ις] με εν.

P. 11. 402 *verso* 6. 1. ἐν δι θώραξ. 16. 1. ἐν ἡι ἱμά(τιον), χλα(μύς). 17. 1. ταπίδιον for ταγεδιον. 22. The doubtful symbol is μ(κρος); cf. line 33. 29. 1. παρ' Ἰναρῶτι κείμενος.

P. 15. 218. 3. The abbreviated word is προσγρά(φων). It is written out in full in a Gizeh papyrus, No. 10366.

P. 70. 340. 1. 1. δι(έγραψε) Διογένης ἐπι-καλ(ούμενος) Εὐπορίων, the nominative by a common mistake in these tax-receipts being written for the dative.

P. 73. 309. 20. 21. 1. Ἡρακ[λ(είδης) βα-(σιλικὸς)] γρα(μματεὺς) δι(ὰ) Ἀμμω(νίου) βο[ηθ(οῦ)] ἐξη(ρίθμηκα) σ(υμφώνως). 22. 1. ἐξηρίθ(μηκα).

P. 80. 319. 7. 1. εἰκοστοῦ for ἐξ ἱκοστον.

P. 87. 318. 3. 1. Κλαυδίου Αν. . . α παρα(μα-τικοῦ) for Κλευδίου απειθερον.

P. 90. 315. 3. 1. [Ἡφαιστ]τ(ιάδος) for [επ Αρσ]ι. The double name Bacchias Hephaestias occurs in several of the papyrus which we found there in 1896. 9. 1. [κω]μαρχ(ῶν).

P. 92. 346 (b). 6. 1. ξυστῶ for ξεστω; so also certainly in 217. 15 and 180. 19, and probably in 346 (a). 4, (c) 4, 471. 7, and 351. 9.

P. 94. 180. 16. 1. Μέλανι for Μελανος.

P. 99. 256 (a). 11. 1. [ακον] καθαλοῦ ἀδ[ό]λου ἀκρίθου. καθαλου is for καθαροῦ.

12. 1. χαλκερλότω, perhaps for χαλκηλάτω; cf. Pap. Oxyrh. 101. 40, μέτρω... χαλκοσ-τόμω.

P. 102. 475. 2, sqq. ἡ ἐξοδιάσαι παρὰ τῶ(ν) ἐργεπισ(τατῶν) δ (έτους).

P. 105. 321 (b). 5. 1. Μέγχι(ς) Στοτοή(τιος) ὑπ(έρ).

P. 108. 474. 10, 11. 1. Πανεκάς for Πα-πεκας. 27. 1. Παρθικ[οῦ Μεγέ]στο[υ]. 28. 1. Σεβαστῶν for Εὐσεβ[οῦς].

P. 110. 451. 8. 1. προσ(διαγραφόμενα) λ, κολ(λύβου) ι, συμ(βολικά). Τρύφω(ν).

380. 6. χαλκίν(η) is a copper drachma of 6 obols; cf. Pap. Oxyrh. 9 verso 2. The sign following (as printed) stands for 5 obols, but it must here mean 6.

217 (b). The τέλος ἐγκύκλιον is mentioned in several of the Oxyrhynchus papyri of the Roman period, and was a tax of 10 per cent. on sales.

P. 113. 353. 10, 11. 1. γρ]αφὴν [χειρισμοῦ ...], which occurs in a similar return in the possession of Mrs. Lewis.

329. 4. 1. ἀριθ(μῶν) Μεσο(ρή).

P. 116. 164. 1. Probably τὸ ἀνταναφύ-μενον should be read; cf. the Ashmolean papyrus published by Mahaffy in *Trans. Royal Irish Acad.* xxxi. p. 198.

P. 118. 255. 14, 15. 1. μέ[χ]ρι ἔως.

P. 119. 306. 13. 1. π[λ]ηροῦντος. 19. 1. ὄψονιον for σιτονιον. 22. 1. τῶ (= τὸ) αἰροῦν, cf. 286. 19, where also it is misread.

P. 147. 181. 9. 1. γίνον(ται) τὸ π(άν).

P. 149. 276. 14, 15. 1. ἐπισκεμμένας τῷ ἐκατον[τ]ά[ρχῃ ἀν]αφέρειν.

P. 151. 299. 17, 18. Probably ἀ[μπελῶ]να βυλόμεθα ἀλ[λοτριῶ]σαι.

P. 153. 196. A good deal more can be made out of the first column, though the difficulties are increased by defective mounting, which obscures several letters of the papyrus. In 9 ἀ[ποτελ]έσαι is too long for the lacuna; 1. ἀ[παρτ]ίσαι, cf. 17. Lines 9 to 17 should run as follows: 'Ιουλιανὸς εἶπεν, π[ῶ]ς δύναται στρατενομέ[ν]ου τούτου τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπ[ὶ] τοῦς τόπους ἀναπεμφθῆν[αι]; Κ[αλλίνικος], ο[ὗ]... κελεῖ[σ]τον γενέσθαι. 'Ιουλιανός, ἐνθάδε δύ[να]ται τὸ πρᾶγ[μα] πέρας ἔχειν. ἔλεσθε [τίνα]. βούλεσθε με[σίτην]. ... ντίου ἐλομένου Δομ[ί]τιον τὸν ἐξηγητ[ή]ν[τα] καὶ 'Αγριππείνου συνακαθεμένου 'Ιουλιανὸς εἶπεν, Δ[ομ]ίτιος [ἐ]πὶ? μεσιτεῖσι ... ν καὶ κρινεῖ. καὶ [ἐ]ντὸς [δέ]κάπεντε ἡμερῶν ἀπαρτίσθη τὸ ζῆ[...]. Julianus is the strategus who has been ordered by Neocades, the δικαιοδότης, to appoint a λογοθέτης (line 8). Callinicus is probably the advocate of Agrippinus, the soldier whose absence on service is the cause of the delay (cf. lines 10 and 15). The last sentence appears to be a command of

the strategus that the dispute should be settled by the arbitrator within 15 days. ἀπαρτίσθη το is perhaps for ἀπαρτίσθητω τό.

P. 154. 331. 13. 1. παραλάβωσι for παρελαβομην. 16. 1. ἔτι for ἐν. 17-8. 1. τοὺς ἴσους for οὐκ ...

P. 160. 213 verso 4-6. 1. περι[γράφ]ομεν ... κα[ὶ] τὸ καθ' ἐν. In his note on line 13 of this papyrus Mr. Kenyon speaks of 'the ἐρῶσθαι σε εἵχομαι of the fourth century.' That phrase, however, occurs in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus of the reign of Trajan, and was certainly common in the 3rd century. Cf. introd. to 190 (P. 253).

P. 162. 214. 21. 1. ἐντυχεῖν for ἐνεχειν. 23. 1. ἀποταγῆναι for ἀπαγαγῆναι. 25, 26. 1. ἐν[γράφ]ως. [ἐ]νγραφα should also be read in line 20.

P. 172. 358. 11. 1. ἡνίκα περιῆν for ηνικατορην. 15. 1. ὑπέγραψε for ενεγραψε and Κρείστω for κρατίστω. 16. 1. δεομένον for δεδ[ο]μένον. 17-18. 1. ἀξιώ τούτου τ[ὸ] ἴσο[ν]. 20. 1. διαστολῇ for διαστομ; cf. 361. 16. 21. 1. ἐνγρ[ά]πτων for ἐνπ[ι]πτων.

P. 173. 342. 1. The symbol appears to be a β with a line through it, i.e. *beneficiarius*; cf. Pap. Oxyrh. 32.

P. 177. 262. 6. At the end of the line 1. ἀρχιστολιστής.

P. 179. 154. 7. 1. ξυλικῶ for υλικον.

P. 187. 216. 30. 1. ἐὰν φαίνεται μισθῶσαι for ἐπιφαινωι τας μισθωσει[s]. 31. The latter part of this line has been omitted by the editor. After 'Εριέως 1. ὡς (ἐτῶν) ν [οὐ]λ(ή) δα(κτύλῳ) μι(κρῶ)? χι(ρὸς) ἀριστ(εράς).

293. 4. 1. γαστροκνημία[s] for ἀντικνημιω.

P. 199. 333. 20. Obviously π[ρὸς] αὐτάς.

P. 203. 142. 7. The final s of χειρος is not omitted. 24. 1. ἂς καί.

P. 206. 298. 5, 6. κ[ρο]τάφω for [α]ν-τι[κνη].

P. 215. 348. 6. Why not ἱερονικῶν καὶ ἀτελῶν?

P. 217. 277. 6. 1. ἐκξ οἴκου (sic). 15. 1. ἐατῆς (sic).

P. 219. 311. 5, 6. 1. μ[έ]σφ] ὑπο [τρίχ]α, cf. 142. 6. 23 sqq. 1. [Στοτο]ή[τις] ἐ[π]ραξα (or ἐ[γ]ραξα for ἔγραψα) καὶ [ὑπέρ] τῆς μητρὸς μου ἀγραιμμάτων (sic). Πανεφρέμις [ἐγ]υῶμαι κ[αθὼς] π[ρ]όκειται. [Ἔ]νρος [ἐξ]ῆς ἐγ[υ]ῶμαι καθὼς π[ρ]όκειται. 'Αλκιμος γρ[αμ]ματεῖς τοῦ προκ[ειμένου] [γρ]α[φ]εῖον ἔγραψα κ.τ.λ. Cf. 308. 24.

P. 256. 479. 17, 18. 1. τοῦ ἀναδιδόντος σοι.

P. 271. 245. 3. 1. ἐντμους (sic). 5. 1. [στ]ρατιώτου. 12. 1. καὶ ἡ γυναι.

P. 275. 242. 5. 1. νυκτός for οντος. 2. 1. κακωπράγμονας, so in line 15. 25. 1. οἱ αὐτοὶ ε... ως τὸν ἀριθμὸν 5.

P. 276. 403. 7. 1. [νυκτὸ]ς χρησάμενοι; cf. 245. 10. 8. 1. μου τῷ ἀγρῷ.

P. 278. 240. 12. 1. ἀπέβαλα ἐατὴν (i.e. ἐμαντήν).

P. 282. 411. 27. 1. με τε[τ]ρωμένον.

P. 284. 408. 6. 1.]τους for]otes. 10. 1. ἐπέτρεψας for επεγραψας.

P. 290. 235. 10. 1. καὶ αὐτός. 11. 1. μετὰ δ' ἡμέρας δύο. 17. 1. Θεοξενίδος. What looks like a υ is the tail of the iota of δοῦναι.

P. 291. 236. 9. 1. διὰ Ἀγαθοῦ for δια αλλου.

P. 293. 237. 7. ἐπε[ι]δὴ μετεδόθη. 31. 1. στρατευθέντα for θεραπευθεντα.

P. 295. 405. 13, 14. 1. περὶ ὧν βούλη κελεύειν (i.e. κελεύειν). There is no reference to a βουλῇ.

P. 296. 232. 4. 1. ἐν οἷν for επ ουν.

P. 298. 239. 12. 1. σκοιτέως (sic.). 15. 1. ἔχουσιν οἱ στρουθοί. 17. 1. μεγάλοι ἀγῶ. 'Let them alone till they get big and I come.' 18. 1. ἐν ἐτυ[μ]ως; i.e. ἐν ἐτοίμω. τὰ σσιππία is a mistake for τὰ σσιππία (στυππία). 23. 1. [...] δὲ ἀντιλάβεν for ... ε. τι τα βεν.

P. 299. 417. 11. 1. παύσεται (i.e. παύσηται) for πενδεταί.

P. 300. 243. 3. 1. πρὸ τον (i.e. τῶν). 7. ευκериαν is for εὐκαιρίαν, cf. Pap. Oxyrh. 123. 3. 22. The correction is misunderstood by the editor. The scribe wrote first πρὸς οἱ ἀδελοί, and then inserted σέ.

P. 301. 413. 3. 1. εὐχ[ομ]αι ἐ[γ]ώ, or εὐχ[α]ρισ[τ]ῶ. 4. 1. δλο[κλ]ηρίας. 22. 1. ἔρμα ὕνα (i.e. δέρματα εἰνία) διὰ Ὑείβεως.

P. 303. 418. 3. 1. [εὐχ]αριστοῦμε τῷ θεῷ. 4. 1. καὶ τ[η] (sic) σπουδῇ. 12. 1. εὐξώ. 15. 1. αὐτὰ ἀπα ισιων μη (sic). 17-18. 1. οὐχ εὐρίθε (for εὐρέθη) σοι. 23. 1. ἵνα γίνεται μὴ ἀμελήσης.

P. 306. 248. 18. 1. λιτρῶν for τιτρων. 20. 1. τοῦ for ολου.

P. 308. 249. 10. What the editor prints as a Coptic letter is really a χ with an ι under it, i.e. δεκαδάρχης, as in line 23. The symbol is incorrectly explained on p. 289 as equivalent to χιλίαρχος.

P. 321. 480. 8. 1. λ[ό]γον for τ[ου]τον. 9. Probably πάντη.

Pp. 324-9. 483. 2. 1. γαληνοτάτου for κλεινοτατου. 4. 1. ἐαυτούς for εκαστους. 32. 1. συμπληρώσιν for εμπληρωσιν; so in 34. 72. 1. διαμαρτυρίας. 81. 1. φυλάξομεν for φυλαξομενα. 85. 1. εἰ δέ τις for ει δ ετερος. 86. 1. παραβάσεως for παραβασεις. 88. 1. πανταχοῦ... ἐφ' ἀπάσι τοῖς. 91. 1. τῆς σὺν θ(εῷ) ἐκτης.

P. 329. 391. 2. πιλωνος and βιλισκου are no doubt for πυλῶνος and δβελίσκου.

P. 331. 394. 12. Probably ἀνασαλεύσαι, not αναπαλευσαι; cf. 483. 84. 14 l. ὡς νομ[ι]τ[ε]ύονται.

B. P. GRENFELL.

A. S. HUNT.

BACCHYLIDES XVI. 112.

BACCHYLIDES xvi. 112 (Blass' notation) has hitherto remained an unsolved enigma. The papyrus reads 'ἀνναμφεβαλλενᾷόναπορφυρέαν'. Prof. Blass edits 'ἀ νιν ἀμφέβαλεν αἰόνα πορφυρέαν,' adopting Mr. Kenyon's necessary restoration of the aorist for the imperfect, and comments thus: 'αἰόνα vestimentum quodcunque significat, sed prorsus ignota vox est.'

But αἰόνα cannot be an accusative, as the metre demands the scansion ἄόνᾱ (for an iota subscript appearing as ῑ in the papyrus, compare line 128 of this ode, where ῑθεοῖ is written ῑθεοι). This ἄόνᾱ cannot to my mind be anything else than the Doric form of Ἡτόνη, the name of one of the Nereids (vid. Hesiod).

We thus arrive at the reading: 'ἀ νιν ἀμφέβαλεν Ἀίόνα πορφυρέαν,' to which, I suppose, the scribe attached the sense 'where Eione threw a purple cloak about

him.' It would be easy to give ᾷ an iota subscript, but hardly, I think, necessary, in view of the variation between πῆ and πῆ, τῶ and τῶ, etc.

It is now easy to see the general sense, but an accusative feminine substantive meaning 'a garment' seems to be missing. There is only one such word that at all closely resembles the apparently corrupt substitution ἀνν, viz. ἄλλικ', the accusative of ἄλλιξ. This word was used by Callimachus and Euphorion, and it is stated in the *Etymologicum Magnum* that one of its meanings was 'πορφύρα,' 'a purple cloak.' It is supposed by some to be the origin of the Latin word 'alicula.' I therefore venture to suggest that Bacchylides not improbably wrote: 'ἄλλικ' ἀμφέβαλεν Ἀίόνα πορφυρέαν.'

ἄλλιξ is Thessalian, and in xvii. 54, Theseus wears Θεσσαλὸν χλαμύδα.

The absence of a connecting particle is characteristic, in descriptive passages, of the author and the style. See line 119 (and perhaps line 90) of this ode, and also v. 144 and 155, x. 22 and 92, xv. 23 and 31.

That *αἰόνα* is *Ἡϊόνη* seems to me certain :

ἄλλικ' is merely a consequential emendation. If I rightly understand Hyginus (referred to by Mr. Kenyon), a Nereid and not Amphitrite must necessarily be the subject of the sentence.

R. J. WALKER.

BACCHYLIDES XVII. 35.

In connexion with Dr. Tyrrell's remark upon the reading of this line in the new Teubner text and its explanation, I may be permitted to mention that the proposal *σὺν δπάοσιν* was sent by me to Mr. Marindin last January, and that among the arguments advanced in its support was the consideration of the perfect contrast it afforded between the general advancing at the head of an army arrayed in all the panoply of war, and the solitary knight-errant whose attendants were his only companions. Unfortunately, the note was received too late for insertion

in full, but the emendation itself was printed by Mr. Marindin's kindness in a foot-note on p. 74. Mr. Housman's suggestion (*ἡ μούνον συνοπαίων*) is very ingenious, if I may indulge in a 'trifling' proposition, but seems to be put out of court by the comparison with the wandering merchant, who would assuredly have some servants with him. Cf. *Soph. Ph.* 547. We see by lines 46 f. that as a matter of fact Theseus was accompanied by two attendants.

W. A. GOLIGHER.

CORRIGENDA TO TYRRELL'S SOPHOCLES.

WITH the kind permission of the editor I make a few corrections of my *Sophocles* published last year in Macmillan's Parnassus Library of Greek and Latin texts.

p. viii. l. 12 from bottom read *ἡμέρα*.

Oed. R. 598. The reading of L. is not *αὐτοῖσι πᾶν*, as I have given it, but *αὐτοῖς ἄπαν*. Mr. Housman's conjecture is not accurately recorded. It should be *σοῦ, τοῦθ' ἄπαν*. [This conjecture assumes that the last syllable of *ἄπαν* could be lengthened by Sophocles.]

Ib. 1136. I now accept Heimsoeth's *νέμων* for *ὁ μὲν* as the *medela* of a difficult verse. I prefer it to Margoliouth's which is in my text.

Ant. 1301. *Delete* the stop after *πτέρνξ*.

Aj. 646. To this line should be prefixed AI. to indicate the name of the speaker, Ajax.

Oed. C. 540. *ἐπωφέλῃσας* in text should be *ἐπωφελήσας*. It is rightly accented in the Introduction.

In *Trach.* 196. *ποθοῦν* should be *πόθουν*. I regard it as the 3rd pers. plur. of the imperfect, and τὸ as the relative.

Oed. C. 133. One of my critics sees no

difficulty in the phrase *ιέντες στόμα*, which seems to me impossible, and regards as impossible Housman's conj. *πρίοντες στόμα*, though it is actually found in *Frag.* 777.

Ib. 547. It is objected that the *hiatus* vitiates the metre of

κᾶμ' ἐφόνευσ' ἀλαὸς καὶ ἀπόλεσα.

But in dactylic verse the epic usage is invariably followed. One at once remembers *Eur. Hipp.* 1106

*λείπομαι ἔν τε τύχαις ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐν ἔργμασι
λεύσσων.*

Phil. 1131. A critic in the *Athenaeum* objects that Heracles could not have applied the word *τῷδε* to his bow, inasmuch as it had already been carried off by Neoptolemus. But the question really is whether *τῷδε* is the right reading. I feel convinced it is, and I conceive that the poet represents the distracted Heracles as fancying for a moment that he holds in his hands the bow which he apostrophises; I would translate *τῷδε* 'come, let me clutch thee.' The poet who said (*O.R.* 438) 'This day shall be thy getting and undoing' might here make Her. say 'this my bow.' Let me quote a parallel case in modern poetry. The critic of the

Athenæum, by parity of reasoning, would be bound to correct the fine passage in Tennyson's *Dream of Fair Women*, where Cleopatra says to Rosamond

‘O, you tamely died!
You should have clung to Fulvia's waist, and
thrust
The dagger thro' her side.’

The critic would be bound to say ‘*Fulvia* must be wrong; she was Cleopatra's rival, not Rosamond's; for *Fulvia's* we should read *Eleanor's*.’ Such an expression as the ‘dumb mouths’ of Milton's *Lycidas* would have hardly a chance of survival in ancient poetry.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

THE *AD ATTICUM* SUPERSCRPTIONS.

While it is generally believed that Cicero, following the Roman custom, used superscriptions in his letters to Atticus, nevertheless the superscriptions which precede these letters in our extant MSS. have been pronounced wholly or in part spurious.

Boot, in the preface to his edition of this collection, p. x., says, ‘tamen non est veri simile Ciceronem, qui saepe in epistolis eum alloquitur *mi Pomponi* (vid. III. 4. 9, 2. 22, 3. IV. 18, 2 et cf. II. 8, 1. VII. 7, 7) et in cuius epistolis ante annum DCCIV. *Attici* nomen non invenitur (primum VI. 1, 20), in inscriptionibus semper solo cognomine usum esse. Neque adducor, ut eum semper contentum fuisse credam simplicissima salutandi formula, quae indicatur litera S nomini subiecta, quum in epistolis ad alios datis, quibus non minus familiariter utebatur, saepe S. D. vel S. P. D. adscripserit, quae medium locum inter nomen scribentis et eius, ad quem scribitur, occupare solent.’ And Tyrrell, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*, vol. I. p. 48, says, ‘*Cicero Attico Sal.*, as a heading to each letter to Atticus, is probably not genuine, for Cicero never uses the name *Attice* in the body of a letter until we come to the year 704 (B.C. 50) (Att. VI. 1, 20). *Mi Pomponi* is the nearly invariable form of address, even after the year 689 (B.C. 65), before which he must have received his surname Atticus; therefore it is not probable that this surname was used all along by Cicero in the headings of his letters and nowhere else.’ In a note on the same page he says further, ‘In the whole of the sixteen books to Atticus, containing 397 letters, he apostrophises his friend by name only 22 times.’

The arguments here employed in support of the theory that the headings are spurious are three in number, viz.: (1) that the superscriptions are uniform, (2) that Cicero very rarely uses *Attice* by way of address, and (3) that while the name *Atticus* appears through-

out in the superscriptions, it does not occur in the body of the letters before VI. 1. 20 in 704 a. u. c.

If uniformity be urged against these superscriptions, the same objection must be made to the *ad Brutum* collection, in which there is not one change in form, and to the *ad Quintum fratrem* letters, where the uniformity is broken in only I. 1 and 2, where *Salutem* becomes *Sal.* But why should any of the superscriptions be accepted and all these rejected as spurious? And yet it is clear that letters had superscriptions, and that some of the genuine forms have been preserved seems certain; for no later hand could have written *Cicero Appio Pulchro, ut spero, Censori S. D., ad Fam.* III. 11, or the jesting superscriptions to Caelius, for example *M. Tullius M. F. M. N. Cicero Imp. S. D. C. Caelio L. F. C. N. Caldo Quaest. of ad Fam.* II. 19, or *Curius Ciceroni suo Sal.*, followed by ‘S. v. b.’; sum enim χρήσει μὲν tuus, κρήσει δὲ Attici nostri,’ in which *tuus* of the letter corresponds to *suo* of the superscription, *ad Fam.* VII. 29, or *M. Cicero S. D. L. Valerio Iurisconsulto*; ‘cur enim tibi hoc non gratificer,’ *ad Fam.* I. 10, where the superscription is a part of the letter, or finally *ad Att.* III. 20 *Cicero S. D. Q. Caecilio Q. F. Pomponiano Attico*, ‘quod quidem ita esse et avunculum tuum,’ on which Boot in a note, p. 150, says, ‘Cicero novum nomen et hereditatem festive nunc amico gratulatur. Nam initium epistolae pendet ex inscriptione ut *Fam.* I. 10, ubi nihil deest, et VII. 29, cuius initium: *Sum enim χρήσει μὲν tuus* referri debet ad id, quod in inscriptione est: *Ciceroni suo*.’ Further there is not unbroken uniformity in the *ad Atticum* collection. In addition to III. 20, given above, VIII. 16; XIV. 18–22 omit *Sal.*; XI. 6 has *Salutem Dicit*; XIV. 5, 6, and 14 have *S. D.*; and XVI. 16 has *Sal. Dic.*, making twelve in all. Again this particular type, *cognomen, cognomen, Sal.*,

is the one most commonly used. It appears in all of the *ad Brutum* collection. The *ad Fam.* collection contains 62 letters written to Cicero, in 22 of which this type is followed, while in the remaining 40 letters there are representatives of 22 varieties of superscriptions. This type is the model for the superscription to 9 of the 26 letters written to Tiro, which present in all 14 varieties of headings. In the rest of the *ad Fam.* collection, while 49 is the number given to the form of superscription next in favor, this one is found 68 times. And still further, an investigation of the correspondence with Lentulus in Bk. I, Caelius Bk. VIII, Varro Bk. IX, Plancus Bk. X, Cassius and Cornificius Bk. XII, Servius Bk. XIII, reveals a tendency to uniformity in the case of a considerable correspondence with one person, and that, too, in favor of the forms, *cognomen*, *cognomen* and *cognomen*, *cognomen*, *Sal.* Lack of variety then can hardly be sufficient ground for rejecting the *ad Atticum* superscriptions.

If Cicero had always used *Tite* or *Pomponi* in the letters, still it would have been quite possible for him to use *Attico* in the superscription, since that is the formal part of these letters, and it would not be out of harmony with *ad Fam.* VI. 12, where *Ampio* of the superscription is followed in the first line of the letter by *mi Balbe*. But he does not always nor almost always use *Tite* or *Pomponi*. In the years indicated, he uses *Pomponi* in (696 a. u. c.) III. 4; III. 9. 2; III. 22. 3; III. 23. 2; III. 15. 7; III. 19. 3; (697) IV. 2. 5; (700) IV. 18. 2; *Attice* in (704) VI. 1. 20; VI. 2. 8; VI. 2. 9; VI. 6. 4; (705) VIII. 11. 3; IX. 6. 7; (708) XII. 3. 1; (709) XII. 19. 4; XII. 23. 1; XIII. 38. 2; (710) XIV. 12. 1; XIV. 16. 3; XIV. 17. 5; XIV. 20. 3; XV. 20. 2; XVI. 2. 2; XVI. 6. 2; XVI. 7. 3; XVI. 15. 5; and *Tite* in (705) IX. 6. 5. Of these 28 cases of address, one is *Tite*, 8 are *Pomponi*, and 19 *Attice*. Six of the eight cases in which *Pomponi* is used are in the third book which belongs to the period of anxiety in exile in the year 696, eight years after the date of the earliest extant letter, and the other two are in book four in passages of deepest feeling. In all these cases it would be perfectly natural for Cicero to call his friend by his nomen as a more intimate form of address. There is no other case of address until VI. 1. 20 in 704, where there is no hint whatever that the use of *Attice* is an innovation. The fact that at this period he begins to send greetings to the little daughter of Atticus and to nick-

name her *Atticula* and *Attica* (first in VI. 5. 4) not only may account for the fact that *Attice* is, with one exception (IX. 6. 5), the only form of address used afterwards, but it also shows that Cicero had recognized this name of his friend. In addition to the references already given *Pomponius* and *Titus*, not in direct address, are found but four times (II. 8. 1 in 695; IV. 15. 1 in 700; VII. 7. 7 in 704; XVI. 3. 1 in 710) and *Atticus*, after VI. 1 in 704, three times in letters to Atticus (VII. 1. 4 in 704; XV. 15. 2 in 710; XVI. 13. 1 in 710) and 18 times in quoted letters (XV. 14; XVI. 16). The preponderance of *Pomponius* does not seem to prove that the superscriptions are spurious.

But before 704 this name *Atticus* occurs not only in *ad Fam.* (703 a. u. c.) XIII. 1. 5 and VIII. 8. 2, but also even in the letters to Atticus, viz.: (1) In 694, before any other mention of a name has been made, Cicero says (I. 19. 10), 'quod homini Attico minus Graecum eruditumque videatur,' which must be a pun on his friend's name. (2) In 695, before any further mention of a name occurs except that made in II. 8. 1, Cicero writes in II. 19. 5, 'in iis epistulis me Laelium, te Furium faciam,' but in the next letter, written the same month, (II. 20. 5) he remarks, 'Quod scripseram† et Furio scripturum, nihil necesse est tuum nomen mutare: me faciam Laelium et te Atticum.' Here Cicero himself makes the definite statement, and that too before the occurrence of *Mi Pomponi*, to the effect that he will *continue* to use the name *Atticus*. (3) Still further in III. 20 (696 a. u. c.) there is the superscription *Cicero S. D. Q. Caecilio Q. F. Pomponiano Attico*, in a special case where it is a part of the letter and must be genuine, as Boot's note given above implies. It appears then that *Atticus* was a name commonly used by Cicero long before VI. 1. 20 of 704. Furthermore, since Atticus first went to Athens in 669, i.e. before Cicero knew him, while the earliest date in the letters is but 687, it is quite possible that all the superscriptions contained *Attico*.

From Cicero's direct statement in II. 20. 5, from the name in the superscription to III. 20, from the inclination to play with this cognomen in I. 19. 10 and in the pet names for the daughter, from the fact that this name occurs much oftener than any other in the body of the letters, together with the tendency to use cognomina in superscriptions, it seems certain that *Attico* should be regarded as a part of these super-

scriptions. Accordingly the presence of this word *Attico* in these superscriptions ceases to be a reason for rejecting them. Further, there seems to be a marked tendency to uniformity of superscription in the case of letters addressed to a person with whom there is a considerable correspondence. For letters which exhibit this tendency to uniformity the particular type of superscription, *cognomen, cognomen, Sal.*, used in

the *ad Atticum* collection, is the favourite. Again this superscription is the most frequent among those regarded as the least formal in Cicero's time. From all these facts it is quite fair to assume that these superscriptions which have clung to the letters are genuine.

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ON THE MEANING OF *SICUT*.

THIS word often marks a transition from a general statement to a particular case illustrating it, as has been shown by P. Langen, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Plautus*, p. 249. This usage has been often neglected, which has resulted in error in both lexicons and editions of particular authors. I propose to illustrate the explanatory meaning of *sicut*, to explain three passages hitherto unsatisfactorily dealt with, viz. Plaut. *Pers.* 135–138, *Cic.* ii. in *Verr.* ii. § 34, and Iuv. xv. 98, and incidentally to disprove the assertion that *sicut* is sometimes equivalent to *siquidem*, *quoniam*, as is stated by Forcellini-De Vit and Lewis and Short; both of which authorities thus wrongly explain Plaut. *Epid.* ii. 2, 87, *Mil.* iv. 1, 28.

Sicut in its explanatory sense may be translated 'as for instance,' 'for instance,' 'I mean,' 'namely.' So Plaut. *Epid.* 271 (ii. 2, 86) *nunc occasiost faciundi, priusquam in urbem aduenerit, | sicut eras hic aderit: hodie haud uenerit.* 'Now's your chance for acting, before he arrives in the city, I mean he'll be here to-morrow: he won't come to-day.' *Epid.* 543 (iv. 1, 17) *si is est homo. | sicut anni multi dubiam me dant, animi pendeo.* 'If he is the man. I mean the length of years makes me doubtful; I hesitate in my mind.' *Miles* 974 (iv. 1, 27) *quin tu illam iube abs te abire quo lubet: sicut soror | eius huc gemina aduenit Ephesum et mater arcessuntque eam.* 'Tell her pray to go away from you whither she chooses. For instance her twin sister and mother have arrived here from Ephesus, and wish to take her away.' *Poen.* 1192 (v. 4, 20) *ut uolup est homini, mea soror, si quod agit, cluet victoria. | sicut nos hodie inter alias praestitimus pulcritudine.* 'How pleasant it is, my sister, for a person if he wins victory in his attempt. For instance, we have to-day

surpassed other girls in beauty.' Other instances are *Menaech.* 588 (iv. 2, 20). *Miles* 518 (ii. 6, 38). *Most.* 381 (ii. 1, 34). *Poen.* 506 (iii. 1, 3). *Pseud.* 374 (i. 3, 140). If Seyffert's restoration, accepted by Sonnenschein, is right, *sicut* is similarly used in *Rudens* 187 (i. 3, 3).

I now come to the consideration of *Persa* 135–138 (i. 3, 55), thus printed by Ritschl-Schoell,

SAT. *tun illam uendas? Tox. immo alium adlegauero, qui uendat: qui esse se peregrinum praedicet:*

sicut istic leno huius dum sex mensis Megaribus huc est quom commigrauit.

The lacuna, indicated by Ritschl, makes nonsense of the passage: but if no lacuna is supposed, and *sicut* is understood as explanatory, all is clear. *S.* 'Would you sell her?' *T.* 'No. I'll despatch someone else to sell her, who shall assert that he is a foreigner. I mean it's only six months since this pander settled here' [and so it will be easy to deceive him, as he does not know the people]. The substitution of *siquidem* for *sicut*, proposed by Camerarius, is therefore unnecessary.

The following passages of Cicero illustrate this use: *De Orat.* i. § 238 *quibus quidem in causis omnibus, sicut (as for instance) in ipsa M'Curi . . . et in C. Hostili Mancini controuersia...fuit...summa de iure dissensio. p. Flacco § 86, p. Cluent. § 67, p. Rabir. Post. § 8.*

The following passage is thus printed by Müller, ii. in *Verr.* ii. § 34 *selecti ex conuentu aut ex negotiatoribus propositi iudices nulli; haec copia, quam dico, iudicum, cohors non*

Q. Scaenolae, qui tamen de cohorte sua dare non solebat, sed C. Verris. cuius (modi cohortem putatis hoc principe fuisse? † *sicuti uidetis edictum: SI QVI PERPERAM IVDICARIT SENATVS. eum quoque ostendam, si quando sit datus, coactu istius, quod non senserit, iudicasse.* Here Mommsen conjectures *si uti uidetis edictum est SI QVI PERPERAM IVDICARIT? senatum quoque ostendam.* Others mark a lacuna before *sicuti* (*sicut* Kayser). But neither conjecture nor lacuna is needed if *sicuti* be taken as explanatory. 'No judges were chosen from the circuit or nominated from the men of business. The numerous judges, of whom I am speaking, were picked not from the staff of Q. Scaevola, though as a fact he never used to take judges from his own staff, but from the staff of C. Verres. And imagine what a staff it was with such a chief! For example, you see the words of the edict: "Supposing a town-council pronounces a wrong verdict." I will even prove that if ever he did appoint a town-council to judge, he forced them to record a verdict contrary to their own convictions.'

The following are further instances of this use: Hor. *Sat.* i. 1, 32, Quintil. *Inst. Or.* ii. 4, 19, v. 7, 6, ix. 2, 62, ix. 3, 16.

Finally I consider the use of *sicut* in Juvenal. The word occurs six times; in

three places it means 'just as,' ii. 79, vi. 65, x. 90. In the other three places it means 'for instance.' These are vi. 107 *praeterea multa in facie deformia, sicut | attritus galea mediisque in naribus ingens | gibbus et acre malum semper stillantis ocelli.* 'Besides there are many disfigurements on his face, for instance the big swelling from the rubbing of the visor of his helmet on the middle of his nose and the painful affliction of an ever rheumy eye.' vii. 203 *paenituit multos uanae sterilisque cathedrae, | sicut Lysimachi probat exitus.* 'Many have tired of the useless and profitless teacher's chair, as for instance the end of Lysimachus shows.' xv. 97 *huius enim quod nunc agitur, miserabile debet | exemplum esse cibi, sicut modo dicta mihi gens | post omnis herbas, post cuncta animalia... membra aliena fame lacerabant, esse parati | et sua.* 'For the case now before us of this sort of food (cannibalism) ought to move our pity, I mean, the people I have just named, after devouring every kind of vegetable and every sort of animal... began to tear the bodies of other men, with a hunger which made them ready to devour even their own.' The last passage has been singularly unsatisfactorily handled by the commentators, including Mr. Duff, in his recent edition. S. G. OWEN.

COLLATION OF THE MADRID MS. (BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL, M 31) OF STATIUS' *SILVAE*.

(Continued from p. 406).

^{re} 6¹ reor (*superius re est* 2. m., *quia e* 1^{ae} m. ^{mi}); 7 maximum (mi ^m); 2. m.); opus culum (*linea quae s et c coniunget et m sunt* 2. m.); 8 habet se quam quod quarta ad honorem tuum pertinet. primo etc.; 11 epistolis; 12 harenarum; 13 quo qe (*qe est* 2. m.); 14 meam. a^sneapoli; 15 liricum; 17 quidem et condicipulum (s 2. m.). ^Λcontra; 18 ^cartissime (c 2. m.); 21 niuium (*1. m.; mutat* ^Λ 2. m. uinium); 24 rererti (*1. m.; mutat* 2. m. reu-); 25 menetratem; 27 numero (n

2. m.); 28 gripo; 29 endecasillabos; 30 hinc; 36 ioco. et spheromachias; 37 palaris. admittit; 39 ita. Quare. insummam; 40 ergo *Baehrensii abest*; 41 defendes. et si uidetur hactenus. sin minus reprehendemur.

I.

(*Idem titulus*).

[†]1 ottonis; 5 gaudere (t 2. m.); 6 septem gemino; 9 praecibusque; 11 immensi; 12 et (t 2. m.); 21 umeros; 25 Moribus atque; 31 latio; 32 faces; 34 praecibusque; 35 Promittitis "saepe hunc (*signa super hunc scripta sunt* 2. m.); 38 parentis; 39 tropea. promitte; 40 babilonia; 41 in *abest*; 45 patuere.

¹ [For the superscription of the prefatory epistle to book IV. see p. 406.]

II.

EVCHARISTICON · AD · IMP · AVG · GERM ·
(· ∇ ·)
DOMITAN

4 ruducem; 5 caenae; 6 consurgere;
9 odoratas. smirna (1. m.; smy- 2. m.);
12 Immortale; 13 hic; 14 Te ne; 15
curam; 17 adsurgere; 22 nec. excedere;
24 campi. operti; 25 Aetheros (i 2. m.);
27 libis. *post nitet lucuna est*; 28 duos.
doride; 34 laborat; 37 lyeus; 38 in nixa;
41 uultu sed; 48 Membra therapnea; 54
sacro: 56 palleneos phebum; 61 Lumina;
66 flaca; 67 induct.

III.

VIA · DOMICIANA.

2 aequoris; 4 libicae; 13 Quis; 19
lumina. caluum; 20 seuis. grauatas; 21
Et; 23 graues; 24 sibillae; 27 uno; 33
tacentes; 40 lalor inchoare; 43 fossos; 46
Et; 48 gonfis; 50 cedunt; 51 leuant; 52
saxai (i *linea expunctum*); 53 sordidoque
tofo; 57 mestum; 59 cleuiaie; 62 Et. fra-
gror; 63 ethon. hinc hinc et; 64 marsicus;
65 crine; 66 sason; 67 At. umidumque;
68 ulms; 70 reclinus; 73 Quis; 74 It;
78 per uiusque; 80 Adsueram; 81 struc-
tusque; 83 arbiteri (i *linea expunctum*);
86 siuis; 87 pudorem; 88 caelo; 89 Tir-
heni. obluat; 90 ciniphius tacente; 95 par-
iterq(ue) (e 2. m.); leuarat; 96 mamorata;
98 belligeris. tropeis; 100 imbri; 101 fecti-
tur; 104 ipso; 112 thiberim; 114 uno; 118
Profest calchidicas; 119 ropone; 125 fauete;
126 harenas; 132 quaerens (a 2. m.); 138
hemus; 140 conditumque; 141 chartis;
143 Per lustra; 145 Vidi. series merentis;
146 Pro nectant; 150 adisse; 151 seuectus;
153 aretus; 156 siderar (r *linea expunc-
tum*); 159 Sandes. abnuesque; 162 gerente;
163 senescat.

IV.

EPISTOLA · AD · VICTORIVM · MARCILLVM.

3 harenas; 5 Continuo. thibridis; 6
coercet; 8 Ille; 9 uertite; 10 primam;
13 lantantibus; 16 horreus; 17 amenaque;

18 quae nam; 21 morum ne; 22 Ingeniue;
23 An ne; 24 Tyrihenasque; 26 geminas
geminas. ciruunt; 27 fraglat; 28 cleonei;
30 aperit faretras; 32 Alpheos per mulcet;
33 chelis; 36 postis; 37 tacitae; 38 solidos
nomis; 40 labet; 46 eliconia; 47 imbelles
(le 2. m.). rlaurus; 53 ignano. cordas; 57
sic. pergant; 58 post habito; 60 obliquae;
62 thiles; 63 datus; 64 pontentis; 65
menbra; 66 haut *Bachrensii abest.*; 67 pedes
(d 2. m.). est; 68 Nittaurus; 70 arims;
71 Ipsa. paruaque; 73 auos prestatque; 76
tirio. gloria; 78 calchidicis; 79 ue suus
eriget; 80 trinacrius; 81 credet ne; 83
toto; 84 nec dum; 85 tuos in fata teate;
86 maur (*linea expunctum*) marucinos. in
sania; 87 quaesint; 90 eliconide; 92 Voti-
feraue; 98 umeri; 101 penitus (en 2. m.)
uoti. honorem; 102 tirintius.

V.

(*Idem titulus.*)

8 zephiros aquilone fractos; 9 ueris; 10
Crinitus; 16 Quo. fer uerat lyeus; 17 lauau
lapigeri; 19 si quando; 21 est (*linea ex-
punctum*) post; 22 hinc; 24 peramaui; 28
Bebriciae strepitus harenae; 29 Te ne. sir-
tibus; 30 nidicas; 32 sabeis; 34 Raptasse;
38 nesciet; 42 artae *Bachrensii abest.*; 43
inmensos; 47 turbae; 48 libram; 49 hilaris;
52 ne; 54 Nunc et in; 58 Passum. interum;
60 ingeminas.

VI.

HERCVLES · EPITRAPEZIOS · NOVI · VINDICIS.

2 septis; 3 caena beuigni; 5 manent; 6
a; 8 fasidis; 10 p (*linea expunctum*) gener-
osior; 11 coneylia; 12 elicone; 14 sum-
mum; 15 helisiis; 17 tirintia; 18 eritreis;
19 habitumque; 21 corpore caeras; 25
Haec; 26 caeli; 27 piseo; 28 Quid poli-
cliteis; 29 apellen; 30 Monstrauit. chelin;
33 Amphitriomades; 35 artus; 36 seseque
uidendum; 37 Indulssit; 39 Stett. pedom;
40 menbra; 43 Ac spatium. forme; 45
curis; 47 ideis. thelcines; 48 stolidus; 51
parti. admisata; 52 taleae. tegea; 53 oeteis;
55 uultus; 57 leuae. sedis; 58 et cultum
nemeo; 59 polleus; 62 Prestabatque; 64

ad; 65 Hinc. opinas; 67 magna; 78 italiae per fusum; 79 portentem; 80 et cum. et cum lenea; 81 merens comis ire nep (?) (*linea expunctum*) nefandis; 82 sacrilegas. artes; 83 meritaeque. sgunti; 84 immisit; 85 aera; 86 Egregia. domos (*l. m.*; -us *2. m.*). conuiuia sibillae; 88 Adsuetum; 90 tirintia; 91 castra; 94 s (*linea expunctum*) uestinus aquis; 95 incarae; 96 diumque (*que linea expunctum*); 98 chelin; 99 solemn. carmine; 101 Strymphalon. erimanton; 103 Quem (*l. linea expunctum*); 105 libres cithiaequae; 107 syllae.

VII.

ODE * LYRICA * AD * VIVIVM * MAXIMUM.

1 sociata; 2 herois; 4 giros; 5 liricae; 9 tempto; 10 mrito; 15 fessor; 19 latice-mue motus; 20 amnis; 24 Heret; 27 Temptat; 34 imyucus; 35 propinquo; 36 amici; 46 eum tuleras; 47 frenate.

VIII.

GRATVLATIO * AD * IVLIVM * MENECRATEN.

1 Pandere (*re linea expunctum*) sorores (*linea expunctum*) fores. sabeis; 2 imple; 3 menecrates; 6 secreta; 8 dicachen neonon; 9 Surrentiua; 11 Circumit; 12 libica. hastai (*i linea expunctum*); 15 dulcis. tumultus; 19 lauro; 21 ger (*linea expunctum*) tergeminae. letabile; 24 mutata; 25 uirili; 26 Robore sed iuuen letam dat; 28 palestris; 29 amyceos; 32 rarissime; 34 Tanta ne; 38 redmiere chelin; 40 cantu. sed; 41 tua. (*tu Baehrensii est error typographicus*); 46 ab anxia; 49 eumeliss; 50 acea; 52 lygurgi; 53 Targeta; 54 patrii; 55 fossam; 57 placidus; 59 hac.

IX.

ENDECA * SYLLABI * IOCOSI * AD * PLOTIVM * GRYPVM.

2 gripe; 4 post hoc aliquid mih (*mih marg. 2. m.*) remittas; 5 gripe; 7 cartha; 8 umbilicus; 11 libicis; 12 miliaecum; 13 bizantiacos colunt; 21 libelliones; 22 gaiano; 23 adeo ne; 24 Caesis. sicca; 25 luridae ue; 26 Carthae thebaicae ne caricae ue; 28 cattanorum; 29 euly-

china; 30 Bullorum. tantum; 31 leues; 34 graue debili^y ue perua; 35 falisci; 36 oxyforum ue caseus ue; 37 nitidantis afpronitri; 38 ums; 39 defructa. ceno; 40 nec. caereos; 41 Cutellum; 43 patiuas in; 44 sinthesin; 46 certa (*c 2. m.*); 49 Inlatam (*finis folii 103.*) sed In latam (*initium folii 104.*) dixere; 53 gripe; 54 me. lepori; 55 endecasyllabos.

P * PAPINI * STACII * SILVARVM * LIBER

IIII EXPLICIT * INCIP * LIB * V *

STACIVS ABASCANTO SUO SALUTEM.

6 prestat; 7 et. pars et nulli; 9 uoluptasⁿ. hinc; 10 nec (*n 2. m.*); 11 priscillā; 12 post hoc; 14 cofitor; 16 uisum. iam pridem; 17 iuuenisse (*inu 2. m.*).

I.

EPYCEDION * IN * PRISCILLAM * VXOREM.

1 caeras; 3 Huic; 4 mōretur (*~ 2. m.*); 6 Fidiaca. uata (*n 2. m.*); 11 rarissima; 13 lira; 15 aut. sepulchro; 19 Nigra. quaestu miseramque accessus; 22 ui (*linea expunctum*) ⁱⁿ iustos (*in 2. m.*); 25 Ad foret; 27 fl (*linea expunctum*) fila; 28 comis (*prima linea litterae m est 2. m.*); 32 habent ne. etiam num haec; 33 si pelea; 34 mesti; 36 adfrangere; 39 uidet; 44 in abrupta. catenae (*e linea expunctum*); 45 nuptaque; 49 praecatur; 51 proaui seu; 52 falsoque; 57 frigius; 58 Dulichii ue; 59 miceneo; 60 babilonos. lidae; 61 Iudorumque; 64 maioribus; 66 et maiora uacasset; 74 ad oras; 76 uauamque; 81 aretos; 82 rotagae; 83 iubatis; 84 umeris. tempus; 89 eufrates; 91 thyle; 92 laceras; 93 fumosa; 96 Intermissus (*quis Baehrensii abest*); 100 libre; 102 excelsis; 104 giro; 106 uelut; 110 cene; 112 merentis; 113 ausonio; 114 Quem; 115 cuius. thirsi; 117 probitas ue; 122 mouet; 123 parti. Sabino; 125 ad esse; 126 redeuntibus; 127 illa; 130 faretras; 131 intercludere; 132 puluerea; 133 Caesari; 136 mestaque; 139 nullam ne notauit; 143 mestum; 144 dextro tam; 147 Adilantur; 148 rapidae; 156 tendun-

tur; 161 nequiquam; 164 ⁿnm̄en; 165 est ne; 168 baratro; 172 reuersa; 173 ulms; 175 duleti; 176 Tum; 177 possim; 179 praecor; 180 Poctora; 181 mostis; 188 Inrequietus (r 2. m.); 191 signet; 193

helisias; 198 ⁿnduos (u 2. m.) clamare (1. m.; 2. m. clamore); 202 agit. conspecta coniuge segnis; 203 Odrisius; 205 Illae. "recte; 207 Sec (uel Set). ducis mirandaque; 211 sabe; 213 palestinis. hebreique; 214 Corstiaequae. cynireaque; 215 serium tiriocque; 218 adbusta; 224 ideos; 230 Sicca-

tum. ^rmamor; 232 Effugies. gnosis; 233 tolo; 234 haud; 237 Assidue. sepulchrū; 238 haec. ^rpie^rate (marg. 2. m. pietate); 245 augusta; 252 cumba; 253 siquando; 255 eoridas; 257 helisios; 261 Placantem.

II.

LAVDES · CRISPINI · VETTI · BOLANI · FILII.

1 tirrhena; 3 Et; 4 impellunt; 5 egeas; 7 longon; 11 Quos ue. etiam ne. ppinqui; 12 ut ottonos; 13 augustus; 14 Succumbitque; 15 in honora; 17 tretus; 18 trabeque ac remis et; 19 Augustam; 21 ingera; 22 et *Baehrensii abest*. generosiss; 23 stammate; 24 demeritos; 27 ⁱcura; 29 tirios; 30 umeri; 32 faretratum; 39 exorto quae nam; 40 suscepta; 42 querere. lastris (*postea mutatum uerbo castris*); 43 Metiri; 44 Tot rerum. uerend; 48 friges; nemea; 49 cleoneusque; 50 alcidae; 54 negantem; 55 Fluctibus. fessusque. thylen; 56 potentes; 58 tibi; 61 alio; 62 iuente; 63 Inrepsere; 65 Occidio et geminam; 67 umeros; 68 corri'pit; 73 Tunc. probitas; 74 tenens; 75 domos; 77 tibi ne. nefonda; 79 praecertere (*postea mutatum, ut uerbum praeuertere fieret*); 81 mertioque; 84 Parte; 88 Excitat illa die saeuo; 97 sed; 99 sodales; 100 Immeritae. pallarent crimae; 103 leges seueras; 107 Haud. romulos (*secundum o operit litteram ue*); 109 temptamina; 110 nec; 112 sequuntur; 113 thiberino; 114 Qui tiriheua; 115 Tendentem. unda; 117 distis. armatumque; 118 Getulo; 119 inagros; 120 flagrabat; 121 haud. giro leuiore; 123 ogigio. metas; 124 tiriae; 125 magno.

pulsat; 128 actaeque; 129 eques umeris; 130 Quis; 131 Nubi geras. caedimus arma; 133 Arctosue; 134 librae. armis; 136 ante; 137 umbroso. pauce; 138 solidum; 140 magne; 141 Accipiat; 142 calidonio; 143 terre; 145 Adfari uitae specula; 148

uacantibus; 149 ^htoraca; 150 inteucros uictricia. parentis; 151 foenix; 156 pilades; 157 quippe et cordia uobis; 159 notis; 160 Et. questus; 162 deeris; 163 circum spectabit; 166 cingitque; 168 Si; 175 Unde; 178 fortis; 180 Cassidad.

III.

EPYCEDION · IN · PATREM · SVVM.

2 Helisio; 3 praedocte hrae. moueri; 4 cryyham; 5 Tesine coryicia; 6 Quitquid. monstrabrat; 7 mens pernasia; 8 inrepere; 9 trepidamque; 10 Certe; 12 merso; 13 produxa; 14 sonantē; 17 Astitit; 18 im-motos; 19 omisus; 23 notique; 24 lethei; 26 Meonium ascreumque; 28 magna. ingenium dolori; 29 caelo; 30 eliconide; 32 Inrubuit. umentibus hausit; 33 immunera soluo; 34 tacitis que. curis; 35 habente. nunc; 36 adclinis. quiestis; 38 Stellatus; 39 frigio; 42 si tibi rara sabe; 43 decerpsit; 44 laudae laci sed; 45 o *Baehrensii abest*. uulnera; 46 quam; 51 sepulchri; 52 solemina; 54 unda; 55 fossa; 57 tibi; 59 Praecinerem gemitum; 61 tibi. me *Baehrensii abest*; 62 magniloquio; 63 toruo; 64 aena (*prius a 2. m.*); 68 inardentem. moritura; 69 aliis; 71 eat. modo; 72 iniusta; 76 frigia; 77 Astranacta; 80 morte canura; 82 Tirihenae; 84 durae philomelia; 85 Nata. cuncto; 86 Eliadum; 87 frigium; 88 fida; 89 Tepietas; 91 eliconia; 92 seuo; 94 ducere; 94 Cydalibem; 96 Quis. domos; 97 coturno; 98 qui. tenuere; 99 oroos. leones; 100 utor; 101 uis; 102 ceu; 105 adflato; 107 moniciae quitquam prestantias artes; 108 cirene sparte ue; 109 uetas; 112 prestat sed. seris; 114 Ora super gressus pilli gregis; 115 specieque. utroque; 118 extensis et enim; 119 Ponere. legit amittus; 122 puerique chelin; 123 mihi; 125 et. certaminae; 126 suum latus; 127 sele grauis; 129 atinde. *post 129 nulla lacuna indicata est*;

130 Meoniden; 132 Versus. uictos immanis; 133 ubi; 135 festina sed ut dux; 138 in gloria; 139 giro; 140 cestu. clausero; 141 Siu. achea; 143 atamantea; 144 Cum; 147 mores et; 149 equus; 150 Meonides; 151 Ascreus; 152 Pyndaricae. lirae; 153 Obsicus; 154 Stesychorusque; 155 calchide saffo; 157 batthiadae. lycofronis ari; 158 Sofronaque; 159 adsuetus; 161 Versibus; 165 euertice; 166 tirihehi; 167 propiore; 168 ausoni; 170 permissus; 171 aquas (*linea expunctum*) aquis. domos. seruant; 172 sibillae; 174 partarumque. canebant; 175 decepto; 178 oportae; 180 probatur; 181 Monstrastis aliis; 182 calchidicum. uolucere; 183 Cur frigii lateat coma; 186 hiberas; 187 achemenium. zeumate; 192 foenix; 194 Eaciden; 196 phlegreaque; 197 Proeligia. rhedis; 199 duorum; 205 ~~uesumnae~~; 207 monte; 209 luotaque; 211 mihi; 213 Sed. lirae; 214 sepulchro; 215 eraf; 216 ad esses; 218 Nota; 219 unis; 222 Ceditur. achates; 223 hausti; 226 calchidicae cerialia; 232 dulYe; 233 Inuida; 234 urguebat; 235 tua (*a linea expunctum*); 240 inthalamos; 241 si iungere; 242 et; 251 tristem; 253 crinisque; 255 opiliis; 258 segnes labe; 259 sepulchro; 266 si *Bachrensi abest*; 267 helisia; 269 molitum intartara; 271 Sic chelin odrisiam; 272 sic thessalicis admetus inoris; 273 Silua. filacaeida retulit; 274 nihl. chelis; 277 aetneaque; 279 ianrior; 280 Centaurus bydraeque. scillaeque; 281 caelent; 284 Itepii; 285 Inlustremque. letheis; 286 inrupit; 288 parte; 289 inimmagine monstrat; 293 Creditur. nec non siue. silla.

IV.

(*Idem titulus.*)

2 Quo ue; 5 trucibiss; 6 adclinata
8 oetee. reuisent; 10 spargit; 11 si; 14
heus; 17 precatur.

V.

EPCYCIDION 'IN' PVERVM 'SVVM.

1 solemnibus; 2 nec; 6 in accesso; 8
tantis. lacestis; 9 animaque; 10 quidem;
12 orbi; 14 cineremque oculis et crimina;
15 uberi (*linea expunctum*) uberibus. funerar
(*r linea expunctum*); 17 papillas; 18 Quis
quis. tenere; 20 malas; 24 cum ||
(*lac.*) terdaui; 25 Adelinis tumult (*lacuna*)
nctus, etc.; 26 m (*lacuna*) singultantia
uerba; 27 ly (*lacuna*) est atque ira tacendi;
29 uictatus; 32 incertam; 33 Sciedo chelin;
34 incomite. laudare; 35 merui; 37 Eaciden.
manabat; 38 blando; 39 uiuos; 45 exsoluite;
46 Ni mirum. mestus. *post 46 nulla lacuna indicata est*; 47 dolens; 48 serua;
49 erat absumptae; 51 nox. omina; 52
maestu; 53 duro; 54 traciis; 58 rependis;
63 Fulmina deinneus. obstesl; 65 causae;
66 puppe; 67 Aedituas. uili; 68 sumum;
70 Aspexi; carmine; 74 heu; 75 Rideres
ingatus; 76 unum *Bachrensi abest*; 77 inde
Bachrensi abest; 80 Concupii. gemitum qui;
81 Implicuit fixitque. et; 82 questusque
uulnera caeca ne soluam; 83 uestra; 84
cadentes *Bachrensi abest*; 85 Excepere; 86
tenebo. *post 87 nulla lacuna est signata.*

FINIS ADEST VERF PRECIVM VULT
SCRIPTOR HEBERE.

A. SOUTER.

Aberdeen.

A BODLEIAN COLLATION OF A TIBULLUS MS.

THE written marginalia in printed editions of classical authors deserve almost as much attention as MSS. themselves, for they may contain the collation of some lost MS. or the unpublished emendations of some famous scholar. Among the Bodleian marginalia of this kind have been discovered in recent years, (1) extracts from the lost Paris MS. of Pliny's Letters to Trajan (see *Journal of*

Philology, xvii. 95), (2) Politian's collation of the lost Marcianus and Mediceus of Ovid (see Owen's edition of the *Tristia*, prolegg. p. xiv.), (3) a collation of the famous 'Codex Turnebi' of Plautus (see *Class. Rev.* xi. 177), to mention but a few instances; and it is probable that a systematic search through those early editions of the Classics which are in the catalogue designated 'cum notis

MSS.' would result in equally valuable discoveries.¹ A large number of these copies provided with marginalia passed into the Bodleian from the Library of Dr. Ed. Bernard (died 1697). He made extensive purchases at the sale of Nicholas Heinsius' Library in 1683, and seems in fact to have secured the cream of the collection.² I do not know whether students of Ovid are aware that many of Nicholas Heinsius' copies of Ovid partly with his own marginal collations³ of numerous MSS., partly with collations made by other scholars,⁴ passed through this channel into the Bodleian Library.

From the same source comes the Bodleian volume (Auct. ii. R 6. 28) which forms the subject of this article. It is an Aldine edition of Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius (Venice 1515) which contains, written in its margins by Octavianus Ferrarius (1518-1586), a collation of a 'codex Romanus vetustissimus'⁵ of Tibullus. I give a full list of the variants ascribed to this codex,

¹ Let me call attention to a copy of Statius' *Silvae*, Florence 1480 (Auct. N. inf. i. 6), with this entry at V. ii. 48 'in antiquo erat *venicea*.'

² Not however No. 112 of the 'Poetae in Duodecimo' in the 'Bibliotheca Heinsiana,' viz. 'Terentius, exc. Rob. Stephanus, 1540... Perpetuus Jos. Scaligeri comes, cujus multa leguntur.' What has become of this volume?

³ Here are their present press-marks: Auct. S v. 10-12 (=Bibl. Heins. 'Poetae in 12mo.' No. 37), Auct. S v. 7-9 (=do. No. 38), Auct. S v. 5 (=No. 648 of 'Poetae in 8vo.'), Auct. S v. 2 (=No. 637 of do.), Auct. S v. 1 (perhaps=No. 355 of do.), Auct. ii. R 6. 25 (=No. 641 of do.), Auct. ii. R 6. 23 (perhaps=No. 640 of do.). A good deal may be learnt about the several MSS. from the descriptions jotted on fly-leaves by Heinsius. And the enquiry of a recent editor, whether Heinsius' 'codex Neapolitanus' definitely ascribed the 'de Medicamine Faciei' to Ovid may be answered from Heinsius' entry on p. 323 of Auct. S v. 10: 'In cod. Neap. S. Johannis Carbonarii post Artem et Amores leguntur, OVIDIVS DE PHILOMELA, DE PVLICE, DE MEDICAMINE AVRIVM (constat versibus 21), DE SPECVLO (est de medicamine faciei), DE NVCE, DE CVCVLO, DE HV MORIBVS, DE LVDO SCHACCORVM. Omnia nugatoria.'

⁴ Auct. S v. 13-15 (=Bibl. Heins. 'Poetae in 12mo.' No. 36), Auct. S v. 6 ('Poetae in 8vo.', No. 631), Auct. ii. R 6. 21 (=do., No. 639). But Auct. S v. 3 and 4, with collations, apparently by Nic. Faber, do not seem to have come from the 'Bibliotheca Heinsiana.'

⁵ So styled in the last marginal note (on Dom. Mars. 3.). Elsewhere 'codex vetustus,' 'codex veterrimus,' 'codex vetus,' c. antiquissimus, &c.

with reference to the lines in Baehrens' edition (Leipz. 1878):

I. i. 14 deum, 57 curo, Delia; ii. 4 amor, 10 neu, 16 Audendum est fortes adiuuat ipsa Venus, 65 non ego, 80 possit, 97 circumterit⁶; iv. 83 turpis; v. 7 parce ('ex codice spectate fidei'), 11 te, 35 eurus; vi. 5 Nam, 11 nunc, ut, 12 tum, 34 Seruare frustra, 40 lassa, 48 sparsit, 71 putor; vii. 23 possim, 42 cuspidem, 57 nec taceat; viii. 2 leuia, 22 faciat, 29 ne, 31 lenia, 49 seu, 57 leuis, 76 dura; ix. 51 cura, 57 semper sint externa, 80 regno, 81 dum; x. 8 dum, 12 micante, 18 ueteres edes, 63 monuisse.

II. i. 22 Ingeret, 27 ueteris, 45 antea, 56 ab arte, 61 exhibitiva, 65 alia; ii. 4 e, 6 mollia, 7 illius puro, 16 quo; iii. 1 rura meam cornute tenent, 2 heu heu, 5 cum aspicerem dominam, 11 armenti, 12 profuerant, 30 phyton, 34 puella est, 47 mille; iv. 4 remittit, 5 urit, 31 sensit, 36 abdidit, 40 eripiat; v. 13 presensit, 15 est *deest*, 21 Nec, 47 rutilis, 70 portaret, 71 Haec (*ut vid.*), 82 omnis, 86 deficiant, 96 lenis, 97 sua, 108 heu heu, ista, 122 tua c. s.; vi. 2 ferat, 6 iuga, 8 portet, 20 et fore cras semper ait melius, 23-4 *desunt*, 36 lenta, 47 duro, 52 malis.

Lygd. El. i. 21 meritam; ii. 1 primus, 8 tedia nata, 9 Ergo cum, 10 supra, 24 pinguis; iii. 29 iuuant; iv. 1 mihi somnia, 9 natum in curas hominum, 11 monenti, 22 fessa, 39 ac, 45 semele, 59 impia, 96 impia; v. 11 sacrilegi (-is?), egros; vi. 2 semper sic.

Pan. Mess. 18 dictat, 20 defl., 64 arces, 68 undis, 72 serperit (*ut vid.*), 83 prod. 104 sinister, 112^b fame, 136 alii, 139 theoreo, 142 ardet, 152 toto, orbe, 160 properet deducere, 174 in str.

Sulp. i. 23 hoc fumet; ii. 1 campi, 19 nunc, 20 tange; iii. 17-19 At nunc tota tua est te solum candida secum | cogitat et frustra credula turba sedet | Phoebe faue. etc., *post v.* 16; iv. 4 dederant, 7 per te; v. 7 neue id, 19 ueniet.

Sulp. Epist. iii. 2 sinet; v. 5 ah.

Epigr. i. 1 nobis, 15 hoc tibi, 17 heu heu (*ut vid.*), cedo, 22 nocte.

Dom. Mars. 3 miseros.

W. M. LINDSAY.

⁶ Ad. ii. 26. Securus...Venus] sic Aurispa Seneca aliter presidio noctis sentio adesse deam.

THE 'CODEX ROMANUS' OF CATULLUS.

In the *Classical Review* for July, 1896, I published a brief statement to the effect that I had found, in the Vatican Library in Rome, a Catullus MS. 'of high importance,' which I thought to be 'at the least next to O and G in rank, and, in all probability, of the same rank,' and which promised "to be of great service, not only in confirming O and G where they agree, and giving a 'casting vote' where they disagree; but also in throwing light upon the relationships of other MSS., and upon the history of the marginal and interlinear variants in various MSS." I added that my collation, together with a discussion of a number of points of interest, would appear in the following winter in Vol. I. of the Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. The date of the announcement now seems remote, and I have for some time felt that I owed it to students of Catullus, and especially to the readers of the *Classical Review*, to state that I was not, as might be surmised, seeking a quiet oblivion for a regrettable rashness of judgment, but that the busy cares of a professorship in a new University, and the responsibility of the Chairmanship of the Managing Committee of the School in the service of which I discovered the MS., have left me little time for the very considerable labour of the preparation of my collation for print, and the incorporation with it of the collations of four other Vatican MSS. of Catullus, made at my suggestion by students of the School. This feeling received confirmation, when, on my return from a vacation in which I was beyond the reach of classical journals, I read the article of Professor Schulze in *Hermes* xxxiii., 3. In this article Professor Schulze says that, somewhat more than a year and a half ago, there ran through the daily papers, as well as through the classical journals, a statement that I had had the good fortune to find a MS. of Catullus, 'durch welche die Handschriftenfrage des Dichters endlich gelöst sei:' that the announcement aroused a pleasurable interest among all students of Catullus; that a fuller statement had been made by me in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Second Series, 1897, 1, p. 36 ff., 'leider ohne genauere Angaben darüber, wodurch sich denn eigentlich die neu entdeckte Handschrift vor allen übrigen auszeichne;' and that, so far as he was aware,

no further communication had been made upon the subject. He adds that, being in Rome in the Easter vacation of the present year, he collated the greater part of the MS. 'Leider,' he continues, 'wurden meine hochgespannten Erwartungen völlig enttäuscht. Die Handschrift des Mr. Hale (cod. Ottob. 1829) stimmt mit den anderen bereits bekannten Codices des Dichters, namentlich dem cod. M in Venedig' (which, it will be remembered, Professor Schulze collated for his edition of the year 1893, after Professor Ellis had called attention to it in his edition of 1878) 'so sehr überein, dass ich nicht sehe, wie die Kritik des Catull durch sie weiter gefördert werden kann.' He then cites a number of readings which M and R have in common, and goes on: 'Ich habe den grössten Theil der Gedichte verglichen und kaum eine neue, jedenfalls keine werthvolle neue Lesart gefunden, wohl aber überall dieselben Lücken, dieselben Schreibfehler, dieselben Versuche Unleserliches zu entziffern, dasselbe Aeussere sogar der Handschrift wie in den anderen. Sie bietet Varianten zwischen den Zeilen und am Rande, aber auch sie sind meist bekannt.' Specimens follow, and a brief note upon the divisions of the poems by spaces or marginal indications. Professor Schulze adds that the codex is soon to be published in facsimile by Danesi in Rome, so that every one will be able to form his own judgment of the value of the 'merkwürdige Handschrift,' and concludes as follows: 'Aufgabe des Mr. Hale aber wird es sein nachzuweisen, was diese Handschrift gerade vor den anderen voraus hat und inwiefern der Text der Gedichte Catulls durch sie eine neue kritische Grundlage gewinnt.'

The unfavourable opinion of Professor Schulze, especially within the lines of a province to which he has for so many years devoted himself, ought naturally to carry weight, and would seem to have disposed of the merkwürdige Handschrift, and of its discoverer. An immediate rejoinder, or an immediate confession, seemed advisable. But it was too late to hope to get an answer into the following number of the *Hermes*,—the place where it should properly appear,—and I must therefore ask students of Catullus to suspend judgment, and wait for the appearance of a brief article which I trust the editors of the *Hermes* may accept for a later number, and for the collation

which I hope will appear before many months in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Second Series,—the official journal of the American Archaeological Institute and of the American Schools of Classical Studies at Athens and Rome. Meanwhile, postponing for the present certain very important points of fact which will be at issue between Professor Schulze and myself, I beg to comment briefly upon the general scope and method of his article.

That it should have appeared at all excited my surprise. I should rather have expected a private letter, asking me if the collation would not soon be ready,—such a letter, in fact, as I have received from Professor Ellis, who, though so deeply interested in the new MS. as to have gone to Rome to study it personally, was not only unwilling to put the statement of his own opinion into print until I should have an opportunity to express mine in connection with my collation, but, with the greatest delicacy and consideration, would not even discuss the MS. in a public lecture before the University of Oxford, until he had my consent,—of course most willingly given,—to do so.

If, however, Professor Schulze was to write upon the subject at all, I should not have expected that he would content himself with remarking the correspondence of the readings of R with those of other known MSS., and especially with those of M. I should have expected him to settle in his own mind precisely what these correspondences mean. In his edition of Catullus, he has treated M as the best representative of one tradition of the lost Verona MS., distinct from those represented by O, G, and D. R, which agrees with M as no other MS. does, would seem to offer him,—if he could no longer wait for the appearance of the collation of R, and the expression of the views of its discoverer,—a most interesting field of inquiry. Is R a copy of M, or M a copy of R, or how are they related? And is either of them a copy of the lost Verona MS., or are they copies or more remotely related descendants of a lost copy of that MS.? The settlement of this question might also lead the way to the settlement of another question which certainly is not without bearing upon the text of Catullus, namely that of the origin of this and that among the variants found in the various MSS. Professor Schulze dismisses this matter lightly with the statement ‘sie bietet Varianten zwischen den Zeilen und am Rande, aber auch sie sind meist bekannt.’

But it is not sufficient merely to *possess* a collection of variants. The question is, what is the value of each of them, *i.e.* what is its origin? Does it come down from the lost Verona MS., or is it an emendation by an Italian scholar of the fifteenth century? The settlement of this question is not to be reached by the mere remark that most of the variants found in R are already known, but through the determination of the relation of the existing MSS. to one another, and to the lost Verona MS.

Again, I find it remarkable that Professor Schulze speaks of the new MS. as having even the same external appearance as the others. As what others? He has especially mentioned O and M. O and M have *not* the same external appearance. M, though I shall at a later time be able to date it with a good deal of probability before 1412, is written in a humanistic hand much in advance of its time, while O is written in a North Italian Gothic hand. If, on the other hand, the external appearance of R is like that of O, the circumstance is certainly noteworthy. As a matter of fact, O, G, and R resemble one another in their style of writing, and all three are obviously older than any other Catullus MS. known to exist. This should be evident to the eye, even if one fails to see the very striking internal evidence of the same thing. Moreover, I am surprised that Professor Schulze should have seen no significance in the fact that, as mentioned in my Report in the *American Journal of Archaeology* to which he refers, the MS. once belonged to Coluccio Salutati. Coluccio died in 1406. This brings the MS. pretty near to the dates assigned hitherto to O and G. Further, Coluccio himself cites Catullus, in a letter written as many as ten years before this time (Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, III. p. 36). Thus the probable latest date of the writing of R is pushed pretty well back. Further, how could Professor Schulze, with the fact of Coluccio's ownership in mind, help being forced to pause and consider the meaning, for this MS., of the letters written by Coluccio to Benvenuto da Imola on the 25th of July, 1374, and to Gaspare de' Broaspiini on the 20th of July, 1375, and the 16th of November, or the 17th of October (for there is a doubt about the month), 1375? How could he then, recalling Chatelain's comment on the probable meaning of the *etc.* in the *qñ casignorius laborabat in extremis etc.* on the last page of G, have failed to surmise that (as I myself have come to believe probable), a copy of V was

made under the direction of Gaspare, finished on the 19th of October, 1375, and sent to Coluccio; and that from this copy a scribe wrote the MS. which has now been found in Rome, leaving out entirely, as unessential, the address to the reader at the end, while another copyist, at this time or later, wrote the MS. G, copying most of the address to the reader, but dismissing all that came after the *laborabat in extremis* with the phrase *etc.*? If these surmises are probable, they certainly open up considerations which are not without consequence for the critical foundations of the study of the text of Catullus. In a word, Professor Schulze ought, in my opinion, to have seen, on many grounds, that the MS. deserved a good deal more than the passing glance which his work shows that he has given it.

As for myself, my belief is that the collation of R, while it, of course, will not transform the text of Catullus (Professor Schulze himself has pointed out, in urging the value of M in an earlier article in the *Hermes*, xxiii. p. 591, that not even the discovery of O was able to do this, since all our MSS. go back to a common source), will, taken in connection with other collations that need to be made, enable us to determine once and for all on what the critical foundations of the restitution of the text shall be based. I believe that I see, with great probability, what these foundations will be. But complete certainty can be attained only by one who has before him complete collations, not only of the three great MSS. (for I still, in spite of Professor Schulze's disappointment, regard R as a MS. of the same rank with O and G),

but of a sufficient number of the seventy or more secondary MSS. to represent fairly well the whole mass of tradition for which they stand. Messrs. Burton, Denison, Tamblin and Holmes, members of the School in Rome during my Directorship, collated four MSS. in the Vatican, to which I shall attach the sigla W, X, Y, and Z. Messrs. Shipley and Dixon, likewise members of the School, collated A and B respectively, soon afterward. Mr. Dixon has since that time returned to Europe to make collations of P (Parisinus 7989), C, Δ (Ellis's La¹) La², Ricc. 606, Vaticanus 1630, D, H, L, and M. He was recalled to this country before the last four collations were made, but I have since provided for them. With the help of Mr. Dixon and Mr. Washburn, Fellows of the University of Chicago, I plan to put out a complete collation of A B C D G H L A La² M O P R T Vat. 1630 W X Y Z and Ricc. 606, together with the conclusions to which we come with regard to the main lines of descent, and the very complicated inter-relationships, of the secondary MSS. This done, I propose to publish a continuous restored text of the lost Verona MS. (uncertain restorations being indicated by underlining), with a critical apparatus comprising the readings of those MSS. which have survived the tests. I hope that by that time Professor Schulze will have been able to give a little more thought to the matter, so that he will not say of these things, as he has done of R, that he does not see 'wie die Kritik des Catull durch sie weiter gefördert werden kann.'

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STARKIE'S *WASPS* OF ARISTOPHANES.

The Wasps of Aristophanes: with Introduction, Metrical Analysis, Critical Notes, and Commentary, by W. J. M. STARKIE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin, Late Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Macmillan & Co.'s Classical Series. 1897.) 6s.

THE preface states that this edition 'is intended to supply a general introduction to the study of Aristophanes.' It may be doubted whether the *Wasps* is the best play with which to introduce a beginner to Aristophanes: the details of the Athenian law-court system are not of much interest

to modern readers, and there is nothing in the play, except the Marathon chorus, which is up to the poet's highest level. Apart from this there can be little fault to find with the way in which the editor has done his work. The book is not, like so many publications intended for school use, a mere epitome of matter to be found in previous editions. Mr. Starkie shows a thorough acquaintance with the literature bearing on Aristophanes and his times, and he has produced an edition of first-rate importance which should satisfy the requirements, not of beginners only, but of advanced students. A specially valuable feature of the book is

the introduction, which contains a full account of the structure of an Aristophanic drama and of the metres employed, giving much information not hitherto brought together in a form accessible to English readers. The bibliography of Aristophanic literature will also be found very useful. In an edition meant for beginners it might have been well to add a short sketch of the development of Athenian comedy and of Aristophanes' career: nearly all that would be needed is to be found scattered through the notes, but it would have been more conveniently available if brought together in the introduction.

The text has been carefully treated. The more important variant readings and suggestions are given at the foot of the page, and points of special difficulty are thoroughly discussed in a critical appendix. The new emendations proposed are not numerous, but are in every case worth consideration. Mr. Starkie has followed Zielinski in transposing lines 1265-91 and lines 1450-73. The alteration is a plausible one and would certainly have been worth mention in the notes; but it is doubtful whether rearrangements of this kind deserve to appear in the text. The gain in logical connexion is slight, and the departure from the old numbering of the lines produces a good deal of confusion.

The notes are full and accurate on both grammatical and historical points: the translations given are usually vigorous, and succeed very satisfactorily in preserving the order of the words, a point of much importance for the appreciation of Aristophanic humour. Mr. Starkie has perhaps now and then gone rather too far in his attempts to give his commentary an up-to-date flavour: for instance his explanation of the *παρτέα* of Eurycles by a reference to Trilby (note on line 1022) is unnecessary and will, we may hope, before long be unintelligible. On the other hand all students of Athenian history will be grateful to him for the note (line 895) in which he illuminates the description of Cleon as *κύων τοῦ δήμου* by quoting Heine's picture of Cobbett.

The passage in the *Wasps* which presents most points for discussion is no doubt Bdelycleon's speech (lines 650-718). It seems clear that Bdelycleon is here the mouthpiece of the political views held by Aristophanes and the party of young aristocrats with whom he was in sympathy; and the speech is consequently of first-rate importance for the comprehension of the poet's general standpoint, as well as for the light

which it throws on questions of Athenian economy. Mr. Starkie's notes are here as usual careful and instructive, but it seems to me that he has not quite grasped the true force of the argument. He adopts Rogers's view that the *ἀρχαία νόσος* attacked by Bdelycleon is not the jury system in general, but the alliances between the demagogues and the dicasts; and, if I understand him rightly, he thinks that Aristophanes wishes to break up this alliance by showing that the dicasts are unjustly deprived by the demagogues of their due share of the state revenues. Surely the more obvious view is the right one, and what Aristophanes means to attack is the jury system as a whole; though no doubt the attack is to some extent masked. But when he complains with mock sympathy that the jurymen's fees do not amount to so much as a tenth of the entire revenue of the state, the irony is unmistakable: the audience are meant to feel, not that the dicasts are underpaid, but that they are scandalously overpaid. If this is the intention of the passage, we must make allowance for it in drawing conclusions from the figures quoted. It is to Aristophanes' interest to make as high an estimate as possible of the expenditure in dicasts' fees: consequently we may expect to find that the figures on which this estimate is based are considerably exaggerated: and this fact has been generally recognized, though on Mr. Starkie's view of the passage the exaggeration would be inexplicable. It is also to Aristophanes' interest to give a low estimate of the total revenue, so as to make the disproportion between the two senses appear more glaring; and this is a strong ground for believing that the 2000 talents is an understatement, rather than, as usually supposed, an overstatement; though in the absence of corroborative evidence the point must remain doubtful.

The note on line 56 makes I think an unnecessary difficulty of the relations between Eupolis and Aristophanes. We know that the two dramatists were political allies and collaborated in the Knights: and we also find that they seem to take every occasion of attacking one another in their plays. Mr. Starkie and others have invented a breach of friendship to account for this: but it seems more natural to suppose that these attacks were merely an ingenious arrangement for mutual advertisement. Most of the criticisms which Aristophanes brings against the dramatic methods of Eupolis would apply equally well to his own. In lines 407-8, where the best MSS. give *ἀλλὰ θαιμάτια*

λαβόντες ὡς τάχιστα, παῖδια, θεῖτε καὶ βοᾶτε, Mr. Starkie has adopted the reading βαλόντες. It is no doubt true, as he says, that the ἱμάτια must belong to the chorus, but I do not see that this is inconsistent with the retention of the reading λαβόντες. The old men would certainly wear their cloaks while waiting in the streets in the early morning: then when they prepare to use force against Bdelycleon, they give them to the boys to hold: this is not incompatible with the fact that the boys, or some of them, are to run for help. In line 536 the reading of the MSS., εἶπερ, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, οὗτός σ' ἐθέλοι κρατῆσαι, is corrected by the ingenious emendation σ' ἔθ' ἔλοι κρατήσας, which is almost certainly right. In the difficult passage 1017 *seqq.* Mr. Starkie provides a satisfactory construction by altering εἰς to ὥστε

(line 1020): but his further suggestion of κομῆσαι (line 1024) is hardly convincing, though ἐκτελέσαι is no doubt wrong. In line 1290 ἐπιθήκισα is taken as referring to the *Clouds*, but this hardly seems likely in view of the fact that Aristophanes elsewhere prides himself on the καινότηται διάνοιαι of that play.

I have noticed the following misprints. In the text line 659 καὶ should be omitted: in the notes, on line 849 for Bdelycleon read Philocleon, on line 1312 for Philocleon read Sthenelus: on p. 395 for 'εἰσφορά line 60' read 'εἰσφορά line 41.' By a curious slip Mr. Starkie speaks throughout the book of H. (instead of U.) von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff.

R. J. G. MAYOR.

HILL'S SOURCES FOR GREEK HISTORY.

Sources for Greek History, B.C. 478-431. Collected and arranged by G. F. HILL, M.A., of the British Museum. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1897. 10/6.

MR. HILL is a specialist in coins, a subject in which the student, if he is to work at it at all, must ever be face to face with his original sources. It is this, perhaps, that has inspired him to come over and help the unhappy Greek historian, who is ordinarily removed from his evidences by a cloud of commentary, and can only get at them by undergoing the maximum amount of unnecessary labour. Mr. Hill has earned the gratitude of all students of the πεντήκοντα ἔτη. It is possible now to read one's Busolt with profit, without an armoury of books by one's side. I do not say that for a final decision on every disputed point it would be wise to take this list of sources as exhaustive. Space has compelled a certain amount of selection, and here and there, as I shall show later, perfection will only be reached in a second edition. But it would not be going too far to say that in nine cases out of ten the researcher or lecturer who wishes to shake himself free for a moment from other men's theories, and review the evidence for himself without prejudice, will find this book clear and adequate. He would, too, be indeed a well-equipped historian if he did not here and there find an inscription or a reference that had previously escaped him.

The interesting record of the construction of a guard-house on the Akropolis δ[πος] ἀνδραπέτες μὲ ἐ[στ]ει μεδὲ λοποδύτ[ες] (Ch. iv. p. 196 = *C.I.A.* iv. p. 140, 26a) will be new to some, while many will not yet have read their last edition of Busolt thoroughly enough (iii. 1, pp. 426, 7) to realise what a gap has been filled in our knowledge of the events of 446/445. Even in that dry light the story reads vividly enough, of how the three tribes honoured Pythion the Megarian, who saved them in that great débâcle, ἐκ Παγῶν ἀγαγὼν διὰ Βοιωτῶν ἐς Ἀθήνας (Ch. iii. p. 131 = *C.I.A.* ii. 1675). Though Köhler published the article which interpreted the epitaph aright in *Hermes* for 1889 (p. 92 *seq.*), this most exciting of inscriptions has not found its way into Beloch (1893), Holm (Eng. Trans. 1895), Forbes, Thuc. i. (1895), nor even into Frazer's note on Pausanias x. 15, 1 (1898). Classen-Steup. Thuc. i. (1897) mentions it, but dismisses it summarily in the most uncritical fashion. It will be worth while then for everyone—except perhaps Professor Busolt—to read through this book on the chance of adding to knowledge.

Mr. Hill himself, however, disclaims writing this book for the advanced scholar except in a secondary degree. Its main object is to be a reference book for lecturers and their pupils. There is certainly no book in existence on ancient history which could be used so well for developing the historical

sense and training the power of balancing evidence. University teachers could not do better than place this in the hands of their more advanced students, and set them to work out some point from the evidence here given. What, for instance, could be better practice for a student than to be turned on to the three pages on *Ξυμβολαί . . . Ξυμβόλαι δίκαι* (pp. 40-42) or the list of inscriptions grouped under the heading 'Share of Byzantion in the Revolt' (p. 141), and to be asked to form a judgment as to how much and how little they proved? Those of us who had the good fortune to get our introduction to Greek History from Prof. Case, will remember that he used to do something of the sort with us. But Hicks' *Inscriptions*, which was our Text Book, is for the purpose inferior to the present work. It gives only one side of the evidence, and it gives too much help. Hicks is indeed for this very reason not superseded. Its great value lies in its commentary, and commentary is of necessity excluded from the present work. One can refer a student to Hicks for the Chalcis or Methone inscriptions without lecturing on them in detail. But Mr. Hill's sources must be added to Thucydides plus Hicks as the whole duty of man for the Athenian Hegemony.

On one point a concession may be made to commentary without departing from the plan of the book. Chapter ii., on the Quota Lists, with its excellent section on the means for determining dates, is too good not to be made better. In its present form its pure severity is such that the *C.I.A.* is a popular handbook by its side. That Mr. Hill should print inscriptions on Dittenberger's system, with as near an approximation as possible to the original alphabet, has many advantages. But the old Attic letters are one thing, unexplained money symbols another. There are many of us, let us frankly confess it, who will copy out a section of Hicks' 'Notanda' over the heading of the chapter, even if we do not hunger after Kirchhoff's Index ii. I confess that I should be grateful if Mr. Hill were to adapt and revise Index ii. for his next edition. There are few things more stimulating, more suggestive of points of research.

The most obvious point for criticism in the whole book is the choice of passages for printing in full. Inscriptions have all that is relevant in them given at length. But in the case of the literary sources, the full text is given only for the less accessible writers, and mere references for Thucydides, Herodotus, and the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*. It

certainly is a shock to find under the heading 'The Revolt of Samos,' one line of References to Thucydides Book I. and four and a half pages of long quotations from Diodorus, Plutarch, Aelian, Text and Scholia of the *Vespaë*, and Scholia of the *Pax*. Mr. Hill, however, is probably right in the case of Thucydides. There will be no reader of the book who will not have Thucydides to hand, and know to start with, that he is the primary authority for the period. If by any possibility he does not know it, the precedence which Mr. Hill gives the references over the quotations will at least challenge enquiry. There is not room for everything, and the most important has to be assumed, taken for granted. We make a present of Mr. Hill to Dr. Verrall as an argument for his Euripides. The references to Herodotus on the other hand, do not seem numerous or long enough to justify the same treatment, and we are convinced that it is not applicable to the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*. Important as that is for the fourth century, Plutarch's Life of Perikles is a far better authority for the *πεντήκοντα ἔτη*. As for accessibility, is there not Dr. Holden and the Red Macmillan? Not that it would be wise to give the Life of Perikles in references only. But a recognition of the fact that Plutarch is not rare even in an Undergraduate's Library in the same sense as Diodorus and Justin, would make it easier to reorganize the most diffuse portion of the book, Chapter VI. Whole pages at a time are given from Plutarch on Themistokles, and there are too many biographical details even about Perikles. Space might be better spared for the quotation of a batch of out of the way references to 'Athenian Trade with the West' on p. 160. In general, however, Mr. Hill has followed the sound principle of paying greater attention to the unknown than the known, to the doubtful than the certain, the scattered than the continuous. It is for this reason—and also perhaps because numismatists have a special affection for Sicily—that he has devoted ample space to the Western Greeks. The ten pages on Empedokles are a monograph, and an extremely interesting one. His manufacture, however, of a confectioner's *βοῆς* for sacrifice at Olympia does not surely show his 'liberality' (ch. viii. 175-176, p. 349)? We imagine that it was the usual thing for victors at the games to offer as good sacrifices as that. It should be headed 'Vegetarianism' or 'Consistency to Principle' or classed among his 'other works.'

So much for general criticism. It may be

useful to notice a few points of detail that call for correction in a second edition. On p. 14 (ch. i. 71) the 'thousand cities' of the *Vespaë* will mislead the beginner if it is left as the only quotation under 'Number of the cities.' A cross reference to the *Ξυπρέλεια* of p. 20 (ch. i. 93) would help to put him on the right track. On p. 19 (ch. i. 84) the quotation from Suidas is by itself obscure. A cross reference should be given to Harpocration p. 20 (ch. i. 90), where it is stated that Antiphon's speech was about the *Φόρος*. Chapter iii. 95 on p. 104 is misleading. First comes the Record of the Kleonaeans who fought at Tanagra for the Athenians, and then in the same section 'Note Boiotian Contingent at Tanagra. Cf. Plat. Alc. i. 112 C.' Nine beginners out of ten would assume that Kleonae was in Boeotia. The 'cf.' in front of the Plato Reference distinctly implies that the Boeotians have been already mentioned. It should be put into a separate section with the note attached. On p. 109 (ch. iii. 112), p. 119 (iii. 148), and p. 136 (iii. 230) we have Andocides de Pace. 3. quoted for the occupation of Troezen, the Five Years Peace, and the Thirty Years Peace. It is doubtful whether it is fair to spring this appalling passage on the beginner without some warning. For the mass of contradictions and confusions it contains, see Jebb, *Attic Orators* i. pp. 130-1. Mr. Hill may answer that to annihilate it will be useful work for the youthful critic. But he would not be prepared for such gross ignorance in a man who lived in the fifth century, and I should rather not run the risk of his absorbing as history that after the battle of Salamis, but before the fortification of the Peiraeus, Miltiades the son of Cimon was recalled from his ostracism in the Chersonnese to make the Five Years Peace, and succeeded in preserving it for thirteen years till the Aeginetan War broke out, and was succeeded in its turn by the Thirty Years Peace! A heading 'Confused allusion to' would meet my objection. In any case, however, if the passage is to be quoted for the Five Years Peace, the *ἔτη πέντε* of the MSS. had better be retained. It is true that Aeschines, who was unfortunate in the choice of a passage for his egregious plagiarism (*De Fals. Leg.* 172), says *σπονδὰς πεντηκονταετῆς*. But that may have been the one thing Aeschines altered. Though nothing was too bad for his history, it may have struck him as odd that a Five Years Peace should last for Thirteen. Andocides on the other hand would not have said 'Fifty.' The

one point that is clear is that he did not invent, but strung together in a stupid and thoughtless way, all sorts of vague things he had heard in childhood, probably (internal evidence would suggest) from *ὁ πάππος ὁ ἡμέτερος*. The events happened, but differently, and in another order. He had heard of a Five Years Peace, of a Thirty Years Peace, and of a Peace lasting Thirteen Years (cf. Thuc. i. 87, 6), as he had heard of the occupation of Troezen by the Athenians, of the connection of Miltiades with the Chersonnese, and of an ostracism in which his name occurred. He was not troubled with arithmetical scruples. He could indeed have argued that a Peace may go on indefinitely beyond its first appointed term. But no 'Fifty Years Peace' would be simmering in his hazy brain. The only examples of a 'Fifty Years Peace' were those of 421, a date far too near that unlucky horse accident of his to be 'Ancient History.' He had to remember very sharply the events of his early youth. Besides in point of fact his subsequent allusions to the 'Peace of Nicias,' though not luminous, show a marked advance in accuracy on all that has gone before. After all, the real significance of the whole passage is the light it throws on the ignorance of the history of his country possessed by the average Athenian. If Aeschines had not done us the kindness of copying, editors would have emended Andocides wholesale.

The excellent collection of evidences for and against the Peace of Kallias may be slightly improved. On p. 127 (Ch. iii. 184) Thuc. v. 1, 1, viii. 5, 5 and viii. 56, 4, are grouped together under the heading 'The Greek Cities in Asia regarded as Persian.' viii. 5, 5 should alone be retained under this heading. v. 1, 1 proves that some Greek cities were in fact Persian, and viii. 56, 4 that the Athenians did *not* regard the bulk of them, if any, as Persian, that the Persians knew this, and that in spite of not expunging their names from the Roll Books of the Satrapies, they would have valued an official renunciation of the Athenian claims. In fact it is the strongest argument for the existence of the Peace (see Beloch i. p. 489 n. 3, Busolt iii. 1, p. 353 n. 1). On p. 142 (iii. 248, 249) the heading 'Disaffection in Chios' is not justified by the passages quoted. That one of the Athenian generals—it so happened that it was Sophokles—should meet Ion at dinner in Chios during the Samian War, seems to me the most natural thing in the world, especially as we are told that he was stopping there on his

way to Lesbos. There is no hint elsewhere (pace Busolt iii. 1, p. 545) that the attitude of Chios was uncertain, till the winter of 425/424 (Thuc. iv. 51), and the passage in the Πόλεις of Eupolis (Kock 232 = Hill, Ch. i. 48), whether written before or after this suspicion of disaffection, shows at least that the general character of the Island for loyalty was not low :

αὐτῇ Χίος, καλὴ πόλις·
πέμπει γὰρ ὑμῖν ναὺς μακράς, ἀνδρας δ' ὅταν
δεήσῃ,
καὶ τὰλλα πειθαρχεῖ καλῶς, ἀπληκτος ὥσπερ
ἵππος.

On p. 145 (ch. iii. 261) 'Boundary of the Land of the Athenian Eponymoi in Samos,' is obscure for beginners. They will take it as referring to Kleruchs. Write rather 'Eponymous Heroes.' On p. 153 (ch. iii. 296), to the cross references for the Tribute of Lemnos and Imbros should be added *C.I.A.* i. 239, iv. p. 72 (ch. ii. 14), and also a quotation from the τάξις φόρου of 425/424 (*C.I.A.* i. 37), where Böckh reasonably reads [H]ΕΦ[ΑΙΣΤΙΕΣ]. In a delicate matter such as the Tribute of the Kleruchies it may be misleading to stop short of the full evidence. 'Hephaistioi' of the Heading is of course a slip. On p. 155 (ch. iii. 306) a 'Settlement of the Athenians' at Nymphaeum is not proved by the τότε τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο of Aeschines in Ctes. 171 (ch. iii. 298 not 294). Nymphaeum was a Tribute City (ch. ii. 307, 8), with perhaps a φρουρά in it, as Byzantium and Kyzikus (Aristoph. *Vesp.* 235, and Eupolis Πόλεις Kock 233 = ch. ii. 154 and 155). This is more probable than to see a connection with the settlement at Sinope (Plut. *Per.* 20 = ch. iii. 297).

On p. 169 (ch. iii. 373) the passage in which Siris is claimed by Themistokles as an Athenian possession should be included under the heading 'Herodotus at Thurioi,' as well as under 'Themistokles' designs on and relations with the West' (ch. iii. 322). It is probable that the claim of Thurioi to the Siritis in the struggle with Tarentum was based on some version, possibly an exaggerated version, of a project of Themistokles (see Busolt iii. 1, pp. 518 n. 5 and 536), and that Herodotus is here repeating a local story. On p. 206 (ch. v. 58) 'The Marine Class' is a bad translation of ὁ ναυτικός ὄχλος. One thinks at once of ἐπιβάται. On p. 208 (ch. v. 75) Mr. Hill reads in *C.I.A.* i. 61 vs. 11, [Δ]υμάξεν δὲ τὸς βασιλέας αὐτ[ι]δ[ν] φ[ό]νου]

ξ[βολεύσεος τὸς αἰὲ βασι]λεύσαντα(s), and notes 'ΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ lapicidae errore scriptum videtur pro ΕΥΟΝΤΑΣ. Kirchhoff.' This proposal of Kirchhoff's was, to say the least of it, drastic. Mr. Hill's reading is, however, itself not free from objections. I do not know what parallel can be given for this use of the Aorist Participle, 'those who have at the given moment entered upon office,' in a legal formula. But if it were allowable, it would surely be better to read τὸν αἰὲ βασιλεύσαντα and save the stonemason's honour. Gilbert (Eng. Trans. p. 125) holds with reason that the reference is to the ἄρχων βασιλεύς, and not to three or all the archons, and if so the plural of τοὺς βασιλέας would merely be a variation for αἰὲ with the singular. As a matter of fact, however, the right reading is to be looked for on other lines. In *C.I.A.* iv. p. 18 Kirchhoff himself accepts Sauppe's conjecture ξ[ἰάν τις ἀπῆται τὸν βο]λεύσαντα.

On p. 230 (ch. v. 199) Mr. Hill quotes *C.I.A.* i. 188 for 'Expenditure on Festivals.' If the διωβελία here mentioned refers to the θεωρικόν at all, it cannot lightly be predicated of the Periklean period in face of the direct statement in the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία 28, 3, that Kleophon τὴν διωβολίαν ἐπόρισε πρῶτος. As Gilbert (Eng. Trans. p. 338 n. 1) notices, it seems more than a coincidence that the first trace of the word διωβελία should be in an inscription from 410-409, the date when in all probability Kleophon was just rising to power. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, indeed (*Arist. und Athen.* ii. p. 212), does not believe that the διωβελία has any connection with the θεωρικόν. But on either theory Mr. Hill is in the wrong. It is an interesting point that in the same inscription (vs. 12-14) the younger Perikles is mentioned as President or Senior Member of the Hellenotamiae in connection with the disbursement for this διωβελία. The name has betrayed Mr. Hill into a mistake, for on p. 267 (ch. vi. 85) we find another mention of Perikles from the same inscription referred to the Elder instead of to the Younger. It is probable too, that the occurrence of the name of Perikles four times on this inscription influenced Mr. Hill in his dating of the θεωρικόν. I wish it could seriously be maintained that Plutarch (*Per.* 9), our principal authority for its ascription to Perikles, had made the same mistake. I fear that the chance that he noticed the inscription in situ is a remote one, and though certainly the ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς 'Αθηναίας παρέδωσαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπε-

τείων ψηφισαμένου τοῦ δήμου, we cannot assume it as probable that Craterus included it in his collection of ψηφίσματα.

It remains to add a few new passages which might be included. On p. 24 (ch. i. 110) the references to 'Thucydides on 'The Character of the Athenian Rule' are inadequate, representing as they do merely the arguments with which the Athenians themselves justified it at Melos and Kamarina. On the one hand we might have a selection of passages, such as Thuc. i. 8, 5-8; iii. 10, 3; viii. 2, 2 and 48, 5-6 showing that the dominant class in the allied cities felt their position as one of degradation, followed by the impartial *παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐδουλώθη* of Thuc. i. 98. On the other hand might be noticed that the poorer classes were in many if not all cases Phil-athenian, preferring the whips of a foreign δῆμος to the scorpions of their own καλοὶ κάγαθοί (Thuc. iii. 27, 2; viii. 9, 3 and 14, 1-2). This, however, does not prove much as to the actual character of the ἡγεμονία, the patriotism of Greek parties being largely dependent on the fact of dominance, with its accompanying sense of possession. The oligarch of Athens was as ready a traitor to αὐτονομία as the democrat of Chios. Some passages are needed which will give an idea of material benefits or hardships. The locus classicus for this is of course the ἀπαθῆ οὔσαν ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν of Thuc. viii. 24, 3-5, and this, combined with the πλουσιώτατοι ὄντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων of Thuc. viii. 45, 4 might well be brought into connection with the recorded contributions of Chios to the allied forces. A few typical figures, too, from the Quota Lists, might suggest the small price which commercial cities paid for a security such as is represented by the ἀτειχίστου γὰρ οὔσης τῆς Ἰωνίας of Thuc. iii. 33, 2, the naïveté with which the traders of the Aegean assumed that any ship of war that came their way must be Athenian (*ib.* iii. 32, 3), and the attempt to cope with the piracy of even the Karian coast (*ib.* ii. 69, 1). The κεύλλαί and λησταί of the Teian Inscription of 470 (*C.I.G.* 3044) may well be quoted here in full, instead of being merely referred to in ch. iii. 286a. A cross reference however, to ch. iii. 221, 235, 309 and 310 would show that this commercial security was partly balanced by commercial restrictions. A quotation or two from the smuggling scenes of the *Acharnians* would also be valuable, as the λιμένες of the Empire must have felt the pressure and the irritation even more strongly than the Attic ἀγορά itself. Part of the Methone Inscription (*C.I.A.* i. 40), already utilized to point other morals, might be

quoted under a new heading 'Relations of the Cities of the League with the Interior.' Some cross references to the passages dealing with the connections of the Asiatic Cities with Persia and the 'Demonstration' made by the Athenian fleet in Pontus would make this a valuable section. On p. 160, under the heading of 'Athenian designs on Sicily' might be added the Treaties with Rhegion and Leontinoi (*C.I.A.* i. 33, iv. 33a, p. 13), which were made in the Archonship of Apseudes, 433/432, and therefore fall within the period. The *Acharnians* 606, τοὺς δ' ἐν Καμαρίνῃ κὰν Γέλα κὰν Καταγέλα might be quoted in illustration. On p. 172 should be mentioned the Inscribed Stones found in the Themistoklean Walls, confirming as they do in the most direct way Thuc. i. 93, 2. They are *C.I.A.* i. 479, 483 (= Hicks 13, 14. Roberts *Epig.* 57, 61), *C.I.A.* iv. 1 477b (Roberts 44a) and *ib.* iv. 2, 477h (see Lolling *ad loc.*). On p. 192 quote the *Acharnians* 508. ἄχυρα τῶν ἀστῶν for the μέτοικοι, and for the important part they played in Athenian life note the fact that the word and its cognates occur nine times in our remains of Aeschylus, and five times in those of Sophokles, and in probably every case with a consciousness of their technical meaning. On p. 207 it was surely an oversight not to quote the *Eumenides* 684-709, under the 'Fall of the Areiopagos.' Ch. v. 1. 'Position of the Areiopagos after the Persian War' should be moved from p. 199 to p. 207. On p. 259 (Ch. vi. 54), the reference to Rhousopoulos for Themistokles and the bull will in future, of course, be followed by one to Wachsmuth (*Rheinisches Museum*, 1897, p. 140) or Percy Gardner (*C.R.* Feb. 1898, p. 21). Their explanation of the origin of the suicide myth is convincing.

If an inscription is needed on p. 267, instead of the unfortunate *C.I.A.* i. 188, to introduce Perikles' Deme, the Theatrical Record of his χορηγία for Aeschylus, *C.I.A.* ii. 971a, could be inserted with advantage. It is of great general interest, and the fact that the stone only dates from the fourth century detracts little from its value, as it is almost certainly an authentic republication of contemporary records. On p. 285, the δ μεγίστη γλῶττα τῶν Ἑλληνίδων of Kratinus (Fr. 293 Kock) may be added under the heading 'Perikles' Rhetorical Style.'

In conclusion let me add that this somewhat long list of criticisms and suggestions is only an index of the fact that personally I have found Mr. Hill's book of the greatest value, and have had it constantly in my hands for several months of lecturing.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

WESSNER'S FULGENTIUS.

Fabii Planciadis Fulgentii Expositio Sermonum Antiquorum, von Dr. PAUL WESSNER (pp. 82) (from 'Commentationes Jenenses,' VI. ii.). Jena, 1898.

ALTHOUGH this edition of Fulgentius' *Dictionary of Old Latin Terms* does not claim to be final, it is so greatly superior to any previous edition that we can now be said to have a fairly satisfactory text. And a satisfactory text is worth having, for however careless in his quotations Fulgentius may have been, he cannot be safely ignored by students of the earlier Latin writers. His illustration in the 'Vergiliana Continentia' of the word *caiare*, to flog: (ad Aen. vii. init.) apud antiquos 'caitatio' dicebatur puerilis caedes,

quid tu amicam times? ne te manuleo caiet?

has been vindicated from the suspicion that has long attached to all his statements by the partial decipherment in the Ambrosian Plautus Palimpsest of a line of the *Cistellaria* (v. 252):

QUIDTUERGO * * * * * TEMANVLEO,

which can hardly be anything else than the passage quoted.

Lersch's denunciations of Fulgentius as a swindler without a swindler's cleverness (ein höchst geistesarmer Fälscher), are a good deal weakened by Wessner's demonstration of the utter incorrectness of Lersch's theory of the text. It may be well to reserve judgment on the extent of Fulgentius' inaccuracy until in the first place we have a text based on the collation of a sufficient number of MSS., and in the second until the relation of the text contained in our MSS. to the text actually written by Fulgentius has been satisfactorily determined. The improved text of Nonius (Bks. i.-iii.), which Onions derived from a collation of all the extant MSS. of importance, relieved that author from a good many imputations of misquotation and misinterpretation. It was found that a lost 'codex optimus' gave many quotations in a correct form which had been perverted in other MSS., and that some absurd interpretations of Old Latin terms were marginal adscripts of Carolingian monks, adscripts which did not appear in the archetype of our existing MSS. As Helm has pointed out (in his review of Wessner in the *Berliner Philo-*

logische Wochenschrift, xviii. 554), the headings of the paragraphs of Fulgentius' 'Expositio,' e.g. (§ 46) QUID SIT EXERCITVS. QUID SIC NICTARE. QUID SIT (*sic*) VALGIA, look like marginal index-jottings of a later date, which have found their way into the text; and it may ultimately be ascertained that the extant version of Fulgentius' 'Expositio' is as much a recast of the original as Paulus Diaconus' epitome is of the work of Festus. The carelessness ascribed to Fulgentius may in great part be really due to some mediaeval abbot who produced this version for the use of monastic students. Besides, there is every likelihood that the errors of scribes have often distorted the author's statements. In the paragraph just cited Wessner elicits from the MSS. this text: Exercitus dicitur contemptus. Unde et Plautus in Milite glorioso ait,

itane nos nostramque familiam habes exercitam?

et ubi supra ait,

plus uideas ualgis quam sauiis, denique omnes nictant eum.

But it seems to me quite conceivable that *plus* is a corruption of *Plautus* and has occasioned the insertion *quam*, so that the passage may properly run as follows:

et ubi supra ait Plautus:
uideas ualgis sauiis,
denique omnes:
nictant ei.

And I am not at all sure that editors of Plautus are right in ignoring the testimony of Fulgentius to the reading *nictant* for *ductant* in *Mil.* 93-4:

itaque hic meretrices, labiis dum ductant eum,
maio rem partem uideas ualgis sauiis.

Here *ductant* of the Palatine MSS. is confirmed by Charisius (p. 103 K). We have not however this passage preserved in the Ambrosian Palimpsest, which so often exhibits a rival version to the Palatine (e.g. Epid. 620 *grauastellus* P, *rauistellus* A; Bacch. 518 *dicat iocum* P, *narret logos* A); and the use of *nictare* by the older writers in the sense of 'et oculorum et aliorum membrorum nisu saepe aliquid conari' is abundantly evidenced by Festus (188, 7 Th.).

It seems to me more possible that *nictant ei* was an ancient variant of *ductant eum* in this line of Plautus, than that Fulgentius introduced this word of all others into this line of all others through knavery or forgetfulness.

But the question of our author's trustworthiness cannot be rightly settled till we have that complete critical edition of the 'Expositio,' which it is to be hoped will in time be provided by Prof. Wessner.

Let me offer two contributions to it from the Bodleian Library:—

(1) A collation of a Bodleian MS. (Auct. T. 2, 18). This MS. which, like so many others, has been brought into notice by Mr. Madan's *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS.*, is in that catalogue numbered 20627 and referred to the first half of the tenth century.

§§ 1–23 are in excerpt form, with the examples omitted, e.g. (§ 1) Sandapila feretrum mortuorum in quo plebeiorum atque dampnatorum cadauera portabantur.

§§ 24–fin., collated with Wessner's text: 24 Quid sint; 25 memmius; 27 ubi tum bacade; 28 antistans (n *alt. in ras. ut vid.*); 29 erisalo; 30 nauculae quas drom. auerso; 32 epicarmine pluuiosa; 32 dioualares (passim, sed l. 17 *diouole*) pammattius ut paratam (*om. Dircen*) Nam ego ita ut sunt nunc; 33 gabius nomen *om. te fori conficiam ussoricina*; 34 *om. ait om. omnis*; 37 coralaria; 39 lent- (passim) sicca. Lisimachus (*sic*); 40 ed. ab edendo dictum asinaria; 41 *om. ait*; 43 miropola dicuntur sicut sunt dioualaria; 44 Quid sit celox nauculae quod nos blamplum; 45 *om. in libro*; 46 quid nictare quid ualgia. Exercitus dicitur contemptus exercitam contemptam nictare uero ualgia enim; 47 quid simpilones simpilones conuiuiae (*om. dicuntur*) tab. dicitur; 49 Quid sit congerra butrianes; 50 cistella dicitur capsella; 51 f. scire pec. et haberi cus sydinitam fabre dic (*sic*); 52 conopus cōptū me uernali alicite (can the original have had *copertum*?); 53 *om. ait*; 55 uiuat; 56 sudum ora; 57 tietis biugis; 58 sairius mero leta; 59 amitenodolo tenebant; 60 manubies (passim); 61 Aumatium dicitur in aumatium; 62 quorum.

(2) Marginalia in a printed copy from the Rawlinson collection in the Bodleian.

In a Plantin edition (Antwerp 1565) of Nonius Marcellus and Fulgentius, with shelf-mark, '8° Rawl. 297,' are written the following variants of a 'vetus liber manuscriptus':—

Tit. Fulgentius episcopus ad Chalcidium grammaticum de abstrusis et inusitatis nominibus.

(The preface is written in full. I give merely a collation of it with Wessner's text.)

Praef. Domine praeceptorum in obediencia decurtasse abstr. et inusitatis sermonibus interpretari fal. uerborum studens dans § 2 Vespilones baiuli mortuorum tamen Nasaetas scribit in Europ. libro; 3 plaut. Menae- (c)hmis sicut pollinctor dixit; 4 Bachidis uere opus; 5 *ἐκατον περφονευμα* (?) apud ins. Blennam sacrificabatur a duobus Cretensi uno et uno loco id est Timaeo Gortiniensi et proculo loco sicut polycrates offerre sine renibus Settium econtra; 6 ambiguas uocari; 7 quaesieris; 8 cernentes exsultauit; 9 Larentina; 11 Epona (?) Vertunus (-unus?); 14 tutabant; 16 fratri; 19 Tellestide; 20 Textiuill.; 21 Ennius battenda battatur; 22 infrontate girare quid meam uxorem mittam catillatum; 23 forent; 24 cellarium dicimus; 25 Memmius; 26 parasiticiam; 28 antistans; 29 Istega est nauis postcenium uel tabul. ego ut in istega consedi; 33 Gabius; 37 Coilaria (*ut vid.*); 38 flocci q. rer. (*ut vid.*); 39 Gentaculum gustatio sicca Lylinachus (*sic*) in Zesti gent.; 40 oppipera exc. (*om. opipare id est lucide et delitiose*); 41 hae escae fauore; 43 ut sunt; 44 quam lembum; 45 pellere; 46 et ubi supra ait plus uideas ualgii quam sauii denique omnes nictant eum. Nictare enim dicimus cinnum facere. Valgia vero sunt labeorum in subsannatione pacti sicut et petronius ait obtorto ualgit (*sic*) labello; 47 Simpolones simpolator; 49 brutrianes; 51 antidamas Aricinashom; 52 Alucinari die. alucitis me uernales; 54 cessit filios; 58 Sarius Maetenia; 59 penes; 62 Delinif. litrecius.

Occasionally the readings of an 'alter lib. MS.' are noticed, e.g. 2 Manaseas scribit Merope libr(o); 4 Baccittidis; 58 Methema (-nia?).

W. M. LINDSAY.

DITTMAR'S STUDIEN ZUR LATEINISCHEN MODUSLEHRE.

Studien zur lateinischen Moduslehre, von
DR. PHIL. ARMIN DITTMAR. 1897.
Leipzig, Teubner. Pp. xi. and 346. 8 m.

THE subordinate subjunctive still remains the great crux of Latin syntax. It may be questioned whether with our present terminology it will ever be satisfactorily explained. But the present work, in spite of serious defects, certainly makes an advance in the discussion.

It is in the first part (pp. 1-76), devoted to a criticism of Hale's theory regarding the subjunctive after *qui* and *cum*, that the author is seen at his best. With great force and acuteness he assails one after another of Hale's positions, and it must be admitted with regret that one more elaborate theory has followed those of Hoffman and Lübbert. According to Hale the subjunctive in *sunt qui* clauses, and in *qualitative* clauses generally, of which the *causal* and *adversative* clauses are special cases, is in origin consecutive; the narrative *cum*-clause derives its subjunctive from the *tum, cum* construction, which in its turn is due to the analogy of that following *is, qui*. Thus *qui c. indic.* defines the person, *qui c. subj.* describes him; *cum c. indic.* gives the date, *cum c. subj.* expresses the time-quality, or situation. As regards chronology, the narrative *cum c. subj.*, like the qualitative *is, qui c. subj.*, was developed in the period between Terence and Cicero. This theory Dittmar attacks on both its historical and its explicative side. His first object is to show that apart from differences of style the Latin usage remained unchanged from Plautus to the Augustan and the silver age, and that therefore no development can have taken place. Even the narrative *cum*-clause, in denying which to the comedians Hale could rely upon the long and careful monograph of Lübbert, is supported by examples from those writers. [Cf. also Hoffmann's reply to Hale p. 41.] Further, historical and other inconsistencies are urged against Hale's theory. It must be admitted that, though not all the examples quoted are to the point, the probability of a historical development in the time between Terence and Cicero is reduced to a minimum.

Next, Hale's terminology is subjected to criticism. By the terms *essential* and *unessential* Hale distinguishes the relative clauses in such cases as 'the man whom you mention,' as compared with 'Caesar, whom also you

mention.' This is a real distinction, expressed in English by difference of sentence-accent: but Dittmar urges that it does not correspond to the distinction between subjunctive and indicative in Latin. The term *predicative* (implying that the subordinate clause plays the part of a predicate in the sentence) as an explanation of the subjunctive is also questioned. But when we come to *qualitative* we are really on wider ground, since the theory that in *sunt qui non habeant*, and *vatem egregium, cui non sit publica vena* the *qui*-clause *qualifies* is the property of all Latin grammarians. Nevertheless it is not only unproved but untrue. *Sunt qui non habeant* does not mean *sunt homines tales ut non habeant*, nor even *sunt homines quorum ea ratio est ut non habeant*. It means simply *sunt qui non habent*, and the problem is to show how it comes to do so.

Thirdly, the consecutive origin of the subj. in *nemo est qui faciat* is discussed. We see that (1) there is no reason why 'there is no one who *would do*' should come to mean 'there is no one who *does*'; (2) that the transition is no easier in the cases with a negative (*nemo* &c.) than with a positive antecedent.

Two things now are plain. In the first place we must, as is generally assumed, derive the subordinate subjunctive from an independent traceable use of the mood. Secondly, what we really require is a *habeant* which practically means *habent*. This is the business of Dittmar's second and constructive part, occupying the bulk of the book, pp. 79-208. The terms employed are 'polemical' and 'sovereign.' In replies of the types

(1) *A. Bonus est hic vir.*

B. Hic vir sit bonus?

Ter. Andr. 915.

(2) *A. Audistine tu me narrare haec hodie?*

B. Ubi ego audiverim?

Plaut. Amph. 749.

(3) *A. Vicine, ausculta, quaeso.*

B. Ego auscultem tibi?

Plaut. Mil. 496.

Dittmar finds what he calls a 'polemical' employment of the subjunctive, mentioning a supposition which the speaker forcibly repels. The same polemical force is to be

traced without the idea of repulsion in the type

Mane: hoc quod coepi primum enarrem,
Clitipho.

Ter. *Heaut.* 273.

where the meaning is neither 'I should like to finish my story' nor 'I might finish my story,' but 'I will, mark me (or 'whether you like it or not'), finish my story.' The indicative *enarro* is, on the other hand, spoken in a calm, non-controversial, or 'sovereign' tone. This difference Dittmar proceeds to follow through the whole range of the subordinate subjunctive (and indicative, pp. 209-310). It is impossible not to admire the thoroughness and courage with which this enterprise is carried out. But nevertheless it starts with a fallacy and involves endless artificialities of interpretation. A theory which must find a special insistence in every *quae cum ita sint* and *quae cum dixisset* reduces itself to absurdity. The initial fallacy, moreover, is patent. In positive sentences the polemical tone is wholly imaginary: *enarrem* means not 'I am, mark me, relating,' but 'let me narrate' (*jussive* or rather *hortative*). In the negative sentences, on the other hand, where it is really present, it is due, not to the mood, but to the context and intonation. Dittmar treats as the essential force of the mood what is the accident of certain passages. This is as if from the casual mention of black horses we should insist on all horses being black. We may therefore spare ourselves the trouble of exemplifying the errors of this method in detail.

It is however worth while to point out that there is a subjunctive which may help to explain some of the subordinate uses. The common senses of an independent *faciat* are

- (1) he may do (potential),
- (2) he might do (remoter potential),
- (3) he would do (optative),
- (4) may he do! (optative),
- (5) let him do (subjunctive),

Of these, Hale, while admitting (pp. 106-7) that there are dependent uses derived from (1) (1), (2) and (5), traces the consecutive subjunctive to (3). Dittmar, besides adding a use which we think imaginary, admits (3) p. 68 and in certain cases (*si faciam* &c. pp. 178 sqq.) a modification of (2), which he calls the optative of 'Phantasie' or, after

Lange, of imagination. But there is a sixth employment of *faciat*

- (6) suppose him to do (subjunctive).

This is derived from the jussive subjunctive, which we shall rather, cf. Dittmar p. 92, term *hortative*, since it expresses not merely *will*, but an *urging* or *exhortation*. The hypothetical sense is a weakening of this (as in *esto εἴτω* of the imperative), and is found in such cases as

- (1) Verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna.
Fuisset:
Quid timui moritura?
- (2) Merses profundo: pulchrior exiet
(or exilit).

Naturam expellas furca; tamen usque
recurrat.

It is clearly present in *si* sentences of the type

Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinae

and it may be suggested that we have the same in (1) *quod sciam* and other *restrictive* clauses (2) *quae cum ita sint*, (3) *quae cum dixisset* 'imagine him to have now said this,' (4) in *quod* sentences of the type *quod dicat* 'suppose him to say,' and in fact in all subjunctive sentences (not optative) belonging to what Delbrück calls the *prius* class. This would be not so far from Dittmar's view, as he admits that in some cases the subjunctive is an expression not so much of amazement as of reflection, hesitation, uncertainty (p. 206, cf. p. 192). But what of the *posterius* clauses? It is possible that the consecutive is derived from the final, *sc.* jussive, sense, as the two are very often indistinguishable (cf. Dittmar p. 91). Thus *sunt qui non habeant* would mean 'there are some who are not to have,' and the jussive sense passes, as in independent sentences, into the hypothetical. In the well-known line of Horace

Sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat
habere.—*Ep.* ii. 2, 182

it is impossible not to admit that the two moods are contrasted, and the meaning will be, 'There are those who, let us agree, have not, (*Anglice* 'who shall not have') yet here and there is one who cares not to have.' It is in fact a case of protasis and apodosis. For that *est qui* does not mean a definite

person, *sc.* Horace himself, is plain from other passages, e.g., *Ep.* 2, 1, 63

Interdum volgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat,

and humorously evident, as Dittmar observes, p. 17, in the passage *Od.* i. 1

Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum Collegisse iuvat.

This hypothetical subjunctive may therefore help to explain some of the subordinate constructions. Note that it explains why the Romans never used the *perfect* subjunctive after the narrative *cum*. In hypothetical sentences *dixerit*¹ is nearly equivalent to *dicat*, and is a *primary* tense.

We must however observe that the occurrence of *cum c. subj.* in other Italian dialects (cf. v. Planta *Osc. Umbr. Gramm.* ii. p. 483, Dittmar p. 323), places the construction, as well as others for similar reasons, on a new basis and requires us to trace it back to a much earlier stage than has yet been

¹ Elmer, however, seeks ('Studies in Latin Moods and Tenses' pp. 176 *sqq.*) to prove this to be fut. perf. indicative.

done. The Osco-Umbrian syntax appears to be practically identical with the Latin.

Among the details of Dittmar's work, which contains many valuable collections of examples, we may call attention to his excellent explanation of *ut c. conj.* after *non vereor*, as a case of the indignant *hoc ego ut faciam* become hypotaetic. Also, his short chapter on the *acc. c. inf.* agrees with the article in the *Classical Review* for November 1897, in regarding the construction as originally exclamatory. He dismisses his work in these terms: 'And so pass forth, my book, into the world, put Error to rout, advance the Truth, for the welfare of Education and of Science! God's blessing attend you on your way!' To us the chief merit of its constructive part seems to be that it seeks the explanation of the subordinate subjunctive in the mood itself. It has therefore, the opposite merits and defects to Hale's work. For whereas Hale gives us much 'development' of the constructions and scarcely sufficient explanation of the exact force of the mood, Dittmar, in his zeal for the latter, holds to it too rigidly to allow sufficient scope for development.

F. W. THOMAS.

KRETSCHMER'S EINLEITUNG IN DIE GESCHICHTE DER GRIECH. SPRACHE.

Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache, von PAUL KRETSCHMER. Göttingen. 1896.¹ 10 m.

THIS remarkable and delightful book seems to have attracted at present very little notice among scholars in this country. It must be said at once that the book marks an epoch in the study by linguistic methods of the early development of the peoples of Europe, and does so more decisively than any which have appeared since the days when the first great comparative grammars gave form and substance to the conception of the common origin of the Indo-European languages. Kretschmer's masterly collection of evidence from every accessible source,—tradition, archaeological exploration and language,—and his brilliant but cautious analysis of its meaning have opened up a new province of research, in much the same way as did Ridgeway's application² of the

comparative method to the study of numismatics. Both books point a long way beyond their own limits.

The reason why Kretschmer's work has met with so little recognition in this country is not far to seek. The title is so modest as to be quite misleading, especially to those who knew the author only through his admirable monograph on Greek vase-inscriptions, and one or two essays on points of Greek phonology. He has indeed 'introduced' the reader 'to the history of the Greek language,' but he has done not a whit less for the ancient languages of Asia Minor, the Balkans, Italy, and Central Europe. To all these the book supplies, in outline, an historical background which is both striking and, so far as it extends, quite incontestable, though it is here built up for the first time. All earlier writers on Indo-European origins down to the laborious pages of Schrader and the fascinating guesses of Canon Isaac Taylor, have felt bound to work downwards from the beginning of things; and even Hirt's ingenious papers in *Indogermanische Forschungen* have

¹ Sent for review to this journal at the beginning of the present year.

² In his *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1892.

not altogether escaped from this sterilising prepossession. We have been asked to summon before our minds a single people, speaking Indo-European (of a sort); and then to cross-examine them as to where and when they lived, what they did, and (in particular!) what their children did after them. But these ungrateful folk kept on saying nothing, or next to nothing, to all comers. Kretschmer, for the first time, has seriously set himself to work upwards from the known historical periods through the periods of tradition, which immediately precede, to further stages which his careful methods are beginning to reveal. Schrader and Hirt have asked, like so many before them, Where did the Indo-Europeans live? Kretschmer prefers to enquire, for instance (p. 150), where were the Germans living when they borrowed from the Italians their name for 'oil,' which the Italians in their turn had borrowed from the Greeks (Gothic *alev*, Old Latin *oleiūm*, Greek *ἐλαιον*). The phonetic changes implied can be shown to have happened sometime in the course of a comparatively short period,—600 to 150 B.C.; and it is not the least important of the objects which the author has set before him, to fix as far as can be done with safety, the date of the phonetic changes he discusses. Again, how comes it that there are no less than forty-six close correspondences in vocabulary (with others in inflexion) between the Aryan¹ and the Italo-Keltic groups, and between these only? Some of them are most suggestive from the historical standpoint; e.g. Lat. *vēx*, O. Ir. *rīg*- (whence Gothic *reiks* was borrowed before the 'sound-shifting'): Skt. *rāj*-, and the use of the kindred verb (Lat. *regere*, etc.) in a political sense, which appears in these languages alone (contrast the physical meaning of Gr. *ῥέγω*). Similarly Lat. *flāmen* = Skt. *brahman*-, Skt. *ārya*- 'noble' = Gall. *ario*- in *Ariovistus* etc.; Lat. *argentum* = Skt. *rajata*-, Zd. *erezata*- (contrast the different suffix of Gr. *ἄργυρος*).² The answer is stated (pp. 142 and 144) with characteristic caution: 'these phenomena can scarcely be explained, save by supposing very ancient migrations which rendered possible the exchange of certain elements of language between the most easterly and the most westerly mem-

bers of the Indo-European family.' But the historical fact thus established is of the greatest importance, and it is only one of a whole series of equally interesting conclusions based on equally keen scrutiny. With regard to the Greeks and Italians he concludes (p. 166) that there can never have been a unity of language between the two groups, but that at some period, probably a remote one, the physical boundaries between them were far narrower than in historic times.

It would be unfair to the author not to describe the plan of his work as a whole, though it can only be done briefly. The first three chapters are occupied with negative criticism, which is almost painfully complete, though there is not a little humour in the way in which the author has set the rival schools of anthropology to annihilate one another. The reader cannot resist the conclusion that all their methods (skulls, noses, skin, hair) have, for the time, broken down; since, from their own declarations, it is anything but clear that any one race of men is really uniform in any one of these particulars. The most important chapters are perhaps the two following (4 and 5) on the Inter-relations of the Indo-European languages,³ and the Partial Correspondences between non-neighbouring languages, from which the examples cited above were taken; but the seventh and tenth chapters on the 'Thracio-Phrygian group'—driven across the Bosphorus into Asia-Minor like a wedge—and the 'Asia-Minor Group,' divided by the Phrygian invasion into an Eastern half (Lycians, Cappadocians, etc.) and a Western (Carians, Lydians, Mysians)—are equally models of acute but everywhere prudent linguistic research. And the conclusion that this Asian group is non-Indo-European (p. 373) must, I think, be admitted, in spite of the authority on the other side (Ramsay, Brugmann, and Torp); at least, if it be interpreted in the sense that these languages, if they have any relation to the Indo-European group at all, are enormously further removed from it than any member of that group is from the rest. And after all this is the only sense in which such a proposition has any practical value. Single chapters are devoted to 'the Relations of Greek to neighbouring languages,' 'the Illyrians,' 'the

¹ It is perhaps hardly necessary to state that Aryan is used in the now established sense of Indo-Persian.

² Some of the more striking of the rest are *caesarius*: Skt. *kēśara*-, *res*: Skt. *rās*-, *castus*: Skt. *śiṣṭas*, *rus*: Zd. *ravañh*-, *probus*: Skt. *pra-bhu*-, *crus*: Zd. *añhu*-.

³ This chapter concludes with a rather grudging recognition of the importance of conquest by alien races as a cause of phonetic changes, on which Hirt has laid stress. Yet Kretschmer seems to be convinced that nothing else can account for the 'sound-shifting' by which the original 'medial' [voiced or voiceless] became 'tenuis' in Germanic.

Macedonians,' and 'the pre-Greek original inhabitants (Urbevölkerung) of Hellas,' who are identified with the Carians and the Eteocretes.

This last chapter is more conjectural, and, as it stands, less convincing, since the two chief suffixes which Kretschmer would identify as 'Carian,' -νθος and -σσα, occur, as he frankly admits, in some genuine Greek words (e.g. μίννθα, μήρινθος, Ἀμφισσα). The further linguistic considerations adduced are full of interest, but need to be supplemented by a consideration of the archaeological and traditional data in the same way as was done in the case of the Thracians.

In passage, I note that the evidence given on p. 235 as to the origin of the sign ↑ for digamma,¹ may be combined with Ram-

¹ Whence, through Ɑ, it came to denote *f* in the Faliscan alphabet, just as *F* did, through Ɑ, in the Roman.

say's note in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 10, 187 on the name Ἀριστοπόδος i.e. -πόδος at Caere, to settle the question asked in *It. Dial.* p. 463, and against the view to which I there inclined. 'In Phrygian' (Prof. Ramsay writes l.c.) 'the same word twice occurs beginning ⱭⱭ and ⱭⱭ which must = *qui*, Kappa Koppa together being equivalent to *qu*. Hence by an easy development the Koppa was used alone as a symbol for digamma (Pamphyl. Φικατι) and its use in Phrygia and Caere² I should explain by common origin from Cumae in Aeolis.' The change from Ɑ to ↑ was a very simple and desirable differentiation.

R. S. CONWAY.

CARDIFF, October, 1898.

² Also Nuceria Alfaterna and Capua *It. Dial.* pp. 463 and 525.

CARTER'S *DE DEORUM ROMANORUM COGNOMINIBUS*.

De Deorum Romanorum Cognominibus Quaestiones Selectae, scr. JESSE BENEDICTUS CARTER. Pp. 64. 8vo. Leipzig, Teubner. 1898. M. 2.

THIS is a book of the right sort. Professor Carter treats his subject *en pleine connaissance de cause*, and with admirable lucidity and method. He has selected for study only the public deities, and these he judiciously divides into (1) those indigenous to the Roman people, (2) the Italic, (3) the 'abstract,' (4) the Greek. To prevent confusion, he gives supplementarily a list of other foreign deities whose Latin names mask their foreign origin. The cognomina selected for discussion are then classified as ἐπικλήσεις, ἐπωνυμιαί, and ἐπίθετα, and to these is added a list of epithets derived 'ex fabulis anilibus vel ex deorum simulacris.' In chapter I, the cognomina of the oldest deities are studied. Professor Carter is a strong supporter of the 'Sondergottheitstheorie,' in the development of which he shows that Iuppiter Liber, the giver of increase, on the one hand is represented by the deity later isolated as Liber, and on the other reappears later as Iuppiter Libertas, from whom sprang as an offshoot Libertas. Faunus, specialised as Faunus Silvanus, is

the god later isolated as Silvanus; Ianus, specialised as Ianus Portunus, is the parent stem whence sprang the offshoot Portunus. Summanus (i.e. Submatutinus) is Iuppiter having the attributes implied in the title Summanus; and Terminus is originally Iuppiter Terminus, a title for which an ingenious explanation is offered. Next are studied the general titles of gods, which are unconnected with place or function—Lucetius (Iuppiter), Lucina (Iuno), Gradivus (the title of the war god, be it noted), Inuus (Faunus), Mulciber, and the Praestites. Diespiter is shown to be not a cognomen but a secondary name, and the unauthorised Lucetia is definitively relegated κείθεν ὅθενπρ ἦκει. Next comes Patulcius Clusivius, the title of Ianus, which defines the function of the ianus; and this leads to the consideration of other double titles of the same character. These are Anna Perenna, the goddess who as Anna typifies the beginning of the year, as Perenna its end; Genita Mana, the birth-goddess invoked as having power to give life or death; Mutunus Tutunus, the deity presiding over the mutual functions of sex; Panda Cela, the earth-goddess 'quae pandit et celat'; and Vica Pota, who is perhaps to be connected with Victa Potua, the goddess who

presides over eating and drinking. In two cases an originally double cognomen of this sort has been broken up, so that one goddess has become three; the instances are (1) the title of Carmenta, Porrima Postverta, from her obstetric powers, (2) the title of Parca, Decima Nona, derived from the two periods of gestation. In other cases a title implying a general function which applied to one deity has originally been derived from the name of another god or goddess who possessed similar attributes. Thus the cognomen of Ops, Consiva, is due to the identical agricultural functions of Ops and Consus; Here Martea derives her name from kinship with Mars; from association with Erinius Pater and Semo Sancus come the respective cognomina of Vesuna and Salus, Erinia and Semonia. With these are compared Herie Iunonis, Hora Quirini, Tursa Martis, and others of the same class.

The second chapter discusses the less ancient cognomina of the indigenous, the Italic, and the Greek deities. The Italic gods here studied are Fortuna, Venus, Minerva, Diana, the Greek Hercules,

Apollo, Aesculapius, Mens, and the Great Mother. Then follows a list of abstract deities, whose relations to the more concrete divinities are explained. An index giving a complete collection of the literary and epigraphic sources concludes a book the value of which we can best sum up by saying that it is in every way worthy of the school of the master to whom it is dedicated, Georg Wissowa.

To a slight error, which is tacitly corrected in the Index, is due the equation of Apollo Medicus with the Greek Ἀλεξίκακος; he is of course the παῖωνιος. It is doubtful whether Iuno Iuga is a Greek importation, as Professor Carter thinks; I have a vague suspicion that the Iuno Sororia whose altar stood by the Tigillum Sororium (was the latter a fetish, like the oar of Odysseus?) was originally Iuno Iuga. And is it not possible that Mercurius Menestrator was a translation of Ἐρμῆς Πρόξενος? The latter epithet may be conceivably implied in the wordplay of Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 920.

L. D. BARNETT.

ROUSE'S *ATLAS OF CLASSICAL ROMAN PORTRAITS*.

Atlas of Classical Portraits (Roman Section),
with commentary by W. H. D. Rouse,
M.A. (Dent and Co.). 1s. 6d. net.

THIS little book provides, for the sum of eighteen pence, nearly a hundred portraits of celebrated Romans, most of them authentic, most of them well-produced, and all furnished with a neat biographical note. It is bound to be useful and interesting to any student of Roman history or literature, and its price exempts it from very close criticism. Nevertheless, as I have used it in teaching for a term, I shall venture to point out two respects in which Mr. Rouse might have improved it for school purposes without taking much more pains than he appears to have done already. In the first place Mr. Rouse declines to discuss questions of authenticity, for which he refers the reader generally to Bernoulli and other critics: but a sharp boy, on seeing this collection of portraits, will immediately ask how they are identified. He will find, moreover, that Mr. Rouse himself has doubts about some of them (*e.g.* Hannibal, Seneca, Ovid, Vergil), and that, where two portraits are given of the same man, they are sometimes

extremely unlike one another. For instance, Sulla, on the coin here photographed, has a long thin face and a large beak, resembling very much the portraits of Lord Nelson: whereas in the Louvre statue, which is also photographed, he has a short square face not unlike Mr. J. L. Toole. Secondly, Mr. Rouse, though he has some curious remarks on physiognomy, does not give such aids to the imagination as are really required before we can construct a live man from a marble bust. There are many minute descriptions of famous Romans in the pages of Suetonius and Plutarch, but Mr. Rouse quotes none of them. It would be interesting, for instance, to a schoolboy to know that Sulla was a fair man with blue eyes and pale pimply face, that Pompey was shy and much given to blushing in company, and that Julius Caesar was tall, had black eyes, and used to brush a wisp of hair from the back of his head over his bald pate: and such information is really more to the purpose than a brief biography, for the student will not usually turn to the portrait unless he is already reading the history of the man. Among the portraits, I miss most that of Maecenas.

J. G.

OWEN AND PHILLIMORE'S *MUSA CLAUDA*.

Musa Clauda, by S. G. OWEN and J. S. PHILLIMORE, Students of Christ Church. Clarendon Press. 1898. 3s. 6d.

THIS little book contains thirty-eight pieces of English verse, ranging in length from Gray's *Elegy* to quatrains by Herrick, all translated into Latin elegiacs. The authors represented are of all dates and styles from Campion to Mr. Rudyard Kipling. The left-hand side of the page, on which the English is printed, is generally good reading: some fine verses by Miss Lawless ('Dirge of the Munster Forest') are reprinted from *Literature*; the stanzas headed 'Patience,' which have no author here assigned to them, were written by Clough, whose own title for them was 'In a London Square.'

The preface states that the translations are modelled mainly upon Ovid; yet the translators differ remarkably in style. Mr. Owen's familiarity with Ovid is well known, and he writes the couplet with ease and grace, and with a complete knowledge of its resources. Mr. Phillimore writes with much pith and force; yet his elegiacs somehow suggest that he would move more at his ease in a different metre. While he does excellently in single lines, none of his pieces, taken as a whole, reproduces the rapidity of movement which is the most marked characteristic of Ovid's style. *Sunt qui Propertium malint*, as we know; and Mr. Phillimore has a translation (p. 17) of Campion's 'O sweet delight,' which is very good and much more like Propertius than Ovid. Again, Ovid is clear as well as rapid; but Mr. Phillimore is very obscure on occasion. In Browning's 'Lost Leader,' the lines

'Best fight on well, for we taught him—
strike gallantly,
Menace our heart ere we master his own,'

are themselves not easy; but, if we turn to the Latin, hoping that it may help us, we find this:—

*nec quod noster eras pudeat certare feroces:
imperium in sese te potiturus agat.*

The second line is a mere riddle. There seems no classical authority for the form

potiturus, by the way; nor should *effossisse* (p. 31) have survived the proof-sheets.

Mr. Owen has studied Ovid to purpose and can imitate the movement of his model. A favourable specimen of his powers is the translation (p. 42) from Moore: these are pretty and graceful verses. Yet Mr. Owen is in some respects disappointing. Too many of his verses convey the impression that they were written in haste and never revised; they are like the work produced by a clever undergraduate under stress of examination. But it is reasonable to require more than this in the published verses of a mature scholar. To give an example: a familiar stanza from Gray's *Elegy* is thus rendered:—

*dis aliter visum. neque sola coercita virtus,
criminibus raris area parva data est.
sceptrorum cupidi spissa non caede mædebant,
non fessos venia destituere viros.*

Here revision might have removed the cacophony of *raris area parva*, and given a better position to *non*; it should at least have struck out *viros*, which is bad in itself and made worse by its emphatic position.

Mr. Owen is excessively fond of what may be called the 'slang' of the elegiac couplet—the misplaced *que*, the use of *usque* as the penultimate of the pentameter, and such pentameter endings as *vile sibi iste cupit*. Ovid employs these devices comparatively seldom in his best and most careful work; and Martial's avoidance of them shows that they were not thought beauties. It is true, of course, that Martial often plays tricks with the metre in the last line of an epigram, as that is one of his common ways of conveying the point.

Mr. Owen's preface is too rhetorical, as where he speaks of 'the faultless style... the strange imaginative power... of the classical writers.' So far as the Latin poets are concerned, and the context seems to show that they are specially meant, this language needs large abatements and qualifications. What has Lucan to do with faultless style, or Ovid with strange imaginative power? To the latter gift, indeed, even the greatest of the Roman poets have little claim.

J. D. DUFF.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CATULLUS 31, 14.

MR. OWEN is quite right: I ought certainly not to have neglected his conjecture (*Italae* for *Lydiae*), and my only excuse is that I had not got it in my mind at the time when I wrote. Whether it is convincingly right I do not venture to say; but it is certainly appropriate, and it fulfils the conditions which I laid down.—As to *domi*, ‘at home,’ in the sense of *domi meae*,

‘at my home,’ I incline to prefer the interpretation which I gave before: but it is impossible to dogmatize—the line of demarcation is so fine. Similarly in Plaut. *Capt.* 190 *curato aegrotos domi*, one cannot say whether the meaning is ‘keep that for hospital patients of your own’ as distinct from *at your home*.

E. A. SONNENSCHIEIN.

THE UNKNOWN MS. OF THE AGRICOLA OF TACITUS.

SINCE attention was called to this in the October number of the *Review* (p. 368), I have received a letter from Professor Alfred Gudeman, of Philadelphia (dated Oct. 31), who had noticed and acted upon Wuensch’s note long before I saw it. He has made two attempts to procure through friends a collation of this portion of the MS. and has good hope that one of them, who is experienced in MSS. and now resident at Madrid, will be able to visit Toledo in December, and to send him a collation by about January next. I have also received a communication (dated Nov. 12) from Professor W. G. Hale,

of Chicago, saying that Professor F. F. Abbott, of that University, would go to Toledo in the early spring to collate the MS., if he should not have been already anticipated. There is thus a double ground for hoping that we shall before long know whatever the MS. has to tell us respecting the text of this treatise. It is not, however, stated by Wuensch where he or Holder saw (as they appear to have seen) not merely a transcript or collation, but the MS. itself. Is it possible that it may have been sent on loan to Germany?

H. FURNEAUX.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

FRAZER’S PAUSANIAS’S DESCRIPTION OF GREECE.

Pausanias’s Description of Greece, translated with a commentary by J. G. FRAZER. In six volumes. London: Macmillan and Co. 1898. £6. 6s. net.

To review such a work as Mr. Frazer’s *Pausanias* is no light task. I have chosen to criticize it on a knowledge as yet very imperfect, rather than to postpone the notice to next year, because I am anxious speedily to express my appreciation of so vast and learned a work, a book so valuable to all archaeologists. One may best judge of it by comparing Mr. Frazer’s notes on

Attica with the first volume of Hitzig and Blümner’s *Pausanias*, and with Miss Harrison’s *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*. Miss Harrison’s book has great merits; it is fresh and interesting and full of appreciation. But compared with it Mr. Frazer’s shows far greater solidity of judgment, power of weighing evidence, breadth of view. When Mr. Frazer’s work is placed beside that of his German predecessors his advantage is still more apparent. He speaks of the cities of Greece from closer personal acquaintance; and he is not only much wider in his studies, but he shows a clearer and surer judgment, and is even a more complete master of the literature of the subject.

There is something very impressive and manly in the way in which Mr. Frazer deals with the hundred bitter controversies as to topography, art and antiquities in Greece. He gives an excellent summary of all that has been said on each matter by every important authority; then he sums up with judicial nicety, and gives a verdict; very often, with native caution, he gives a verdict of not proven. For example, in dealing with the Theseum, he sums up thus (ii. 155): 'The view which identifies the so-called Theseum with the temple of Hephaestus, though it is not free from difficulties, seems less open to serious objection than any of the others. It may therefore be provisionally accepted.' Miss Harrison had accepted it with fervour: but Mr. Frazer's well-weighed words express the exact truth. So in dealing with the Eridanus (ii. 201) Mr. Frazer says that Dörpfeld has established his view in regard to it: Miss Harrison says he has done so 'beyond possibility of doubt.' In my opinion one of the main uses of archaeology is to train the mind to weigh evidence, and estimate degrees of probability: if so, Mr. Frazer's caution is justified, even though it gives a somewhat cold and severe air to his work.

The three commentaries on Pausanias which I have cited may be well compared in the place where they speak of the Stoa of Attalus. This building is not mentioned by Pausanias. Hitzig passes it by; Mr. Frazer (ii. 54) gives a brief summary of fact in regard to it; Miss Harrison describes it more in the manner of a guide-book, and brings in for illustration a passage from the *Characters* of Theophrastus, a passage which is quite appropriate.

Mr. Frazer is naturally at his strongest when his knowledge of the early history of religion comes into play. For once, at v. 509, he uses strong language in criticizing the views of predecessors in this field. 'To discuss the traces of savagery in ancient Greece without some knowledge of savage life and modes of thought is perfectly futile.' This lash comes down on the backs of learned writers, but one must confess that the blow had justification. Excellent is Mr. Frazer's note on lycanthropic disease at v. 382. And he throws real light on the myth of Phaethon at ii. 60 by help of the lore of the Indians of British Columbia. Had Prof. Furtwängler known of these savage myths he would probably have modified his assertion (Roscher's *Lexikon*, i. 396), 'unter Phaethon zweifellos der Venusstern zu verstehen ist.'

On the other hand Mr. Frazer is at his weakest when dealing with works of art. He has read, it is true, almost all that is published about each monument that he has to notice, and he sums up the views of critics with admirable perspicuity. But a certain experience in dealing with works of sculpture and painting was also necessary; and here perhaps is Mr. Frazer's *tendo Achilles*. I will give a few instances. In describing (ii. 53) the votive relief from the Piraeus, on which a reclining Dionysus and three actors are represented, Mr. Frazer calls the latter *actresses*. The drapery, hair and forms of the figures sufficiently show them to be male: besides, of course actresses were unknown in Greece. On the next page Mr. Frazer describes the subject of a well-known relief as Icarius welcoming Dionysus to Attica. This view, I imagine, is extinct. The tablet is no doubt votive, and the feaster is not Icarius, but, as Milchhoefer has suggested, a deceased Dionysiac artist, or perhaps, as Wolters suggests, a living actor. At ii. 68 Mr. Frazer is disposed to accept Pliny's view that the statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus was really by Pheidias, but that out of complaisance he allowed the credit of it to Agoracritus, his pupil. This view is quite contrary to the principles of modern criticism, which has learned by experience that when there is a question between master and pupil as to the authorship of a work, it is almost invariably by the pupil. Moreover the statue bore the signature of Agoracritus, so that we cannot doubt that the assignment to Pheidias belongs to the local guides. When at v. 264 Mr. Frazer writes that the dedication of stars in honour of the Dioscuri at Delphi affords 'interesting confirmation of the view that the twins Castor and Pollux were the Morning and Evening Star,' the phrase sounds odd, because the association of stars with the Dioscuri is so familiar to us on hundreds of monuments of most periods. At v. 307 Mr. Frazer accuses numismatists of overlooking a passage in Pausanias when they call the youth on a dolphin of the Tarentine coins Taras: but it is no case of overlooking: numismatists have preferred in this case to follow a direct statement of Aristotle, rather than an inference from a statement of Pausanias. At ii. 159, where mention is made of the detention of Theseus in Hades, Mr. Frazer does not mention the interesting vases which represent Theseus in the lower world, though he has just described in detail other vases representing the visit of Theseus to Poseidon.

I have selected almost at random these few instances in which Mr. Frazer seems not quite at home in dealing with archaeological evidence. But on the whole they really tell greatly in his favour. In spite of want of complete familiarity with the monuments, he has by sheer width of knowledge and clearness of thought contrived almost entirely to avoid actual mistakes; and only an expert would detect an occasional shortcoming. If then this is Mr. Frazer's weakest side, it is easy to judge with how great mastery he deals with most of the multifarious questions raised by the text of Pausanias.

The word 'text' reminds us of one other imperfection in Mr. Frazer's work. He has not felt himself able to supply us with a new Greek text of the author. He has translated the text of Schubart, only occasionally departing from it for reasons stated in the critical notes at the end of the first volume. When Mr. Frazer has given us so much, it seems ungrateful to regret that he has not given us more. But yet in the case of Pausanias many and difficult questions depend on the readings adopted in various passages, and these Mr. Frazer has felt unable to discuss at length. For example, the whole subject of the statues of a Satyr by Praxiteles largely depends on the interpretation of the passage, *Paus.* i. 20, 1; and it is not satisfactory to discuss the subject, as Mr. Frazer does, without a thorough examination of the text. So at *Paus.* iii. 25, 13, the words *τῶν ἀπὸ Δαϊδάλου τε καὶ ἔργαστήριον τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ* certainly require a critical as well as an explanatory note. At *Paus.* ix. 39, 4, Mr. Frazer renders the words *κόρης ἐστὶ καλουμένη θήρα καὶ Διὸς βασιλέως* *ῥαός*, 'what is called the Maid's chase and a temple of King Zeus;' but he does not pause at the oddity of the collocation, nor discuss the various readings and renderings which have been suggested as alternatives.

As regards Mr. Frazer's translation one need not say much. It was particularly desirable to have a sound and scholarly English version of this writer, since Greek art is studied by many who are not good Greek scholars. Hitherto, there was only the wretched version of Shilleto. It is a pity that Mr. Frazer's translation should not be sold as a separate inexpensive volume. There is one point in which Mr. Frazer seems to go too far. He sometimes over-translates, as when he calls the Greek Under-world 'Hell' and speaks of 'chandeliers.' No doubt the phrase 'He descended into Hell' occurs in the Creed; but it is very

misleading: and the Greeks did not have chandeliers, but lamp-stands. I fully sympathize with Mr. Frazer in his opposition to the growing custom of introducing mere transliterations of Greek words: he does not talk of *nekropoleis* and *stamnoi* and *proedriai*. The convenience of technical terms to specialists makes them sometimes necessary: but it is also necessary to make a stand against such a polyglot decadence as has overtaken the German language, in the pages of some learned writers. Whether however this principle makes it necessary to use constantly such terms as *Athena Serve-them-right* and *Dionysus of the Black Goatskin* may be doubted. It is to be hoped that Mr. Frazer's book will be used in many countries, and this over-Englishing is scarcely suitable to an international work.

Mr. Frazer's introduction is a truly delightful dissertation, free from pedantry, full of knowledge and of 'saving common-sense,' inspired by the true historic spirit. He lets a flood of light into the subject by insisting on the difference of origin between the descriptive and the historic parts of Pausanias' book, by demonstrating in masterly fashion the author's independence of Polemo, and by correcting the extreme of scepticism to which some German authors, notably Kalkmann, had gone in their criticism of Pausanias. It would not be easy to find a terser, more accurate piece of writing, or one which is thrown into more perfect perspective.

I add a few comments on Mr. Frazer's treatment of some of the vexed questions in archaeology: such comments might be multiplied to any extent; but I will confine myself to a few instances.

Mr. Frazer does not discuss one question which has often puzzled me: how it came about that after the complete destruction of Corinth by Mummius and its long lying waste, Pausanias can have found in the restored city so many ancient shrines and archaic images. The coins of Corinth under the Emperors prove conclusively that Pausanias is not merely copying from a guide-book written in the days of the Achaean League, for they give a large number of reproductions of these works of early art. There must be some explanation of this curious fact; but I certainly have none to suggest.

Mr. Frazer briefly discusses at ii. 129 the origin of the cult of Aphrodite, with his usual moderation and clearness. He is not led away by the prevailing fashion to exaggerate her Hellenic character, but sees

clearly that a great deal of Semitic influence was certainly present. The question, however, whether the main source of Aphrodite worship was to be found among the pre-Hellenic races of Greece and Cyprus he does not consider : but this is the view which now seems likely to prevail. Among the books cited it is curious that Enmann's *Kypros und die Ursprung der Aphrodite* has no place ; a one-sided book, but full of matter and of ingenuity.

At iii. 623, in speaking of the Philippeum, Mr. Frazer mentions the view of von Duhn that a seated statue in the Torlonia Museum is a copy of the statue of Olympias there set up. This view he rightly rejects as untenable. But he does not mention the far more maintainable view, advocated by Koepf, that the standing figure of Alexander the Great at Munich is a copy of his statue in gold and ivory in the Philippeum. Attitude, style, time of life are all consistent with the view that the Munich statue is a close copy of the great work of Leochares.

To come to the great crux of the statues of Damophon at Lycosura (iv. 370), we find, as might be expected, that Mr. Frazer is disposed to uphold the fourth century date for the artist. Specialism in our day is apt to say, 'The arguments derived from my particular study uphold such and such a view ; as to the arguments to be derived from other studies, I cannot appreciate them.' Yet surely if the object of research is the attainment of truth, all lines of argument must be temperately considered, before we make up our minds. This is just Mr. Frazer's attitude. He sees clearly the immense force of the historical argument for the early date of Damophon, and decides to go by it, even if specialists in architecture and sculpture may find certain difficulties in the way. Their views, even when based upon correct observation, are usually found in practice to be flexible enough to fit into any fairly established historic framework. In denying a likeness, however, between the head of Anytus and the Otricoli Zeus, I think Mr. Frazer unnecessarily rejects the opinion of specialists in a matter in which they are most competent to decide.

Dr. Dörpfeld's view as to the absence of the stage from the Greek theatre is discussed in several passages of Mr. Frazer's work (iii. 254, v. 582, 622, &c.), and here he gives no uncertain sound. With a decisiveness which is the more impressive because his tone is usually so judicial, Mr. Frazer rejects the Dörpfeldian view, both before the publication of Dörpfeld and Reisch's work

on the Theatre, and (a perhaps easier feat) after reading that book. The question whether there was a stage in the fifth century may be still open to dispute : but opinion, in this country at least, seems to be steadily settling to the conviction that there was a stage in the fourth century. The only hesitation of Mr. Frazer can, I think, be easily removed. This hesitation arises (v. 622) from the plan of the *skanotheka* at Megalopolis. 'The existence of the long low foundation-wall in the *skanotheka* is explained by Dr. Dörpfeld in the same way as by Mr. Schultz ; and on this explanation of it he justly lays weight as a strong argument in favour of his view that when the theatre was built there was no raised stage. For it is to be observed that the foundation-wall is on a level with the floor of the orchestra. Hence if the wall in question supported, as seems possible, the movable scenery which could be run in front of the portico when it was wanted, it follows that the scenery also, when it was in front of the portico, rested on the floor of the orchestra, and that accordingly the players appearing in front of it must have been in the orchestra, not on a raised stage.' The argument is very well put, but its whole cogency depends on the assumption that the wall in the *skanotheka* supported movable scenery. This assumption Mr. Frazer characterizes as 'possible,' and certainly it is possible, but not as I think probable, and other possibilities are to be preferred. Thus it may be held that the wall in question supported not scenery at all, but a wooden stage-front, to be run out on occasion in front of the stone steps of the Thersilion. This change of assumption would make the arrangements of the *skanotheka* an argument not against but for a raised stage at Megalopolis.

Others of the very striking and stimulating theories of Dr. Dörpfeld are submitted by Mr. Frazer to a friendly but searching examination. Of course Dr. Dörpfeld would not for a moment wish to escape such careful scrutiny ; and he changes his views himself so rapidly that none but a very rash follower would venture to set up his opinions as final. Mr. Frazer's discussion of the difficult problem of the Enneacrunus (ii. 117) leaves the competing theories and the difficulties attaching to each standing side by side, without an attempt to decide between them. On the other hand he has a decided opinion as to the history and the fates of the early temple of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis. Here his verdict is

hostile to the views which Dr. Dörpfeld has from time to time successively set forth. The appendix of Mr. Frazer dealing with this temple is one of the most compact and admirable pieces of reasoning which I have ever found on an archaeological subject. No pronouncement on such a subject can be quite final: but the student who has carefully read what Mr. Frazer has to say about it may be excused if he is disinclined to reopen his mind in regard to it, unless some quite new piece of evidence makes its appearance. Among Mr. Frazer's minor merits may be reckoned his custom of referring as fully and as respectfully to good English papers on the subjects with which he deals as to German articles. This is a part of his complete fairness of mind: but the custom is anything but usual among English scholars.

It remains to speak of the illustrations. We must give Messrs. Macmillan much credit for their liberality in this matter. At the same time, it is of course to be regretted that, as a result of lavish illustration, the price of the book places it out of the reach of many. Mr. Frazer's plan has been to include in his illustrations all published plans of sites and buildings, and all important works of art which bear on Pausanias, including coins, but to exclude maps and views of landscape and buildings. On the whole this is a reasonable scheme: since in England it is easy to procure maps and photographs of Greece: while the plans of sites and learned restorations are mostly stored in the pages of foreign periodicals. As to the inclusion or exclusion of particular subjects, there must always be differences of opinion. Prof. Robert's restorations of the paintings of Polygnotus, though an admirable piece of work, are perhaps too theoretic for a place in a commentary on Pausanias, and the same may perhaps be said of Mr. Stuart Jones' restoration of the Chest of Cypselus, though it is less conjectural than Robert's work. On coins Mr. Frazer has relied greatly; and he is quite right. Coins are serious official monuments, and free from all suspicion of mere archaizing or of any restoration. Unfortunately, most of the copper coins of the Roman Age, which Mr. Frazer has frequent occasion to cite, are in very bad preservation, and the ordinary process of mechanical reproduction on which he relies is, in dealing with such, unsatisfactory. Under it many important coins become little better than blurs.

In doing my duty as a critic, I have pointed out a few shortcomings in Mr.

Frazer's book. But they are very trifling in comparison with the massive excellence of the whole. In this book English scholarship has done a really admirable work, which will hold its own for a long while to come. Of course it is not one of those great original treatises which form landmarks in historic science, but as a commentary and as a summary of existing knowledge it will not easily be surpassed. The author contributes to the progress of learning just that which may most fairly be expected of English Universities, an open mind, a judicial temper, accuracy and admirable method. We must heartily congratulate the author, and with him the Society of Trinity College, Cambridge, without whose help this work could scarcely have been carried out.

PERCY GARDNER.

OXFORD, October, 1898.

BRUNN'S *KLEINE SCHRIFTEN*, I.

HEINRICH BRUNN's *Kleine Schriften*. Erster Band. Leipzig, Teubner. 1898. M. 10.

BRUNN was never weary of impressing on students of classical archaeology the importance of approaching every work of ancient art in the spirit of an artist, or as one of the editors of this volume puts it 'to explain works of art from themselves and from comparison with other works of art, not seeking the aid of literary sources till after that process had proved insufficient.' A very simple illustration of his method will be found at p. 252. It is a question of explaining a bronze Etruscan mirror on which are engraved figures of Jupiter, Venus, and Proserpina, their names inscribed beside them. The motive of each figure is carefully analysed. But neither this nor a comparison with other known representations of these deities affords the necessary clue. He then turns to literary sources and finds in Apollodorus a passage before which the difficulties vanish.

As if fearing that this method of Brunn's might imply an indifference on his part to classical learning the editor to whom I have referred hastens to add that quite the opposite was the case, as indeed, would have been expected from a favourite pupil of Welcker and Ritschl. During the early years of Brunn's residence in Rome the first requirement of an archaeologist was an elaborate apparatus of learning. It was then that he proclaimed: 'For works of art, artistic

criticism first,' if we may so sum up his teaching in those days. Subsequently, when released from the daily task of the Institute in Rome this spirit grew stronger upon him and to this we owe the unrivalled papers of almost pure artistic criticism which are to re-appear as a series in the next volume. He was a man of meditation rather than of research. The wish of his heart was to be able to identify the style and the personality of each of the great artists of Greece. Hence he wrote, not at first a history of Greek art, but a 'history of Greek artists,' that book which has charmed as much as it has instructed the present generation. In later life, urged on from many quarters, he set himself to compose what every one expected would be the standard history of Greek art. But fastidious to the last degree as to his mode of expression, and finding himself obliged to go back continually over what he had written so as to bring it abreast of the ever increasing discoveries on Greek soil, he has left that work a fragment.

In art criticism it has often happened that erroneous results have been reached by methods apparently faultless. Nor was Brunn always exempted from this untoward fate. A case in point is his *Probleme in der Geschichte der Vasenmalerei*. Fascinating as a piece of art criticism, and so far as that goes, convincing, its results, nevertheless, have been denied general acceptance on what appear to be perfectly satisfactory grounds. He did not make a wide enough review of the facts and in this, as in other instances, his fame has suffered disproportionately to the services he rendered in the establishment of true artistic data up to the point where he drew his inference. For after all it matters little whether the so-called Theseus of the Parthenon really represents Mount Olympus or what not, compared with a criticism of his artistic structure which shall stir within us some comprehension of the might and grandeur of Greek art. That is what Brunn did.

In the book before us the first half is of no very vital importance at the present day. Roman sarcophagi, the reliefs from the tomb of the Haterii and such like, were in Brunn's earlier years regarded as of more importance for the subject than for the manner in which the subject was presented by the sculptor. Nor did he, as in other instances, set himself to combat that view in detail and to put foremost the artistic character of these works, as is being actively done now. In the second half of the book,

however, we find ourselves in the midst of those still unsolved problems of early Etruscan and Italic art, and here it is not too much to say that the two articles on 'Etruscan Paintings' (pp. 154-192) are almost as valuable now as when they were written (1859 and 1866). Recent research and a large increase of new material enable us to go farther than he was prepared to go in tracing a relationship between those paintings and the pictorial art of Asia Minor. Nevertheless, it was by these two articles that he laid the foundation of the present mode of criticism in such matters. We welcome the re-issue of them, all the more because of the happy idea of the editors in printing in the text the illustrations which formerly had to be looked up in the heavy volumes of the *Monumenti*. That is, indeed, a most praiseworthy feature throughout the present volume.

Most of the articles are written in Italian: that was a condition of their appearing in the *Annali* of the German Institute in Rome of which Brunn was at the time one of the secretaries. Among those which appear in German we observe two which had been communicated to the *Stuttgarter Kunstblatt* (1844 and 1848). That is to say, they had been addressed to a wider audience than that of the Institute. In those years he wrote much of an even more ephemeral character. He loved his native tongue, and from the first was ambitious of distinction as a writer. We all know how splendid was his success. But everyone does not know that Brunn himself attributed much of that success to his early experience in writing for a far wider circle than that of archaeologists. It is true that in a letter to Welcker in 1850 he disclaims 'Gewandtheit des Schreibens' (Preface p. v.). But I speak of what he told me about twenty years after that.

The portrait which forms the frontispiece bears no date. I suppose it is a photograph taken in later life when the face had lost something of the expression which I remember illumined it so strikingly in the winter of the Franco-German War and in the year following when he paid his only visit to London.

A. S. MURRAY.

THE TRUE SITE OF LAKE REGILLUS.

I do not propose to enter here into the question whether the battle of the Lake Regillus is a historical fact. In any case,

it is natural to suppose that Livy and Dionysius—the only authors who give any indication as to its site—in writing of a district so well known to the Romans as the neighbourhood of Tusculum, had in their minds some actually existing lake.

Livy states that the lake was 'in agro Tusculano' (ii. 19): Dionysius gives a lengthy account of the battle, from which we learn (a) that it was fought in hilly country, (b) that Corbio—which is generally placed at Rocca Priora—was the Latin base of operations. The details of the battle itself, even if authentic, are of little value for our present purpose.

The sites that have been at various times proposed are seven. (1) Laghetto della Colonna, on the east of the Via Labicana, $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Rome, (2) Lago di Castiglione (Lake of Gabii), (3) Lago della Cava d'Aglio, and (4) Lago della Doganella, the former on the north, the latter on the south of the Via Latina, at the east end of the Valle della Molara (Albana Vallis, Liv. iii. 7), (5) the basin of Prata Porci, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Frascati, (6) Pantano di Borghese, south of Gabii, north of the Via Labicana, (7) Pantano Secco, about 2 miles north of Frascati.

(1) The first site was preferred by the earliest investigators, Biondo and Alberti, by Cluver and others, at first even by Nibby (*Viaggio Antiquario*, p. 250). Probably, however, this small 'lake' was originally a quarry, connected, as Nibby suggests, with the maintenance of the Via Labicana. That the quarry is not modern is shown by the discovery, during the past winter, of extensive constructions in opus reticulatum, which follow the curve of its upper edge. It is better, perhaps, not to make too much of Strabo's failure to mention Lake Regillus in his description of the Via Labicana.

(2) The second site is the only other proposed before the present century. It seems to be put completely out of court by its neighbourhood to Gabii, which would certainly have been mentioned in the account of a battle which took place near the lake: and, further, it is not 'in agro Tusculano,' but 'in agro Gabino'—for that Gabii, notwithstanding its proverbial desolation, continued to exist as a municipium under the Empire is shown by inscriptions (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2801, etc.).

(3, 4) Holstenius, writing in the seventeenth century, speaks of the first of these as 'arte factus ad usum molarum,' but Cannia strongly maintains its claims to be an actual lake; Kiepert (*Carta dell' Italia*

Centrale, 1882) marks the second as Lake Regillus. An examination of the place is decisive against both sites: had the water attained any depth, it must have collected on both sides of the Via Latina, and necessitated a causeway or embankment, of which there is no trace. Further, the ground slopes gradually down to a natural outlet, which would prevent the formation of a lake.

(5) The chief advocates of this site are Abeken (*Mittelitalien*, p. 67) and Tomassetti (*Via Latina*, 171 note, etc.). It is, however, doubtful whether this basin, though clearly the crater of an extinct volcano, can ever have contained a lake. It is drained by a stream running through it; and, besides this outlet on the north side, there is another gap on the west. Further, the remains of a Roman villa have been discovered in the basin itself (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1897, p. 498, *Mittheilungen des Röm. Arch. Instituts*, 1897, p. 83) including lead waterpipes and stamped bricks dating from the second century, and columns of peperino coated with stucco, which point to the existence of buildings in the first century.

(6) This is the site adopted by Rosa (see Dyer's *History of Rome*, p. 62). It is, however, too much in the plain to suit Dionysius' description: it is too near Gabii to be 'in agro Tusculano': an ancient paved road has been discovered crossing it: and, finally, had it been a lake at all, it would have been of such enormous extent that it would certainly have been mentioned by Strabo in his description of the Via Labicana.

(7) This site was discovered by Nibby in 1822 (*Dintorni di Roma*, iii. 9). It is preferred by Gell and Bunbury to site (1) as being certainly 'in agro Tusculano,' and accepted by Kiepert (*Latii veteris tabula in usum scholarum descripta* 1888). An examination of the ground leaves no doubt that this basin was originally a volcanic crater, and afterwards a lake. Its outlet was on the west side, until it was drained by an emissarium, still in existence, the date of which is uncertain. Abeken considers it of Roman date, though he does not accept this site.

Even now, though thickly planted with vines, the basin would hold 15 or 20 feet of water. The most decisive proof that it was a lake in Roman times is the existence all about it of hard calcareous water deposit, in one piece of which a fragment of an amphora was found imbedded. A specialist to whom Prof. Lanciani submitted this piece stated that the basin had been fed by springs, slightly impregnated with sulphur

and strongly charged with calcium, which ascended through the volcanic strata forming the surface of the district. The stratification of the deposit shows that the lake must have existed for a considerable period.

It is possible that a memorial of the battle itself still exists. On the low ground to the north are the remains of a platform supported by walls of rough polygonal stone-work of very early style. This platform, Prof. Lanciani thinks, may have been an altar erected after the victory.

The conclusion, then, is as follows. None of the proposed sites can be said with certainty to lie 'in agro Tusculano,' except Prata Porci and Pantano Secco: but the former—in common with all the rest except the Lake of Gabii and Pantano Secco—cannot be safely said to have been a lake in Roman times. It follows, therefore, that Pantano Secco is the only site that can be accepted as Lake Regillus.

(For further details on this subject see my note in the *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, 1898, p. 103, presented to the Academy by Prof. Lanciani.)

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Athens.—The discovery is reported of the pedestal of the chryselephantine temple-statue of Zeus Olympios. It was found *in situ* under the existing temple, on the spot indicated in the account by Pausanias (*ἱστορίαι τοῦ ναοῦ*, i. 18, 6), who states that it was set up by Hadrian. The base is therefore not the work of Pheidias (*sic*), nor probably is any part of it in gold and ivory technique, as stated in the announcement, but further details are not as yet to hand.¹

Paros.—The excavations here under Herr Rubensohn have been brought to a conclusion. They include the discovery of a shrine of Asklepios, with adjacent fountain and limestone basin; the foundations consist of layers of clay on which the marble walls were erected, and are of excellent masonry, probably dating from the fifth century B.C. A rectangular courtyard was also excavated, with foundations of an altar in the centre, and on the shorter side walls of a building that may have formed a double hall. On this site were found fragments of capitals and marble shafts, and a rich supply of inscriptions. Among the latter were many dedications of the usual type, a decree as yet undeciphered, and a very archaic circular base of a statue, of Parian marble, with inscription in two lines. It is imperfect, but the names Μικτιάδης and Φοιβ. can be read, and it is therefore doubtless a dedication to Apollo. There is no evidence that this Miktiades is identical with the known Delian sculptor. An archaic statue of the 'Apollo' type has also been discovered, which

ranks only second to the Apollo of Tenca at Munich for artistic merit and preservation.

The city walls of Paros were laid bare on the three land-sides; they are laid on clay, and date from the fifth century B.C., being no doubt the same that Miltiades unsuccessfully attacked. Near the city a dedicatory inscription to Aphrodite was found built into a modern chapel on a hill-top; and on an adjoining hill was a precinct with oval altar in the centre, partly built, partly of rock. This was probably a shrine of Aphrodite, and below it was one of Eileithyia, with niches in the walls, in which reliefs and inscribed stones have been inserted. Various statuettes and votive inscriptions have been found, the former being partly archaic terracotta figures of a seated goddess (*sc.* Eileithyia), partly crouching infants, parts of the female body, doves, etc.

No more fragments of the Parian marble have come to light, but an official notification was found imposing a penalty of fifty-one drachmae on any one defiling the public roads, in fine letters of the beginning of the fifth century B.C.²

H. B. WALTERS.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part iii. 1898.

George Macdonald. 'The legend IATON on coins of Himera.' It has always been assumed that this legend was authentic, and much ingenuity has been spent in explaining its meaning. Mr. Macdonald, after a well-directed and careful study of the evidence, is able to prove that IATON is a myth, and that the true reading is Ἰἄτοϛ, *i.e.* the word

ἸΟΘΗΡ (already known on coins of Himera) written retrograde.—J. P. Six. 'Monnaies grecques, inédites et incertaines' (continued). *Scione in Pallene*.—*Cyzicus*. The remarkable electrum stater (Brit. Mus. Cat. *Mysia*, pl. viii. 9) with a bearded head, laureate, is discussed. This head has all the appearance of being a portrait, though the occurrence of a portrait-head is strange, if not unexampled, on a coin of this period (B.C. 400–350). Six supports the conjecture of his son Dr. Jan Six, that the head is Timotheos, son of Cimon, who forced the Persians to raise the siege of Cyzicus in B.C. 363.—*Lycia*.—*Babylon*. Coins of this mint attributed to Antigonus, Antiochus I. B.C. 293–281, etc.—*Coins of Antiochus Hierax*.—G. F. Hill. 'Posidium in Syria.' Suggests further reasons for assigning the unique silver coin published by Alischan to Posidium (*el-Bousait*). The type of a bearded head in a pilidium is discussed. This type, at Cyzicus and Lampsacus, has often been described as Ulysses, but there is much to be said for the view that it is Kabiros. The youthful head (found *e.g.* on coins of Berytis in the Troad) in a similar pilidium would be Kadmilos-Puis (son of Kabiros).—Hermann Weber. 'A small find of coins of Mende, etc.' Chiefly small silver coins of Mende, *circa*. B.C. 440 with the ass type, etc. The forms ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟΝ and ΜΙΝΔΑΙΟΝ seem to have been used contemporaneously.

Revue Numismatique. Part iii. 1898.

E. Babelon. 'La collection Waddington au Cabinet des Médailles; Inventaire sommaire' (continued).—J. Rouvier. 'Les monnaies autonomes de Bérÿte (Phénicie).—M. Rostovtsew. 'Étude sur les

¹ *Daily Chronicle*, 5 Nov. 1898.

² *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 8 Oct. 1898.

plombs antiques' (continued).—M. Soutzo. 'Étude sur les monnaies impériales romaines' (continued).—M. Blanchet publishes (p. xliii) a stater of Leucas in Acarnania (Corinthian types, Athena, and Pegasus) with the *graffito* ΦΙΝΤΕΡΑ. 'C'est le féminin de *φιντερος*, forme dorienne poétique de *φίλτερος*, com-

paratif de *φίλος*.' But possibly it is a woman's name. Similar *graffiti* on coins are known:—ΛΑΛΛΑ ΦΙΛΛΑ (Metapontum); ΔΕΙΝΙΣ ΚΑΛΛΑ (Scotussa); ΨΥΧΗ (Naples).

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Mnemosyne. Vol. 26. Part 3. 1898.

De monumento Ancyrano, sententiae controversae, part 2, J. W. Beck. Concluded from last vol. It is clear that the Mon. Anc. was from the best sources, among which it is probable there was a book (or books) by Augustus, but it is doubtful whether this commentary is by Augustus. *Observationes de iure Romano*, continued, J. C. Naber. (1) De iudicati actionis natura, (2) Cui detur et in quem iudicati actio, (3) De actionibus utilibus ad exemplum legis Aquiliae. P. Annii Flori. *Virgilius orator an poeta*, J. v. d. V. Two conjectures. *Duratio parentatur*, S. A. Naber. Contains some notes on Symmachus. *De nuptiis heroum*, J. W. G. van Oordt. Points out that marriage customs in Homer may be illustrated from customs in use among the Kafirs to-day. *Ad Menandri fragmentum nuper repertum*, J. van Leeuwen J. f. Gives the text of the fragment of Menander's Γεωργός with critical notes. *Emendatur Marcellini Vitae Thucydidis*, § 7, J. C. Vollgraff. After οἱ μὲν ὄν inserts μόνον. *De Nerone Poppaea Othone*, J. J. Hartman. On the different accounts of the Histories and the Annals, with reference to Fabia's paper in *Revue de Philologie*, vol. 20 (1896). *Thucydidea*, J. C. Vollgraff. Critical notes on the first book with reference to Hude's and Steup's recent editions. *De Horatii Carmine*, i. 28, J. J. Hartman. Maintains that we have here two odes, the second beginning at l. 21. *ἄν—κε* *Ad Homeri* Ξ 190, J. v. L. Defends his conj. of ἡ ῥά κέ μοι here and Δ 93 by the fragment of Ξ lately published by Mr. A. S. Hunt. *Ad Bacchylidem*, A. Poutsma. Two critical notes. 'Gers' = *ilaque*. J. v. d. V. This is founded on a corrupt reading in *Quaestiones grammaticae cod. Bern.* 83. λαβὴν δοῦναι *ansam dare*, J. v. L.

Part 4. *Taurinensis* (T) *Lucani*, C. M. Francken. This MS., till now only known through a collation of D'Orville, has been found at Turin, and some readings are given from it. *Ad Dionis Chrysostomi editionis Arnobianae*, vol. ii., H. van Herwerden. Critical notes. *Observationes de iure Romano*, continued, J. C. Naber. *Ad hereditatis petitionem. Noniana*, C. M. Francken. Notes with reference to Onions' edition by W. M. Lindsay. *De locis quibusdam Aeschyli Persarum*, J. J. Hartman. Considers that ll. 285 and 824 have reference to the story that Darius ordered his servants to remind him of the Athenians. *Lorica Leidensis*, J. van der Vliet. Gives the text of this poem with some emendations. *Ad bellum Troianum*, M. Valeton. Advocates a middle course between the views of Ed. Meyer on one side and of Beloch and Caer on the other. *Ad Odysseae libros posteriores*, H. van Herwerden. Continued from vol. 22. Various critical notes. *De usu verbi inquit in Apulci Metamorphosisibus*, J. van der Vliet. *Verg. Aen.* iii. 509, R. C. Seaton. *Ad Aristophanis Nubes observationes*, J. van Leeuwen J. f. Continued.

Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. Vol. 11. Part 1.

Die Latinität der verlorenen Epitoma Livii, E. Wölfflin. The epitoma may have been an abridgement of Livy with additions from Valerius Antias. *Prorsa, prosa*, E. Wölfflin. The form *prorsa* (from *provorsa*) occurs in the best MSS. of Quintilian and Pliny. *Zur Konstruktion von licet*, E. B. Lease. A history of the word through Latin literature. *Euphemismus als Grund der Ellipse*, E. Wölfflin. This is found in expressions like *ad Dianae*, where no special word is to be understood. *Zum Asyndeton bei Sallust*, E. Wölfflin. This feature of Sallust's style is due to his love of archaisms. *Actutum. Lancino*, O. Hey. *Actutum = attutum = ad tutum*, 'in a moment.' In Celsus i. pr. we should read *lancinantis medici* for *latrocinantis m.* *Zu Serenus Sammonicus*, R. Fuchs. (1) The poetical power of the writer, (2) peculiarities of language. *Zu Serenus Sammonicus*, vers. 507, R. Fuchs. *Brachium. Gracchus*, E. Wölfflin. In neither word is the *ech* etymologically justifiable. *Zur Appendix Probi*, W. Heraeus. *Leiticocisium*, W. Heraeus. This word should be read in Servius—Scholia to Verg. Aen. viii. 666 for *laeta occisia*. *Einige sprachliche Eigentümlichkeiten des Mythographen Fulgentius*, R. Hehn. *Zur Epitoma Livii*, E. Wölfflin. The inconsistencies between the epitoma and Livy are due, not to the carelessness of the epitomator, but to the contamination of Livy with other sources. *Dediticius, dediticiorum numero, daticius*, C. Moore. *Dediticius* stands to *deditus* as *libertinus* to *libertus*, and denotes a class. *Dedit. num.* is first found in Gaius. *Daticius* is a late-Latin form. *Quingenta vota*, J. Haussleiter. In Cyprian Ep. 21 *pro sedula numeravit* is a corruption for *pro se D vota num.* *Ueber den pseudocyprianischen Traktat 'adversus Judaeos'*, G. Landgraf. This was written by one in the immediate circle of Novatian, if not by N. himself. *Magis und minus ohne komparative Bedeutung, Quisquis = quisque*, A. Sonny. Various exx. of these uses given. *Lucretiana*, K. J. Hiden. (1) In v. 1221 *membra* is not a (so-called) Greek acc., but the object of *corripunt*. (2) On *quique* as abl. (3) On *quod* as abl. *Der Accusativ des Zieles nach vocare und hortari*, G. Landgraf. This is an archaism, e.g. in the legal formula (Cic. pro Mur. § 26) *ex iure manum consertum vocare*. *Nachtrag zu den lateinischen Pflanzennamen im Dioskorides*, H. Stadler.

MISCELLAN. *Nimbus, Heiligenschein. Der Name Italiens*, K. Sittl. *Lat. an = abnc*, A. Döhrling. *Ueber die Länge des plautinischen 'dat.'* W. M. Lindsay. *Das and dat* are always long in Plautus. *Totidem = eadem*. *Multus, einflussreich*, A. Sonny. The former is found often, the latter in Catull. 112. *Coemplantare?* L. Havet. In Cic. Ver. 4, § 133, would read *coemplantant* for *coemebant* on the ground of rhythm. *Atribuz*, W. Heraeus. Suggests this

word in Auson. epist. 22, 9, where MSS. have *artubus* and Scaliger conjectured *atubus*.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 53. Part 4. 1898.

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MISCELLAN. *Die Lebenszeit des Eudoxos von Knidos*, F. Susenmihl. His birth must be assigned to 395-390 B.C. probably nearer to 390. *Ad Gellium*, E. Goebel. On xix. 1 §§ 21, 2 and 3. *Die Olympischen Solymen*, O. Rossbach. In Servius 'interpolatus'

on Aen. v. 118, we should read *Olympios* for the corrupt *lympios*. *ἐπασσύτεροι*, K. Brugmann. Connects the word not with *ἀσσότερος* but with **ἐπ-αρ-σσυτ*. *Epigraphische Miscellen*, E. Ziebarth. (1) From the Museum Ramusiorum, (2) From the Museum Naniannum. *ἐπίπικος φιλοκτίστης*, F. Rühl. *Epigraphica*, F. Vollmer. *Der Staatsstreich des Septimius Severus*, A. v. Domaszewski.

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¹ The Index is by W. F. R. SMILETO, M.A., formerly Foundation Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge.

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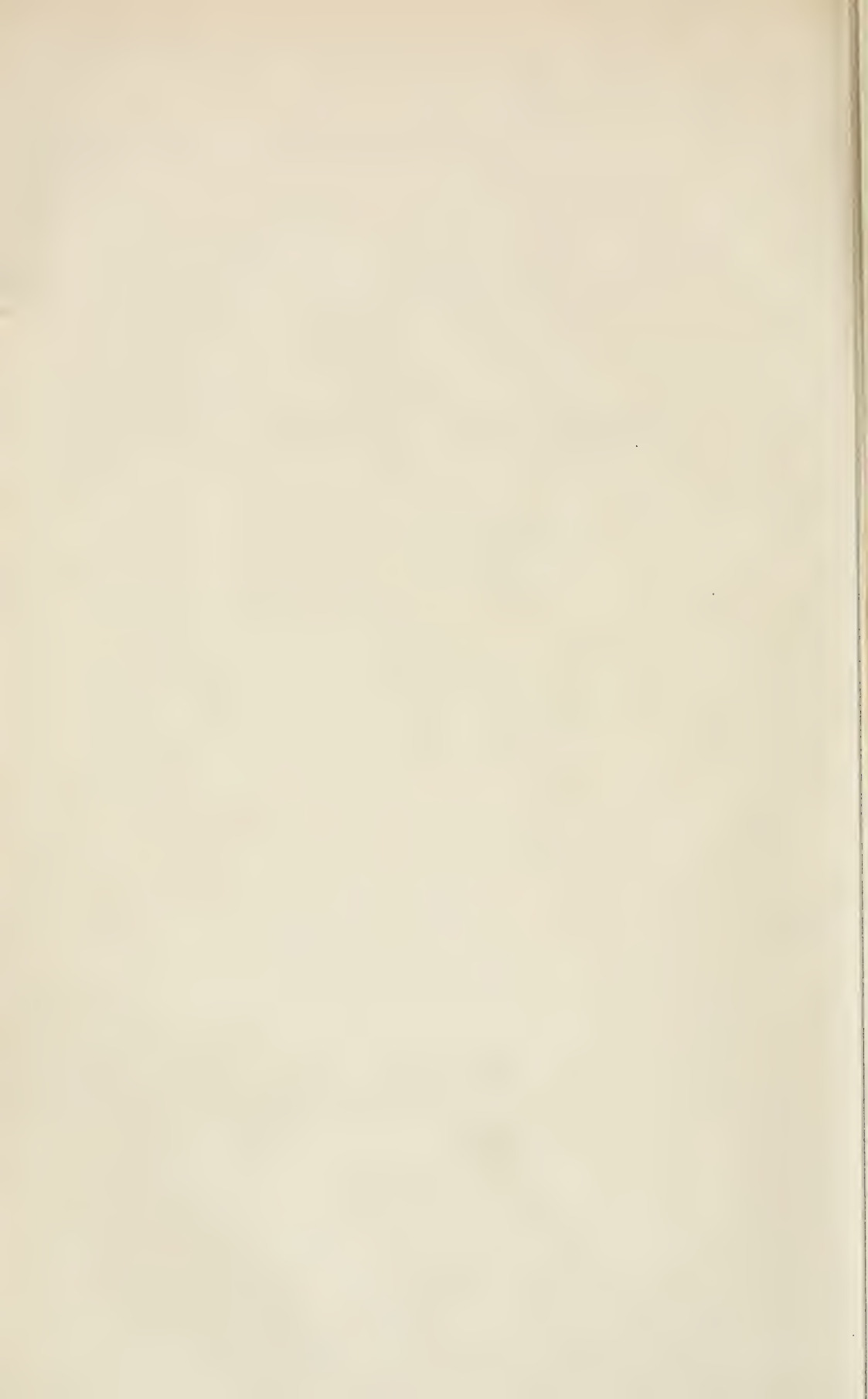
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